CHINA:

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THAT EMPIRE AND ITS INHABITANTS;

WITH THE

HISTORY OF FOREIGN INTERCOURSE DOWN TO THE EVENTS WHICH PRODUCED THE DISSOLUTION OF 1857.

BY SIR JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, BART., K C B,
F R.S., &c
LATE HER MAJESTY'S PLENIPOTENTIARY IN CHINA, AND
GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER IN-CHIEF OF THE COLONY OF HONGKONG

A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL I

With Illustrations

LONDON.
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1857.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.

TO

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

K G, G C B,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY,

THE STEADY PROTECTOR OF BRITISH INTERESTS IN CHINA,

This Revised Work,

AFTER TWENTY-ONE YEARS' TRIAL,

IS INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

THE exhaustion of several previous Editions, and the sort of *Chinomanie* created by the late discussions in Parliament, with the events in which those discussions originated, as well as those to which they tended, called for a new and enlarged impression of this work, which has been augmented by an additional Chapter (the fifth), bringing the history of British transactions down to the present time.

Hollywood, Gloucestershire,
4th May, 1857

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INTRODUCTION.

The following work owes its origin to a collection of notes which the author made while resident in China; and these notes were compiled for a reason not altogether dissimilar to the motive which a French writer alleges for an undertaking of the same kind—"le desir de tout connaître, en etant obligé de le decrire" A residence of more than twenty years (which terminated in the author succeeding the late amiable and unfortunate Lord Napier as his Majesty's chief authority in China) was perhaps sufficiently calculated to mature and correct those opinions of the country and people which he had formed, as a very young man, in accompanying Lord Amherst on the embassy to Peking in 1816 If some acquaintance, besides, with the language and literature of the Chinese empire was not of considerable use and assistance to him in increasing the extent and accuracy of his information, it must have been his own fault entirely, and not any want of opportunities and means

It is singular that no general and systematic work on

China had ever yet been produced in this country, notwithstanding that our immediate interest in the subject was vastly greater than that of any other European nation. At the head of *travels*, both as to date and excellence, stand the authentic account of Lord Macartney's Mission by Staunton, and Barrow's 'China,' to both of which works it will be seen that reference has been more than once made in the following pages. The above authorities have not been superseded by anything that has since appeared, though the works of Mr. Ellis and Dr. Abel, the results of Lord Amherst's embassy, are of a highly respectable class, and contain much valuable information on those points to which they confine themselves. Still no general account of the Chinese empire had ever issued from the English press; and Père du Halde's heavy compilation long remained the only methodised source of information on the subject. Above a century has now elapsed since that voluminous and in many respects highly valuable work was first printed. A great deal has of necessity become antiquated, and it is not easy for any one, who is personally unacquainted with China, to separate the really sound and useful information it contains, from the prejudice which distorts some portions and the nonsense which encumbers others. Of the last, the endless pages on the 'Doctrine of the Pulse' may be taken as one specimen.

The following work being intended wholly for the use of the general reader, so much only of each subject has been touched upon as seemed calculated to convey a summary, though at the same time accurate, species of information in an easy and popular way

The superiority which the Chinese possess over the other nations of Asia is so decided as scarcely to need the institution of an elaborate comparison Those who have had opportunities of seeing both have readily admitted it, and none more so than the Right Honourable Henry Ellis, formerly our ambassador to Persia, whose intimate personal acquaintance with China and India, as well as with Persia, rendered him peculiarly calculated to form a just estimate The moral causes of a difference so striking may perhaps occur to the reader of the subjoined work the physical causes consist, it may reasonably be supposed, in the advantages which China possesses from its geographical situation, in the generally favourable climate, the average fertility of soil, and the great facility of internal intercourse with which the country has been favoured by nature, and which has been still farther improved by art. The *early advancement* of China, in the general history of the globe, may likewise be accounted for, in some measure, by natural and physical causes, and by the position of the whole of that vast country (with a very trivial exception) within the

temperate zone. On this point the author will repeat some observations which he long since made in another place; that "an attentive survey of the tropical regions of the earth, where food is produced in the greatest abundance, will seem to justify the conclusion, that *extreme* fertility, or power of production, has been rather unfavourable to the progress of the human race; or, at least, that the industry and advancement of nations have appeared in some measure to depend on a certain *proportion* between their necessities and their natural resources. Man is by nature an indolent animal, and without the stimulant of necessity will, in the first instance, get on as well as he can with the provision that nature has made for him. In the warm and fertile regions of the tropics, or rather of the equinoctial, where lodging and clothing, the two necessary things after food, are rendered almost superfluous by the climate, and where food itself is produced with very little exertion,* we find how small a progress has in most instances been made; while, on the other hand, the whole of Europe, and by far the greater part of China, are situated beyond the northern tropic. If, again, we go farther north, to those arctic regions where man exists in a very miserable state, we shall find that there he has no materials to work

* See the observations of Humboldt on the use of the banana in New Spain.

upon Nature is such a niggard in the returns which she makes to labour, that industry is discouraged and *frozen*, as it were, in the outset In other words, the *proportion* is destroyed the equinoctial regions are too spontaneously genial and fertile, the arctic too unkindly barren, and on this account it would seem that industry, wealth, and civilisation have been principally confined to the temperate zone, where there is at once *necessity* to excite labour, and *production* to recompense it" There are, no doubt, other important circumstances, besides geographical situation, which influence the advancement of nations, but this at least is too considerable an ingredient to be left out of the calculation

Since the above observations were first written, I have been gratified by Sir Emerson Tennent's recognition of their truth in his late valuable work on Ceylon, where he quotes them, and varies the terms of the same proposition thus —

"The industry of man will always be the complement of the liberality of nature Where she confers or refuses everything, exertion loses either its impulse or reward, and man alike rests in ease or despondency But in that bounteous mean where the earth yields or withholds her gifts in proportion as they are sought for and elaborated, men, under the conjoint influence of necessity and hope, mature the intellectual and physical powers on which

invention and energy are dependent, but which lie dormant and undeveloped when the lavish luxuriance or the hopeless sterility of nature withdraws the motive or the recompense, and renders labour respectively superfluous or vain."

J. F. D.

CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE.

China little known to the ancients — Embassy from Marcus Antoninus — Nestorian Christians — Arabian travellers · Ibn Batuta — Mahomedanism — Jews — First Catholic missions — Marco Polo — Portuguese — Chinese opinion of Europeans — Pinto — Desire for foreign commerce — Settlement of Macao — Fruitless embassies to Peking — Catholic missions — Quarrels of missionaries — Persecutions — Spaniards — Dutch at Formosa; expelled by Chinese — Russian embassies.

It is intended in the following pages to give such an account of the manners and customs, the social, political, and religious institutions, together with the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and commerce of China, as may be deemed interesting to the general reader. The most fitting introduction to this sketch will be, a cursory view of the early acquaintance of the western world with the country of which we are about to treat, followed up by some notices of the more modern intercourse of Europeans, and particularly the English, with the Chinese.

Antiquity affords us but a few uncertain hints regarding an empire so far removed to the utmost limits of Eastern Asia as to have formed no part in the aspirations of Macedonian or of Roman dominion. Were a modern conqueror to stop on the banks of the Ganges, and sigh that he had no more nations to subdue, what has been admired in the pupil of Aristotle himself would be a mere absurdity in the most ignorant chieftain of these more

enlightened times. We may reasonably hope that the science and civilisation which have already so greatly enlarged the bounds of our knowledge of foreign countries may, by diminishing the vulgar admiration for such pests and scourges of the human race as military conquerors have usually proved, advance and facilitate the peaceful intercourse of the most remote countries with each other, and thereby increase the general stock of knowledge and happiness among mankind.

It seems sufficiently clear that the *Seres* mentioned by Horace, and other Latin writers, were not the Chinese.* This name has, with greater probability, been interpreted as referring to another people of Asia, inhabiting a country to the westward of China; and the texture, termed by the Romans *serica*, in all likelihood meant a cotton rather than a silken manufacture, which latter was distinguished by the name *bombycina*. There appears sufficient evidence, however, for the fact, that some of the ancients were not altogether ignorant of the existence of such a people. Arrian speaks of the Sinæ, or Thinæ, in the remotest parts of Asia, by whom were exported the raw and manufactured silks which were brought by the way of Bactria (Bokhara) westwards. It was under the race of Han, perhaps the most celebrated era of Chinese history, that an envoy is stated to have been sent in A.D. 94, by the seventeenth emperor of that dynasty, to seek some intercourse with the western world. This minister is said to have reached Arabia; and as it is certain that *Hoty*, the prince by whom he was deputed, was the first sovereign of China who introduced the use of eunuchs into the palace,

* It is noticed by Florus that ambassadors came from the Seres to Augustus; but Horace notices the Seres in a way which makes it unlikely they should have been the Chinese. "Nec *sollicitus times* quid *Seres*, et regnata Cyro Bactra parent."

it may be deemed probable that he borrowed them from thence The contests of the Chinese with the Tartars, even at that early period, are stated to have been the occasion of a Chinese general reaching the borders of the Caspian at the time when Trajan was Emperor of Rome The growing consumption among the luxurious Latins of the valuable and beautiful silk stuffs with which they were supplied through the medium of India, seems to have tempted the Emperor Marcus Antoninus to despatch an embassy to the country which was reported to produce those manufactures The numerous obstacles presented by a land journey induced him to send his mission by sea, A D 161 Like most attempts of the kind, this appears to have been an entire failure, and the ambassadors returned from China without having paved the way to a more frequent or intimate intercourse with that secluded country

The Jesuits have informed us that some of the Romish missionaries discovered, in the year 1625, at one of the principal cities of the province Shensy, an inscription in Syriac letters, recording the first introduction of Christianity into China in the year 635 by certain Nestorian bishops, who had been driven eastward by persecutions in the Roman provinces. We are not indebted, however, to these refugees for any early account of the country Their existence in the same province of Shensy, at the period when Marco Polo visited China, is clearly stated by that traveller, as may be seen in Marsden s edition, page 401 To those who travelled by land from Syria and other countries bordering on the Mediterranean, it was the easiest of access, as being the most westerly point of the empire towards Peking, and they were probably induced to settle there, from finding it one of the most populous and civilized portions of China at that early period

Marco Polo, besides, states that in a city in the neigh-

Chinese as they are therein described, and the same people as we know them at the present day, although a period of 1000 years, nearly, has since elapsed, nor can the occurrence of one or two very remarkable discrepancies be considered as any impugnment of the general veracity of these travellers, where there is, upon the whole, so much of sound and correct information The contradictions have, in fact, evidently proceeded from some confusion in the original manuscripts, by which observations that had reference to other countries lying in their route, and which are true of those countries at the present time, have become incorporated with the account of China itself These Arabians describe a city called Canfu, which was probably Canton, at which place a very ancient mosque exists to this day The frequency of fires, and the long detention of ships, from various causes, as stated by them, might be related of that emporium of foreign trade even at present "This city," they observe, "stands on a great river, some days distant from the entrance, so that the water here is fresh" It seems at that time to have been the port allotted to the Arabian merchants who came by sea, and the travellers notice "many unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither, which having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised it upon the foreigners and the masters of ships" We learn that the port was at length forsaken, in consequence of the extortions of the *mandarins* of those days, and "the merchants returned in crowds to Siraf and Oman" It is remarkable that the travellers describe the entrance to the port of Canfu as the "gates of China," which may possibly be a translation of Hoo-mun, "Tiger's Gate," or *Boca Tigris*, as it is called from the Portuguese

These Arabians mention in particular the relief afforded

to the people from the public granaries during famine. The salt-tax, as it now exists, and the use of tea, are thus noticed:—"The emperor also reserves to himself the revenues that arise from salt, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities, to the amount of vast sums." The public imposts are stated to have consisted in duties on salt and tea, with a poll-tax, which last has since been commuted into a tax on lands: these Arabians likewise mention the *bamboo* as the universal panacea in matters of police; and they very correctly describe the Chinese copper money, as well as porcelain, wine made from rice, the maintenance of public teachers in the towns, the idolatry derived from India, and the ignorance of astronomy, in which the Arabians were their first instructors. It is, in fact, impossible to comprise within our limits all the pertinent remarks, or even a small proportion of the correct information, which may be found in this curious and antique relic of early Arabian enterprise. From the lights which it affords, as well as from other sources of information relating to the first intercourse of the Mahomedans with China, it has with tolerable certainty been inferred that, previous to the Mongol Tartar conquest, they resorted to that rich country by sea chiefly, and in the character of traders.

Subsequent to the establishment of the Mongol Tartar dynasty by Zenghis Khan, China was visited by the Arab, Ibn Batuta, whose travels have been translated by Professor Lee. He describes very truly the paper circulation instituted by the Mongols, a scheme which subsequently failed, in consequence of this paper being rendered utterly worthless by excessive issues, and the bad faith of the government, which derived a profit from the circulation. Even at that period Batuta observes that "they did not

buy or sell with the dirhem or dinar, for, should any one get these coins into his possession, he would melt them down immediately" If we may believe him, the Chinese junks in his time sailed as far as Calicut, and he himself embarked in one of them on his voyage to China

The Mahomedan creed seems to have been established and protected as the religion of a considerable part of the population soon after the Mongol conquest, in the thirteenth century, and it meets with perfect toleration at the present day, its professors being freely admitted to government offices, from which Christians are rigidly excluded There is a considerable mosque at Canton, of great antiquity, and forming, with its pagoda or minaret, a conspicuous object in the approach to the city by the river Numbers of that persuasion occurred in every part of the route of the two British missions Some gentlemen of the embassy were walking, in 1816, with Dr Morrison, at a village about fifty miles from Peking, when they observed inscribed, in Chinese, on the lantern of a poor shopman "An old Mahomedan" Being asked whence his progenitors came, the old man answered, "From the western ocean,' but he could give no further information, except that his family had resided there for five generations Dr Morrison met with another near Nanking, holding a government office, who said that his sect reached China during the Tang dynasty, or about the period of the visit of those two Arabians whom we have already noticed, in the ninth century The same individual stated that at Kae-foong foo, in the province of Honan, there were some families of a persuasion denominated by the Chinese "the sect that plucks out the sinew, these, in all probability, must be the Jews mentioned by Grosier, who are said to have reached China as early as 200 years before Christ, in the time of the Han dynasty

In the eighteenth volume of the 'Lettres édifiantes et curieuses' there is contained an account of the pains taken by the Jesuits in China to investigate the origin of this remarkable colony of Jews at Kae-foong-foo. The most successful in his researches was Père Gozani, who, in a letter dated 1704, thus wrote:—"As regards those who are here called *Tiao-kin-kiao* (the sect that extracts the sinew), two years ago I was going to visit them, under the expectation that they were Jews, and with the hope of finding among them the Old Testament; but, as I have no knowledge of the Hebrew language, and met with great difficulties, I abandoned this scheme with the fear of not succeeding. Nevertheless, as you told me that I should oblige you by obtaining any information concerning this people, I have obeyed your directions, and executed them with all the care and exactness of which I was capable. I immediately made them protestations of friendship, to which they readily replied, and had the civility to come to see me. I returned their visit in the *le-pai-sou*, that is, in their synagogue, where they were all assembled, and where I held with them long conversations. I saw their inscriptions, some of which are in Chinese, and the rest in their own language. They showed me their religious books, and permitted me to enter even into the most secret place of their synagogue, whence they themselves (the commonalty) are excluded. There is a place reserved for the chief of the synagogue, who never enters there except with profound respect. They told me that their ancestors came from a kingdom of the west, called the kingdom of Judah, which Joshua conquered after having departed from Egypt, and passed the Red Sea and the Desert; that the number of Jews who migrated from Egypt was about 600,000 men. They assured me that their alphabet had twenty-seven letters, but that they

commonly made use of only twenty two, which accords with the declaration of St Jerome, that the Hebrew has twenty two letters, of which five are double When they read the Bible in their synagogue they cover the face with a transparent veil, in memory of Moses, who descended from the mountain with his face covered, and who thus published the Decalogue and the Law of God to his people, they read a section every Sabbath day Thus the Jews of China, like the Jews of Europe, read all the Law in the course of the year he who reads places the *Ta-king* (great sacred book) on the chair of Moses, he has his face covered with a very thin cotton veil, at his side is a prompter, and some paces below a Moula, to correct the prompter should he err They spoke to me respecting paradise and hell in a very foolish way There is every appearance of what they said being drawn from the Talmud I spoke to them of the Messiah promised in Scripture, but they were very much surprised at what I said, and when I informed them that his name was Jesus they replied that mention was made in the Bible of a holy man named Jesus, who was the son of Sirach, but they knew not the Jesus of whom I spoke *

The first pope who appears to have sent a mission for the conversion of the Tartars or Chinese to the Romish faith was Innocent IV He despatched Giovanni Carpini, a monk, through Russia, in the year 1246, to Baatu Khan, on the banks of the Volga, from whence they were conducted to the Mongol Tartar court, just as the Great Khan was about to be installed Carpini was astonished by the display of immense treasures, and, having been kindly treated, was sent back with a friendly letter he was rather pleased than scandalized by the near resem

* For further particulars of the Jews in China, see Chinese Repository vol iii p 172

blance of the rites of the Chinese Budhists to the forms of Romish worship, and inferred from thence that they either already were, or would very soon be, Christians. In 1253 Rubruquis was in like manner despatched by St. Louis, during his crusade to the Holy Land, with directions to procure the friendship of the Mongols. He reached at length the court of the Great Khan, where, like his predecessor, he observed the near resemblance of Lama worship to the forms of Romanism, and concluded that it must be derived from a spurious Christianity, perhaps that of the Nestorians.

It is needless in this place to enter into any detailed notice of the work of Marco Polo, which has been illustrated with so much erudition and industry by our countryman Marsden. The doubts which were once entertained of the veracity of Marco have long since given way to admiration of his simple and faithful narrative. Most of our readers will, perhaps, be aware that, in the reign of Coblai Khan, the Mongol conqueror of China, Nicholas and Matthew Paolo, or Polo, two noble Venetians, reached his court: they were extremely well received, and invited to return to China on their departure for Europe. In 1274 they accordingly came back, bearing letters from Pope Gregory X., and accompanied by young Marco, son to one of them. The youth, by his talents and good conduct, became a favourite with the Khan, and was employed by him for seventeen years, after which he, with some difficulty, obtained permission to return to his own country. The accounts which he gave at Venice of the vast wealth and resources of the Chinese empire appeared so incredible to Europeans in those days, that his tale was most undeservedly discredited, and he obtained the nickname of "Messer Marco Millione." Another account of Cathay, or China,

was some time after written by Hayton, an Armenian, and translated into Latin According to him, the Chinese considered the rest of the world as blind, or seeing with only one eye, while themselves alone were blessed with a perfect vision

John de Corvino, despatched to Asia in 1288 by Pope Nicholas IV, was the first successful promoter of the Romish faith in China, he arrived at Cambalu (as Peking was called by the Tartars), and met with a kind reception from the emperor, notwithstanding the hostility of the jealous Nestorians He was allowed to build a church, furnished with a steeple and bells, and is said to have baptized some thousands of converts, as well as to have instructed numbers of children in the Latin language and the tenets of Christianity The news of his progress reached Clement V on his accession to the popedom, and he was immediately appointed Bishop of Cambalu, with a numerous body of priests, who were despatched to join him in his labours On the death of Corvino, however, it is probable that no successor, possessed of the same enterprise and industry, was ready to succeed him, for the establishment which he had founded appears to have ceased, or at least sunk into insignificance

Abundant evidence is afforded by Chinese records that a much more liberal as well as enterprising disposition once existed, in respect to foreign intercourse, than has prevailed since It was only on the conquest of the empire by the Manchows that the European trade was limited to Canton, and the jealous and watchful Tartar dominion, established by this handful of barbarians, has unquestionably occasioned many additional obstacles to an increased commerce with the rest of the world We have already noticed the Chinese junks which were seen

by Ibn Batuta as far west as the coast of Malabar, about the end of the thirteenth century. Even before the seventh century, it appears from native records that missions were sent from China to the surrounding nations, with a view to inviting mutual intercourse. The benefits of industry and trade have always been extolled by the people of that country; the contempt, therefore, with which the present Tartar government affects to treat the European commerce must be referred entirely to the fears which it entertains as to the influence of increased knowledge on the stability of its dominion.

According to the Chinese books, commerce, on its first establishment at Canton, remained free from duties for many years, but its increasing importance soon led the officers of government to convert it into a source of gain. As in Siam and Cochin-China at present, the pre-emption of all imported goods seems at one time to have been claimed; but this did not last long, and the trade, after having continued to increase at Canton, was subsequently carried to other ports of the empire. The endeavour to prevent the exportation of silver appears to have been an error very early established; but the regulations on this subject, as might be expected, have always been as futile as they are at the present day.

It was not many years after the passage of the Cape by De Gama that the Portuguese, in 1516, made their first appearance at Canton. Their early conduct was not calculated to impress the Chinese with any favourable idea of Europeans; and when, in course of time, they came to be competitors with the Dutch and the English, the contests of mercantile avarice tended to place them all in a still worse point of view. To this day the character of Europeans is represented as that of a race of men intent alone on the gains of commercial traffic, and regard-

less altogether of the means of attainment Struck by the perpetual hostilities which existed among these foreign adventurers, assimilated in other respects by a close resemblance in their costumes and manners, the government of the country became disposed to treat them with a degree of jealousy and exclusion which it had not deemed necessary to be exercised towards the more peaceable and well ordered Arabs, their predecessors

The first places of resort to the Portuguese were the islands at the mouth of the Canton river * The vessel despatched by Alfonso Albuquerque, the captain general of Malacca, reached one of these, under the command of Perestrello, and as his voyage proved very successful, it had the effect of engaging others in similar enterprises. Being distinguished as the first person who ever conducted a ship to China under a European flag, he was followed in the ensuing year by a fleet of eight vessels under the command of Perez de Andrade, who, on reaching the coast, was surrounded by junks of war, and his movements watched with suspicion He was however permitted to proceed with two of his vessels to Canton, and while successfully negotiating for a trade, received accounts that the remainder of his fleet had been attacked by pirates † Some of his vessels returned with cargoes to Malacca, the remainder sailed in company with some junks belonging to the Loo-choo Islands, for the province of Fokien on the east coast and succeeded in establishing a colony at Ningpo The Portuguese subsequently brought their families to that port, carrying on a gainful trade with other parts of China as well as with Japan But in the year 1545 the provincial government, pro

* We here quote from a small work printed at Macao in 1831 but never regularly published called The Canton Miscellany

† Just as they might be now on the same coast

voked by their ill conduct, expelled them the place, and thus was for ever lost to them an establishment on the continent of China, in one of the provinces of the empire best adapted to the ends of European trade. The general behaviour of the Portuguese had, from the first, been calculated to obliterate the favourable impression which the Chinese had received from the justice and moderation of Perez de Andrade. Shortly after his visit a squadron, under the orders of his brother Simon, was engaged in open hostilities, having established a colony at *San-shan*, near Macao (vulgarly called St. John's), and erected a fort there: they were finally defeated by a Chinese naval force, but continued to commit acts of piracy on the native trading vessels. Subsequently to this career of violence, and during the more recent periods of their connexion with China at Macao, the Portuguese appear, on the other hand, to have entertained too extreme an apprehension of giving umbrage to the native government; and while they imagined they were securing favour to themselves, their conduct has often served to encourage Chinese encroachment.

Among the early and desperate adventurers from Portugal, the exploits of Ferdinand Mendes Pinto have, by the help of some exaggeration, handed his name down as one of the principal. Having arrived with a crew of other desperadoes at Ningpo, he learned from some Chinese that to the north-east there was an island containing the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, full of treasure. Pinto and his companions succeeded in finding the place, and plundered the tombs, in which they found a quantity of silver: being attacked, they were obliged to retire with only part of the booty; and a gale having overtaken them upon their return, in the neighbourhood of Nanking, only fourteen Portuguese escaped with their lives: these were

taken by the Chinese, and after some maltreatment were sent to Nanking, and condemned to be whipped and to lose each man a thumb They were next conducted to Peking, and on his way thither Pinto had occasion to admire the manners of the Chinese, their love of justice, and the good order and industry that prevailed among them Arrived at Peking, they were at length condemned to one year's hard labour but before the time expired they were set at liberty by the Tartars, who were then invading the country Pinto and his companions now joined their liberators, and, while in their service, saw one of the chief Lamas, whom he called their pope A curious description of this Tartar hierarchy has in later times been given by Pere Gaubil The Portuguese adventurers at length quitted the Tartars, found their way to the coast, and embarked again for Ningpo Being treacherously abandoned on a desolate island, where they had almost died of hunger, Pinto and his companions were taken off by a pirate, and soon afterwards driven by adverse winds on the coast of Japan On his return to Ningpo this adventurer gave his countrymen so favourable an account of what he had seen, that a large expedition was fitted out for Japan several, however, of the vessels were lost, and Pinto himself driven on the Loo-choo Islands, where he and his companions were taxed with the murder of some natives of Loo choo, at the time when Malacca was taken by the Portuguese The king, being told that all his countrymen were pirates, gave orders that Pinto and the rest should be quartered, and their limbs exposed they were saved, however, by the interposition of some native women, and Pinto at length returned to Malacca He afterwards engaged in a mission to Japan It was about the same time, in 1552, that the famous apostle of the East, St Francis Xavier, con-

cerning whom so many credible and edifying miracles have been related, died at San-shan, or St. John's. The remains of his tomb are seen there at this day; and the Bishop of Macao used to make an annual visit there, for the purpose of celebrating mass, and bringing away a portion of the consecrated earth.

The first Portuguese embassy, and of course the first from any European power by sea, to Peking took place as early as 1520, in the person of Thomas Pirez, the object being to establish a factory at Canton as well as at Macao. Advices, however, had preceded him of the ill conduct and violence of Simon de Andrade; and, after a course of humiliation, the unfortunate Pirez was sent back under custody to Canton, the provincial government of which place thus early showed its jealousy of any attempt on the part of strangers to communicate with the court. Pirez, on his arrival, was robbed of his property, thrown into prison, and ultimately, it is supposed, put to death. The various embassies to Peking, which have since followed in three successive centuries, have met with different kinds of treatment; but, in whatever spirit conducted, they have been equally unsuccessful in the attainment of any important points of negotiation.

In the following year Alfonso de Melo arrived in China, ignorant of the events which had taken place, and having altogether six vessels under his command. "These," a Portuguese writer observes, "were sent on shore for water, but returned with blood." They became immediately involved in conflicts with the Chinese, who put to death upwards of twenty prisoners that fell into their hands; and the squadron shortly afterwards sailed away from China.

We have seen already that, previous to the arrival of Europeans on its shores, the government of the country

had given every encouragement to foreign commerce, and that, at a very early period, Chinese junks had proceeded to the coasts of the peninsula of India Statistical records exist to the present day, having reference to foreign intercourse, which display a perfect knowledge of the advantages of trade, and form a striking contrast with the indifference which the present Tartar government affects to feel towards it. Subsequent to a temporary prohibition of foreign trade, a certain Fooyuen of Canton thus addressed the emperor —"A great part of the necessary expenses of both the government and the people at Canton is supplied by the customs levied on merchants, and if foreign ships do not come, both public and private concerns are thrown into much embarrassment and distress It is entreated, therefore, that the Franks be permitted to trade Three or four advantages result therefrom In the first place, besides the regular tribute of the several foreign states, a small percentage has been taken from the remainder, adequate to the supply of the provincial expenditure. Secondly, the treasury appropriated for the annual supply of the army in Canton and Quong sy is entirely drained, and our dependence is on trade to provide against exigencies. Thirdly, the contiguous province has looked to Canton for supplies, being unable to comply with any demands made on it, but when foreign ships have free intercourse, then high and low are all mutually supplied Fourthly, the people live by commerce A man holding a quantity of goods sells them, and procures what himself requires thus things pass from hand to hand, and, in their course, supply men with food and raiment The government is thereby assisted, the people enriched, and both have means afforded them on which they may depend' Admissions of a similar nature, of a very late date, contained in addresses from the pro-

vincial government to Peking, have proved that the Chinese authorities are by no means unmindful of the revenues derived from the European trade.

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the Portuguese established themselves at Macao, the only European colony that, with very limited success, had as yet been planted on the coast of China. It seems that they had temporary shelter on shore as early as 1537. By bribery and solicitation, leave was obtained for erecting sheds to dry goods, which were introduced under the name of tribute. The foreigners were by degrees permitted to build substantial houses, and the petty mandarins connived at an increasing population, the establishment of an internal government, and the influx of priests, with their endeavours to convert the Chinese.* The story of important services rendered against pirates, and an imperial edict transferring the dominion of Macao to the Portuguese, seems unfounded. Indeed a bishop of Macao wrote, in 1777, that it was "by paying a ground-rent that the Portuguese acquired the temporary use and profit of Macao *ad nutum* of the emperor." This ground-rent, amounting to 500 taëls per annum, is regularly paid to the present day; and Chinese mandarins periodically inspect the Portuguese forts, as well as levy duties on the Macao shipping. Nothing, therefore, can be farther from the truth than that the Portuguese possess the sovereignty of that place. In 1573 the Chinese erected a barrier-wall across the isthmus which separates Macao from the island of Heang-shan. A civil mandarin was very early appointed to reside within the town, and govern it in the name of the Emperor of China: this officer, called a Tso-

* A small compilation of ancient records concerning Macao was printed, by a Swedish gentleman long resident there, in 1832, and from him our notes are derived.

tang, keeps a watchful eye on the [illegible] and communicates information to h[illegible] The [illegible] are not allowed to build new [illegible] licence The only privilege they possess [illegible] ing themselves while the Chinese [illegible] is entirely under the control [illegible] Spaniards, indiscriminately with the [illegible] right of trading to Macao [illegible] was, in 1725, by an order from the [illegible] twenty five, and it is actually [illegible] that number The [illegible] dynasty sent to M[illegible] force against the [illegible] inhabitants of [illegible] the present Ta[illegible] or native pirates, [illegible] government, Ma[illegible] serve against them, at a [illegible] vincial government. [illegible] means than those [illegible] and the Portuguese [illegible] vileges for their [illegible] with their former [illegible]

The advantages which Maca[illegible] in respect to the Chinese duties, which are [illegible] ably less at the former place than at the [illegible] perhaps be made available to a certain extent [illegible] traders * The capital and enterprise of the [illegible] inhabitants are not sufficient to employ the [illegible] which they actually possess Several of [illegible] freighted in part by Chinese for the Ma[illegible] islands. Although the freight is [illegible] junks, the property on board is con[illegible]

* Written in 18[illegible]

—and the Chinese do not practise insurance. They frequently send adventures, too, on board English country ships, or those pertaining to the Indian trade; for there is a duty amounting to 10 per cent. additional charged on Portuguese ships at our eastern presidencies. The trade of Macao is altogether in a very depressed state, and the whole income from customs, which amounted in 1830 to scarcely 70,000 taëls, is insufficient to meet the expenditure. The entire Portuguese population, including slaves, is not above 5000, while the Chinese of Macao are calculated to exceed 30,000.

It seems needless to notice the several fruitless embassies which the Portuguese, since their earlier resort to China, have sent to Peking, and the last of which occurred in 1753: they exhibit the usual spectacle of arrogance on the one side and profitless submission on the other. It will be more interesting to take a short view of the Romish missions, which at first promised to make rapid and extensive progress, but were ultimately defeated by the dissensions among the several orders of priests, and the indiscreet zeal which some of them displayed against the ancient institutions of the Chinese. In 1579 Miguel Ruggiero, an Italian Jesuit, reached Canton, and in a few years was joined by Matthew Ricci, who may justly be considered as the founder of the Romish mission. The literati of the country praised such of the precepts of Christianity as coincided with those of Confucius; but they found a stumbling-block in the doctrines of original sin, of eternal torments, of the Incarnation, of the Trinity, and of not being allowed concubines as well as a wife. No difficulties, however, could dishearten Ricci, who, by his intimate knowledge of the mathematical and experimental sciences, had the means of making friends and converts. He soon abandoned the garb of a bonze, which

he at first injudiciously assumed, and put on that of the literati. With great good sense he saw the folly of attempting at once to contend with those prejudices of the Chinese which were blended with such of their institutions as they considered most sacred, and which in fact formed the very foundations of their social system. Montesquieu has justly argued, from the peculiar character of the Chinese customs, against the facility of introducing material changes in them, and especially of substituting the Romish observances. The assembling of women in churches, their private communication with priests, the prohibition of offerings at the tombs of parents, were all abominations in their eyes which could never be endured. Ricci, for such reasons, made a distinction between *civil* and *sacred* rites, admitting the former in his converts, and particularly the ceremonies at tombs, and his success accordingly was considerable.

When he had passed about seventeen years in the country, Ricci proceeded to Peking, and, by the favour of one of the eunuchs of the palace, became introduced to the emperor's notice, his presents being received, and a place appointed for his residence. Other Jesuits joined the mission, and established themselves at different points from Canton to Peking, proceeding quietly, and with great success, as long as they could remain unmolested by the hot and indiscreet zeal of the several orders of monks, who, in their haste to attack the Chinese prejudices, ensured their own discomfiture. The most distinguished of *the Jesuits, for his talents and knowledge, was Father* Adam Schaal, by birth a German, he reached Peking at the time when the last Chinese dynasty of Ming was about to be expelled by the Manchow Tartars. Through the influence of a Chinese Christian, named *Paul Siu,* who was a Colao, or principal minister, and by his own

extensive knowledge of the physical sciences, Schaal became a great favourite at court, and even retained his place after the Tartars had possessed themselves of the empire. The first Manchow emperor, Shun-chy, to whom he easily proved the ignorance of the Arabian mathematicians, made him president of the Astronomical Board: and his own merits were a sufficient explanation of his success, without any need of the lying *miracles* with which Père du Halde has not blushed to disfigure his work. According to him, Adam Schaal being condemned to death soon after the Tartar conquest, "this sentence was carried to the princes of the blood and to the regent for confirmation: but, as often as they attempted to read it, a dreadful earthquake dispersed the assembly. The consternation was so great that they granted a general pardon: all the prisoners were released except Father Adam, and he did not get his liberty until a month afterwards, when the royal palace was consumed by the flames."

Permission was given to the Jesuits to build two churches at Peking, and new labourers were allowed to enter the country: among these Ferdinand Verbiest, another German Jesuit, and a man of distinguished science, became the coadjutor of Adam Schaal. On the accession of Kanghy, then a boy of eight or nine years of age, under the tutorship of four Tartars, the disputes which ensued with the intolerant Dominicans produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of the rulers of China. Accusations were preferred against the missionaries, and their zeal to make converts was condemned as dangerous. It is said that Schaal died of chagrin, and that Verbiest was compelled for some time to abscond. When Kanghy, however, a monarch of enlarged and liberal mind, came to exercise the government in his own

person, Verbiest was made president of the astronomers, and through his influence the expelled missionaries were allowed to return to their churches. By the aid of Verbiest the emperor was enabled to cast guns, and to compose a mathematical work, with tables of logarithms. During this reign, although the emperor was never himself a convert, the state of Christianity in China was vastly more flourishing than it is at present, after the lapse of above a century and a half it was placed by Kanghy on the same footing of toleration with Mahomedanism and Budhism. In the itineraries of Le Compte, and other Jesuits, churches with European priests are mentioned at almost every principal city. At Foshan, about four leagues above Canton Père Bouvet speaks of a Milanese Jesuit as presiding over a church with a flock of 10,000 persons: at this day there is perhaps not one single individual at that same place.

The decree of Kanghy in 1692, permitting the exercise of Christianity, was abrogated by his successor Yoong-ching, who expelled the missionaries from the provinces. These spiritual delegates, meanwhile, had been in constant collision with the native authorities throughout the empire, and perpetually at strife among themselves, and the jurisdiction of the field which they occupied became also a subject of discussion between the kings of Portugal and the popes. In consequence of the disputes which had arisen, from a very early period, among the Jesuits and the other orders concerning Chinese rites and ceremonies, Matthew Ricci had drawn up for the mission a number of *rules in which he considered the objectionable customs* as merely civil and secular. Morales, however, a Spanish Dominican, declared them to be idolatrous and as such they were condemned by Innocent X. Martinez, a Jesuit subsequently proved that these rites were of a civil nature,

in which light they came to be allowed by Alexander VII. Thus two opposite opinions were sanctioned by papal infallibility, and the kingdom of anti-Christ was divided against itself.

Notwithstanding every endeavour made by the more sensible and temperate of the missionaries to compromise the differences, a zealot, named Carolus Maigrot, *soi-disant* bishop of some Chinese provinces, issued a mandate in which, unmindful of the decree of Alexander VII., he decided that *T'hien* signified only the visible and material *Heaven*, and that the Chinese rites were idolatrous. Kanghy himself, in 1700, declared, in an edict which was transmitted to the pope, that *T'hien* means the true God, and that the customs enjoined by the ritual of China were of a civil, and not a religious character. The decision of Maigrot, however, was supported and confirmed by a decree of Clement XI. To settle disputes which had disgraced the Christian cause for nearly a century, Tournon was despatched as apostolical vicar and legate to China; but this selection was not a wise one, for Mosheim describes him as a man "whose good disposition was under the influence of a narrow spirit and a weak understanding." Shortly after his arrival in 1705, having received Pope Clement's decree, he issued a mandate that no Chinese Christian should ever practise the customs which had been interdicted by the Bishop of Rome! The Emperor Kanghy, justly offended with this invasion of his sovereignty, promulged an edict in which he tolerated the missionaries who preached the doctrine of Ricci, but declared his resolution to persecute those who followed the opinions of Maigrot. In 1720 the patriarch Mezzabarba was sent as legate from Rome, with the intention of carrying the points in dispute; but finding Kanghy determined never to allow the pope any kind of jurisdiction

over his Chinese subjects, he made certain temporary concessions with a view to saving the Romish religion from the disgrace of being banished

At length, by an imperial decree of Yoong ching, in 1723, these disturbers of the public peace were formally denounced A few monks were tolerated in Peking, a few remained concealed in the provinces, but the larger number were driven to Macao, with a positive injunction to leave the country by the first ship The more enlightened and sensible Jesuits had acted with greater moderation, and the influence of their protectors reconciled them with the court Ignatius Kœgler was appointed by the emperor president of the Astronomical Board, with a title of honour On the accession of Kien loong in 1736 his fear of the mischievous priests who were labouring in secret to subvert his authority over his own subjects, led him to seek them out with increased vigilance Many of them were detected in disguise in almost every province these were imprisoned, and their converts either fled or returned to their duty To mitigate the severity of the persecutions, the Jesuits residing at Peking spared neither supplications nor bribes, but with little effect, until the decree of 1785, nearly fifty years after Kien loong first came to the throne, released the imprisoned monks, and allowed them either to join their brethren at Peking, or proceed to Europe From that date to the present time the Romish mission has been in a declining state, and occasionally suffered renewals of persecution According to a return made by Père Marchini, procurator of the Propaganda mission at Macao, the actual number of European priests in China, in 1810, was twenty nine, with about 200,000 native Christians Since that date the last of the Europeans has been sent away from Peking, but a few still continue to lurk among the provinces

The Spaniards, although they possess the privilege of trading at both Macao and Canton, as well as at Amoy, have derived less advantage from an intercourse with China than most other nations, notwithstanding the vast advantage which they possess in the locality of Manilla and the Philippine Islands, within a few days' sail of China, and approached with equal facility in either monsoon. It has been suggested that, had bonded warehouses, with a system of drawbacks on re-exportation, been established at Manilla, one-half of the trade to China might have been centred there at present. The heavy charges and vexatious conduct of the Chinese government, together with the close monopoly of the Hong merchants, would have driven many a ship from Canton, could a neighbouring port have been found with a supply of goods in case of need. Formerly American and English ships often found it convenient to touch at Manilla for a cargo of rice, by the importation of which to Canton they avoided the heavy port charges: but so ignorant is the Spanish government of the commonest principles of political economy, that rice is forbidden to be exported from Luconia when its price is above a certain limit.

The Dutch met with little success in their attempts to open a trade with China until 1624, when, by means of assistance from Batavia, they were enabled to form a settlement on the west side of Formosa, opposite to the Chinese coast. The vicinity of this to Manilla and Macao excited the jealousy of the Spaniards and Portuguese, as well as of the Chinese government. Liberty of trade with that empire was at first denied them; but the Dutch annoyed the coasts with their ships, until it was agreed that, on their evacuating the Pescadores (some small islands between the main land and Formosa), and confining themselves to the latter, liberty of commerce should be granted them.

A fort was built at the principal harbour, on the south-west side of the island, named Fort Zealand, and measures were taken to civilise and reclaim the aboriginal inhabitants of the country In the mean while Peking fell a prey to the Manchow Tartars in 1644, and all the northern provinces, with most of the southern, acknowledged in a short time the foreign dominion Many thousands of Chinese families emigrated from their country in the course of the struggle, and no less than 25,000 are said to have transported themselves to Formosa This emigration tended greatly to the improvement of that new country, and was at first encouraged by the Dutch. but their fears were alarmed by the increasing numbers when they could no longer prevent them, and the influx of Chinese was a principal cause of the final expulsion of the Dutch from that settlement This forms an episode in the history of European intercourse with China, deserving of some particular notice, and here follows the account nearly as it stands, abridged from Nieuhoff, in the second volume of the Chinese Repository *

A Chinese, for some time servant to the Portuguese at Macao, and who had been baptized by the name of Nicholaus, grew by foreign trade to be the richest merchant in the country, and when the Manchows invaded the empire, he equipped, at his own expense, a small fleet against the Tartars His success attracted a vast number of vessels, until he at length became commander of a very formidable fleet After several battles he was invited by the Tartar chief to Peking, with the offer of a high title, which he accepted, leaving the command of his fleet to his son *Kuo-shing*, called, in Portuguese orthography, Koshinga. The father was not permitted to return (being kept probably as a hostage), but the son, notwithstanding,

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continued faithful to the Chinese cause, and opposed the enemies of his country. In the course of three or four years, however, the Tartars, by force of bribery, contrived to drive him from the coast to the numerous islands in the vicinity: and the large and fertile country of Formosa, now inhabited by numerous Chinese, became the object of his hopes. The Dutch were aware that the secret agents of Koshinga held a correspondence with the resident Chinese, and, foreseeing the danger, increased the garrison of Fort Zealand in 1650. They still remained unmolested for a time, until the exiled leader, being defeated before Nanking, had no refuge left for himself and his numerous followers except Formosa. On the application of Coyet, governor of the settlement, twelve ships were despatched from Batavia in 1660, with orders that, if the alarm at Formosa proved groundless, the fleet should proceed against Macao. The garrison now consisted of 1500 men, and the Dutch demanded of Koshinga whether he was for peace or war. In his reply, by letter, he affected the most friendly disposition towards the settlement, and, still farther to lull the Hollanders into security, sent several merchant-vessels to Formosa. The governor's suspicions were not removed, as Koshinga still continued his preparations at Amoy; but the majority of the council being of opinion that there was no present danger, all the ships were ordered away to their respective destinations. The admiral, on his return to Batavia, accused the governor of unreasonable apprehensions; and the council, wearied with the expense, and with what they considered as the groundless fears of the governor, suspended him from office, and ordered him to Batavia to defend himself. His successor, M. Clenk, sailed for Formosa in June, 1661.

Meanwhile, the events which were taking place on the

island justified all the anticipations which had been thus contemned Soon after the departure of the Dutch fleet from Fort Zealand, Koshinga and his forces were in motion he embarked upwards of 20,000 of his best troops, and appeared before the settlement, where, assisted by thousands of his countrymen on shore, he soon began to land Having occupied with his forces a point which would cut off the communication between Fort Zealand and another on the opposite side of the entrance, the governor ordered out 240 men to dislodge him About 4000 Chinese had already occupied the place, but so confident were the Dutch that the enemy would not stand the fire, that they immediately attacked them The Chinese, instead of giving ground, returned the fire with musketry and arrows, and sent a detachment to attack them in the flanks The soldiers seeing this were alarmed and fled, leaving the captain and nineteen men in the hands of the enemy, while only half their company reached the fort alive The defence by sea was no better, for, though the four ships in port attacked the junks, and sunk some of them, one was burned by the Chinese fire vessels and another sailed away with the news for Batavia The Chinese now landed without opposition, and cut off all communication between the forts, as well as with the open country, while Koshinga summoned Fort Zealand, threatening to put all to the sword unless they surrendered at once

Deputies were now sent to the Chinese camp, which consisted of about 12,000 men armed in three different ways the first, with bows and arrows, the second, with only swords and shields, and the third, with back swords and pikes three or four feet long, with broad pointed heads of iron The deputies were introduced into the tent, where Koshinga sat in an elbow chair, behind a

square table, surrounded by "the chief commanders, clad in long robes, without arms, and in great silence, and with a most awful countenance." Koshinga replied, that "Formosa had always belonged to China; and now that the Chinese wanted it, the foreigners must quit the island immediately. If not, let them only hoist the red flag." On the following morning the red flag was seen over Fort Zealand, but the other fort was surrendered, with its garrison and cannon. All the men able to fight were now taken within the citadel, and the town itself set on fire, in order to deprive the besiegers of shelter; but the Chinese saved many of the buildings, and brought up twenty-eight pieces of cannon to bear against the fort. They were, however, so galled by the fire of the Dutch, that the streets were strewed with the killed, and the besieged, making a sally, spiked their guns. Koshinga, finding all his attacks fruitless, began a close blockade, and turned his rage on the open country, making the Dutch residents, and especially the ministers, prisoners; one of these was sent to Fort Zealand, to propose terms of surrender, on the refusal of which all the prisoners were to be put to death. This individual, by name Hambrocock, having left his wife and children with the enemy as hostages, like another Regulus exhorted the Dutch to a good defence, and returned to Koshinga with the governor's refusal. As might have been expected, both himself and all the other prisoners were put to death, including many of the women and children.

Only two days after the Council at Batavia had censured Coyet for his fears, and despatched his successor Clenk to Formosa, the ship which had sailed away arrived with the news of the attack on that place. They immediately revoked the censure, and fitted out ten ships, with 700 soldiers, for the island: but Clenk arrived first

off Fort Zealand, where he saw the red flag flying, and hundreds of Chinese vessels lying in the north roads He came to an anchor, and sent his despatches on shore, but, instead of landing himself, sailed away for Japan The succours from Batavia soon afterwards arrived, and the besieged began to act on the offensive, but they were unsuccessful in the attempt to dislodge the enemy from the town The garrison was now increased to the utmost, and the women and children, with the other useless persons, sent to Batavia These preparations checked the approaches of Koshinga, but the inconceivable imprudence of the Dutch lost them their advantage The Governor received letters from the Tartar Viceroy of Fokien (the opposite province), requesting his assistance in expelling the remains of Koshinga's forces from the coast, and promising his aid afterwards to the Dutch at Formosa Five ships were accordingly sent away for this purpose, but three were lost in a storm, and the remainder returned to Batavia The wish of Koshinga was complete. A deserter from the Dutch encouraged the besiegers, and showed them the weakest points They now assailed the fort from three batteries, and succeeded in making a breach, which they soon prepared to assault The Hollanders upon this began to deliberate, and the majority of the Council decided that the fort was untenable Accordingly, after a siege of nine months, with the loss of about 1600 men, Formosa was given up, and the Dutch returned to Java in 1662 Koshinga now became independent sovereign of the island, but in 1683 it was surrendered by his grandson to the Manchow Tartar dynasty

The intercourse of the Russians with China through Siberia not being of a maritime character, and confined altogether to the northern extremity of the empire, has

differed altogether from that of other European nations, and we have not space to enter into the details of its history. One attempt was made by them in 1806 to communicate with Canton by sea in two ships under the command of Captain Krusenstern; but an edict was then issued forbidding to Russia any trade except by land at the frontier station (established by mutual treaties) of Kiachta in Tartary. The most celebrated early embassies from Russia overland were those of Isbrand Ides in 1693; and of Ismaloff, sent by Peter the Great in 1719, an account of whose mission is well given by Mr. Bell of Antermony. The ambassador in both instances was treated with a degree of respect unusual at Peking, *and demonstrative of the estimation in which the power of* Russia was held there. Catherine I., in 1727, despatched Count Vladislavitch to China, as ambassador-extraordinary, and by him a treaty was concluded, by which the Russians were to have a church at Peking, with an establishment of priests; and four young Russians were to remain at the residence of the embassy, for the purpose of studying the language, and serving as interpreters between the two nations. The Russian mission now consists of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, who study the Manchow and Chinese languages. Their abode at Peking extends to a period of about ten years, at the end of which they are relieved by others from St. Petersburg.

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH INTERCOURSE TO THE FIRST EMBASSY

[illegible] Por— [illegible] er [illegible] or [illegible] he [illegible] ng barbarians — Conduct of a ship-master — Debts recovered from Chinese — Shocking case of an English gunner — Mission of Lord Macartney

WE now proceed to give a sketch of the early intercourse between Great Britain and China, the first attempt to establish which seems to have been as far back as 1596, when three ships were fitted out in charge of Benjamin Wood, bearing letters from Queen Elizabeth to the emperor, but the ships were lost on their way out, and no renewal of the project appears to have taken place The oldest record of the Company at Canton is dated April 6th, 1637, and commences thus —"In the latitude of 6½ degrees we took leave of the ship 'Planter,' whom God, we hope, hath conducted in safety Upon her was laden as per invoice appeareth," &c This was one of a fleet of five ships, of which the remaining four, the 'Dragon,' 'Sun,' 'Catherine,' and 'Ann,' proceeded on their way to *China, under the command of Captain Weddel* They first arrived at Acheen in Sumatra "At our reaching this (it is said) we found no Christians in the whole town, but there were three Dutchmen Their capital was small, as likewise their wit and manners, being fellows of former slender employment, and sent hither rather to oppose any

of our nation that should arrive in outfacing, outvying, and outlying them, than for any real intent or desire of trade." * The fleet proceeded on its way to China, and arrived off Macao on the 28th of May. Here the Portuguese did all in their power to misrepresent them to the Chinese, and prevent the chance of a trade. After several fruitless attempts to establish a peaceful arrangement, and some vain endeavours to depute persons from the fleet to open a negotiation at Canton, it was resolved that all the ships should sail up the river. They arrived in a few days at the river's mouth, at present called the Bogue, in the neighbourhood of the forts; "and being now furnished with some slender interpreters, they soon had speech with divers mandarins in the king's jounkes, to whom the cause of their arrival was declared, viz. to entertain peace and amity with them, to traffic freely as the Portugalls did, and to be forthwith supplied, for their moneys, with provisions for their ships: all which those mandarins promised to solicit with the prime men resident at Canton; and in the mean time desired an expectation of six days, which were granted; and the English ships rode with white ensigns on the poop; but their perfidious friends the Portugalls had in all that time, since the return of the pinnace, so beslandered them to the Chinese, reporting them to be rogues, thieves, beggars, and what not, that they became very jealous of the good meaning of the English; insomuch that, in the night-time, they put forty-

* This rancour against the Dutch was the consequence of the mutual jealousies which existed between the rival traders of the two countries at that time in the East. A treaty concluded with Holland, called the *treaty of defence*, in 1615, had no effect ultimately in producing harmony; and the dreadful massacre of Amboyna, in 1623, at length became the crowning act of cruelty and perfidy on the part of the Hollanders.

six of iron cast ordnance into the fort lying close to the brink of the river, each piece between six and seven hundredweight, and well proportioned, and after the end of four days, having, as they thought, sufficiently fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt, upon one of the barges passing by them to find a convenient watering-place Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did, on the sudden, display their bloody ensigns, and, weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope, whereupon, not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides, and, after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about one hundred men, which sight occasioned them, with great distractions, instantly to abandon the castle and fly, the boats' crews, in the mean time, without let or hindrance, entering the same, and displaying his Majesty's colours of Great Britain upon the walls, having the same night put aboard all their ordnance, fired the Council-house, and demolished what they could The boats of the fleet also seized a jounke, laden with boards and timber, and another with salt Another vessel of small moment was surprised, by whose boat a letter was sent to the chief mandarins at Canton, expostulating their breach of truce, excusing the assailing of the castle, and withal in fair terms requiring the liberty of trade This letter it seems was delivered, for, the next day, a mandarin of no great note, sometime a Portugal Christian, called Paulo Noretty, came towards the ships in a small boat with a white flag, to whom the English, having laid open the injuries received, and the sincere intent they had to establish fair trade and com-

merce, and were no way willing (but in their own defence) to oppose the China nation, presented certain gifts and dismissed him to his *masters*, who were *some of the chief mandarins*, *riding about a point of land not far from the ships*; who, being by him duly informed thereof, returned him again the same night with a small jounke, and full authority to carry up such as should be appointed to Canton, there to tender a petition, and to conclude further upon the manner of their future proceedings." The result was, that the blame of the late skirmish was laid by the mandarins on the slanders of the Portuguese, and, the captured guns being restored, the ships were supplied with cargoes.

No further trade, however, ensued for many years. Soon after this period the interior of China was distracted by the contests between the Manchow Tartars and Chinese, while the coasts were overrun by large fleets of pirates, under the leaders whom we have already had occasion to notice. Another attempt was made by the English in 1664 to establish a commercial intercourse with Canton. The Company's agents landed at Macao, and obtained a lodging there, with the view of prosecuting a negotiation with the Chinese: these, however, demanded 2000 taëls on each ship as a port-charge, and when 1000 were offered they rejected the proposal. At length a guard of Chinese was placed over the English, and they were obliged to abandon the attempt and return to Bantam; there being every reason to suppose that the Portuguese, as usual, were instrumental to their failure. In 1668 peace with the Dutch encouraged the Company to look towards China, and accordingly application was made to Sir Robert Southwell, ambassador in Portugal, to obtain good treatment for our ships should they be obliged to touch at Goa or Macao. In the same year the Company's servants at

Bantam observed, in a despatch to the court, "Hockchue* will be a place of great resort, affording all China commodities, as tutanag, silk raw and wrought, gold, China-root, tea, &c., for which must be carried broadcloth, lead, amber, pepper, coral, sandal-wood, red-wood, incense, cacha (cassia), putchuk, &c." These, all of them, form articles of trade at present with either England or India.

The records then show that in 1670 a trade was established at Taywan, or Formosa, with the chief Koshinga, who, as we have before seen, had expelled the Dutch from that island in 1662. It is possible that, knowing the rivalry and animosity which existed between the Dutch and English, he encouraged the latter to come, as a counterpoise in his own favour, should the Dutch attempt to repossess themselves of Formosa.† A treaty was entered into, called "The contract made with the King of Taywan for the settling of a factory," in which the Company stipulate "that we may sell or truck our goods with whom we please, and likewise all persons may have the same free trade with us; that, for all injuries or wrongs that shall be done us by the people here, the king shall right us; and, on the other hand, that what injuries or wrongs the English shall do, application being made to the chief, satisfaction shall be made them; that upon all occasions we may have access to the king's person; that we may have the choosing of our own interpreters and escrivans, and no soldiers to be put upon us, and also to be free to walk without Chinamen along with us; that what goods the king buys shall pay no custom; that rice imported pay no custom; that

* The provincial pronunciation for Foochow Foo (which possesses advantages for European trade) in Fokien province. It has become one of our five ports.

† European states now understand their common interests better, and combine against the Chinese.

all goods imported pay three per cent. after sale, and all goods exported be custom free." It was provided, however, that all ships should deliver up their guns and ammunition while in port. It seems that this trade at length proved so unprofitable and vexatious that the Company, in 1681, ordered their establishments at Formosa and Amoy to be withdrawn, and a trade, if possible, established at Canton and Hockchue, or Foochow. In 1683, Formosa, as already noticed, was surrendered to the Tartars, and in a curious despatch to the Company, dated the 20th December in that year, it is observed that "the inhabitants were ordered, in the name of the great Cham of Tartary, to shave all their hairs off, save enough to make a monkey's tail pendent from the very noddle of their heads, and betake themselves to his country's habit." The Tartars, from the very first conquest of China, have shown a great disinclination to foreign trade, which may have arisen partly from their having a less esteem for it than the native rulers of the country, and partly from a fear of some collusion taking place between Europeans and their Chinese subjects. It was, in fact, after the Tartar conquest that the English were excluded from Ningpo and Amoy, having traded at the latter place while it remained independent of the Manchows, and some time after the rest of China had submitted to them.

The ship 'Delight' was sent in 1685 to attempt the re-establishment of a trade at Amoy; and, about the same time, active exertions were made by the Company towards securing a regular commerce at Canton. In the progress of all these trials one of the most striking circumstances is the stupid pertinacity with which the Portuguese of Macao excluded English ships from that port; and the perfidy with which they misrepresented their supposed rivals to the Chinese, with a view to prevent their getting a footing

at Canton In the course of time they have been unable to exclude us altogether even from Macao, but their systematic policy has been to attribute motives to the English which should injure them with the provincial government, and this was strikingly exemplified during the expedition under Admiral Drury, in 1808

Soon after the Tartar conquest we find it stated by the mandarins, in reply to certain inquiries on the subject, that " a present to the emperor of *strange fowls and beasts* would be more acceptable than a ship's lading of gold " There can be no doubt that gifts of this kind are extremely well suited to Peking, and, on the occasion of any future mission, it would be well to keep the advice in view, instead of confining the selection of presents *entirely* to works of art, as they were, in our past embassies, most of them unintelligible and useless to the emperor and his court The troubles of the trade at Canton appear to have commenced very early The Hoppo, or chief commissioner of customs, in 1689 demanded 2484 taels for the measurage (or port charge) of the ship 'Defence,' but, on finding that it would not be paid, he took 1500 taels In the mean while, one of the crew of the 'Defence' had killed a Chinese, and a tumult ensued in which several of the seamen and the surgeon of the ship lost their lives. Not satisfied with this, the mandarins declared that, unless 5000 taels were paid, the 'Defence' would not be allowed to sail, but when they had refused 2000, the captain quitted Canton, and took his vessel out of the river The later charges on a ship of about 800 tons in the port of Whampoa were very little short of 5000 dollars, or above 1000*l*

It appears from a letter of the Court of Directors to the factory in China, dated 23rd November, 1699, that a consul s commission was sent out to the chief of the Com-

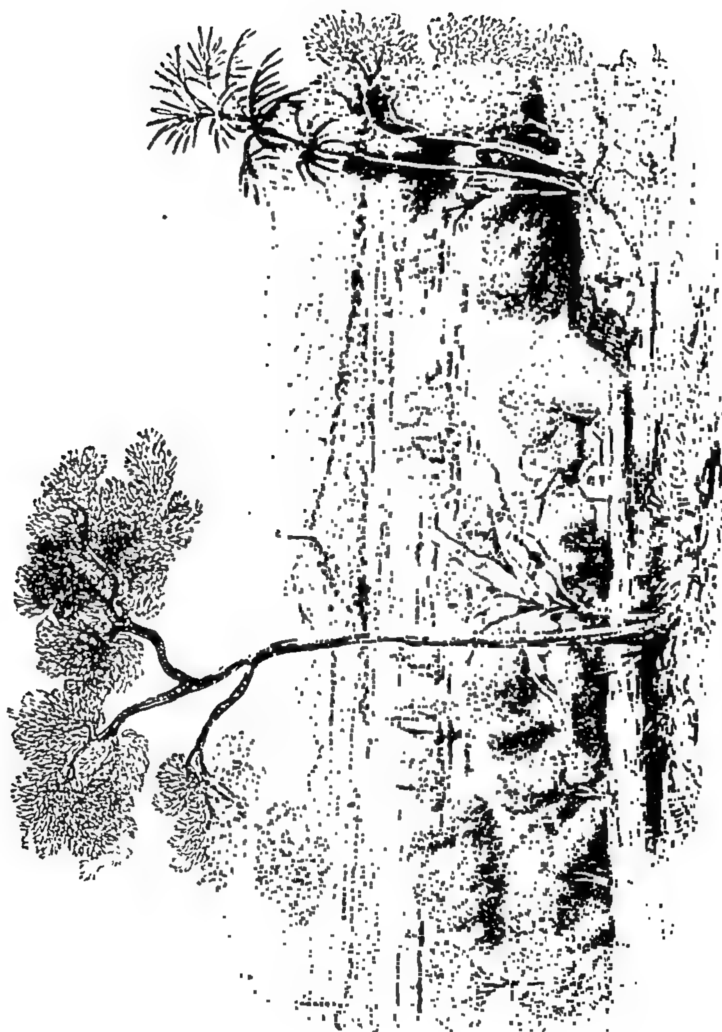
pany's council; nor does any notice appear on the records of this having been subsequently recalled. They say, "We have obtained a commission from his Majesty to constitute you, and those who shall be hereafter appointed by us, as our President in China, to be the King's minister or consul for the English nation, with all powers requisite thereunto." The Court of Directors appear to have been unaware of this when, in 1832, they denied that their president was any other than a Company's representative; indeed, it was very correctly observed in parliament, with reference to this proceeding of the Court, that the complete powers with which the legislature had vested the chief in China over all British subjects seemed alone to give him a *national* character.

From the beginning of the century until 1727 many very severe grievances were suffered at Canton, and, although the trade continued to proceed, it was with frequent interruptions. In that year we find that an exemption was demanded by the English from various extortions; among others a total charge of 16 per cent. on the trade; heavy taxes on the compradors or purveyors for supplying the ships; and what was called the *present* of 1950 taëls, in addition to the measurage or port fee. For some time the local government had attempted to invest a single individual, called "the Emperor's merchant," with the exclusive right of conducting the European commerce. This "monster in trade," however (as he is very properly termed on the records), was soon obliged to allow others to participate. The Hong merchants then endeavoured to establish a *Co-hong*, or united firm, among themselves. The supercargoes upon this declined trading until the combination was dissolved, and a representation to the viceroy was at length successful in removing it. On their declaring, moreover, that they should be obliged to proceed to Amoy,

or some other port, unless the heavy charges on their trade were remitted, the Hoppo promised them redress. Notwithstanding this, in the following year of 1733, an additional duty of 10 per cent. was laid [illegible] Europe, and the remonstrances of the [illegible] proved unavailing.

From what appears to have [illegible] 10 per cent. duty, it seems clear [illegible] from the very first found a better market at Canton [illegible] manufactures. It is observed [illegible] 10 per cent. hath really been paid [illegible] Hoppo on all goods sold to the [illegible] years past, though at the same time [illegible] remain free. At length [illegible] reason, which they [illegible] for several years past [illegible] arose to the emperor [illegible] ships (the raw produce of India [illegible] the Europe ships [illegible] upon the merchants for all [illegible] Europe ships." [illegible] Chinese [illegible] account; [illegible] and tastes [illegible] against European [illegible] acceptable [illegible]

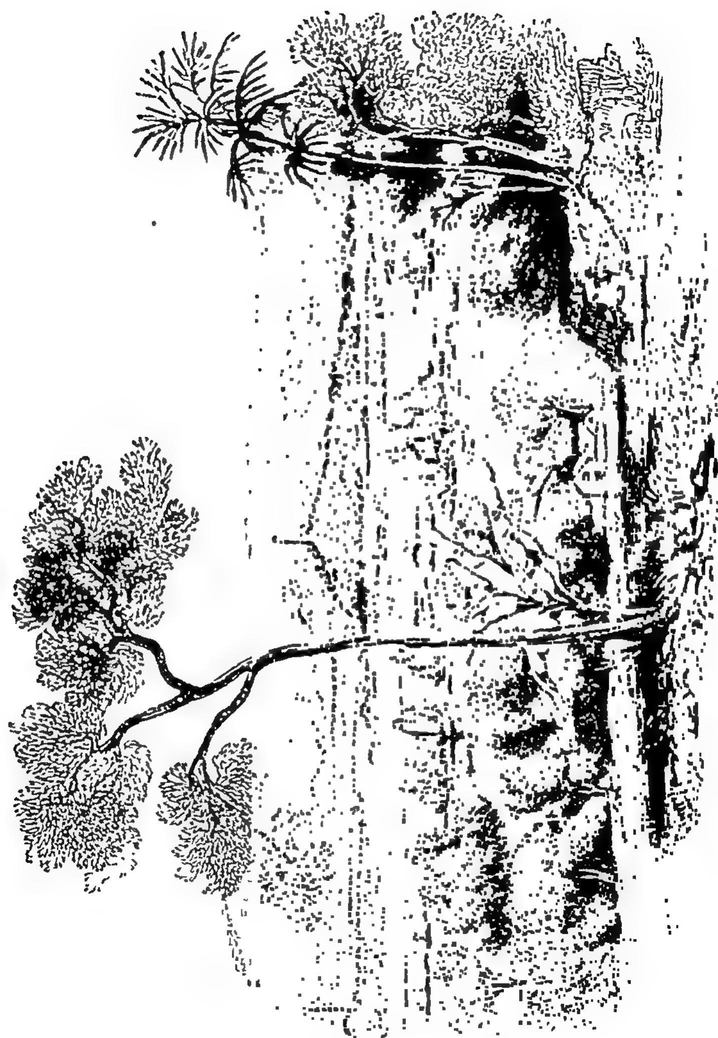
In 1734 [illegible] Canton, [illegible] tions. An [illegible] 'Grafton.' [illegible] affords a [illegible] lessness. [illegible] to obtain [illegible]



View on Canton River.

compelled at length to take their departure for Canton, principally because they could not get liberty to trade with any persons but those who were leagued with the mandarins, one of whom was always stationed over them in the house they had rented on shore In addition to the regular duties, which were very high, there was an extra charge of 20 per cent for the Hoppo "The ignorance of the Amoy merchants (it is observed), and the little encouragement they gave us, makes us almost despair of doing any business at that place" In 1736 the ship 'Normanton' proceeded to Ningpo, and strenuous efforts were made to open a trade there, unfettered by the oppressions they had suffered formerly in the neighbouring island of Chusan, but they found the mandarins very imperious and obstinate, insisting, as a necessary preliminary, on the surrender of their arms and ammunition There moreover appeared few inducements to trade, for the record observes, "it seems rather to have been, than to be, a place of great commerce" It is probable that this, with other parts of China had suffered by the Tartar invasion After wasting nearly two months in fruitless attempts to procure a fair trade, the 'Normanton' sailed for Canton on arriving there it was found that the Emperor Kien loong, who had just succeeded to the throne, had remitted the duty of 10 per cent, as well as the *present* of 1510 taels, leaving that portion of the port charges only which is called the *measurage* * When the edict ordering this remission was to be read in the Imperial Hall of Audience, the Hong merchants informed the different European traders "that they must prostrate themselves, kneeling on *both their* knees" "Suspecting that the merchants endeavoured to make us

* Notwithstanding this the provincial government contrived to exact the *present* to its full amount until 18?9 when a trifling reduction was made in it and the war put an end to the whole system



View on Canton River.

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* [illegible]

believe this, in order that by our compliance we might be brought down to the same servile level with themselves; considering, also, that the posture insisted on is such a mark of abject submission as we never pay to our own sovereigns in Europe, we unanimously agreed that we should dishonour ourselves and our countries in complying with it. Being apprehensive that they (the Hong merchants) might succeed in their design of weakening us, by creating in us mutual suspicions and jealousies, we met in a body, and, by unanimous agreement, gave our solemn *words of honour that none of us would submit to the slavish* posture required, nor make any concession or proposal of accommodation separately, without first acquainting all the rest." It was fortunate for them that they formed this worthy resolution, and never prostrated themselves—for more substantial concessions would very soon have been demanded, had they gone through the form of allegiance and fealty. It seems that in that year the total number of European ships at Canton was ten, *viz.* four English, two French, two Dutch, one Dane, and one Swede.

At the close of 1741 his Majesty's ship 'Centurion,' under the command of Commodore Anson, arrived off Macao, in the prosecution of her voyage round the world, being the first British man-of-war that visited China. The interesting details of that ship's stay are well given in the popular history of the voyage, and familiar to most readers. After being hove down and repaired, the 'Centurian' put to sea, and succeeded in capturing the 'Acapulco' ship, with its valuable freight of treasure, with which she proceeded again to the Canton river, being in want of provisions. The Commodore on his arrival was subjected, as usual, to numberless vexatious delays; and the following passages occur on the manuscript proceed-

ings —"A new difficulty was now started, that Mr Anson, being lodged at Mr Townsend's, must first go to Macao, for, if he remained in the house after Mr Townsend left it, the Hong merchants said they should of course become security for him to the mandarin, and should Mr Anson take a Spanish ship near Macao, on the coast, they would then be made answerable for the damages, and perhaps lose their heads Mr Anson declared he did not want any person to be security for him but told them that unless he got some provisions he would not stir out of Canton, for he had not five days' bread on board his ship We assembled the merchants the third time, to persuade them, if possible, to prevail with the mandarins to grant Mr Anson a general chop for all the necessaries he wants They informed us the mandarins had such a strange notion of a ship which went about the world *seeking other ships in order to take them*, that they could not be brought to hear reason on that head." At length the merchants became so uneasy at the Commodore's stay in Canton, that they suffered a purveyor to ship the provisions without the inspection of the custom house

The loss of the 'Acapulco' ship led the Spaniards, in 1744, to fit out several vessels for the annoyance of our China trade, and when the 'Hardwicke' East Indiaman arrived off the coast, a note was delivered, by means of a Chinese boat, to say that three Spanish ships were lying off Macao to intercept her the 'Hardwicke' accordingly sailed away for Amoy There, however, the mandarins insisted on the ship's proceeding into the inner harbour without any previous conditions, as well as delivering up all arms and ammunition. The merchants showed no disposition to trade, and, in fact, there seemed little to trade with Accordingly, after fifteen days of ineffectual trial, the ship was compelled to proceed to India against

the monsoon, without a single article of cargo! Nor was the condition of the trade much better at Canton. The extortions increased in spite of all attempts at representation on the part of the supercargoes. The Hong merchants used every endeavour, and at length succeeded in preventing the access of Europeans to the officers of government, finding that by that means they could exercise their impositions on *both* with the greater success and impunity. To the foreigners, they alleged that the mandarins were the authors of all the exactions on the trade; to the mandarins, that the foreigners were of so barbarous and fierce a temper as to be incapable of listening to reason. The records observe, that "ever since they carried their point of preventing all intercourse between the Europeans and mandarins, they have imposed upon both in their turns, and put the trade of this place upon such a footing as without redress would render it impracticable to Europeans." In these difficult times it was that Mr. Flint, a person of uncommon talents and merit, contrived to master the difficulties of the Chinese language; but the ungrateful return which his energy and exertions in their service met with from his employers was such as tended, in all probability more than any other cause, to discourage his successors from undertaking so laborious, unprofitable, and even hazardous a task. We find Mr. Flint acting as interpreter in 1747, and he soon had to perform a very prominent part in China, as will appear hereafter.

The grievances suffered by our trade led to a remonstrance, in which the principal points were, the delay in unloading the ships; the plunder of goods on the river; injurious *affiches* annually put up by the government, accusing the foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace; the extortions, under false pretexts, of the inferior officers; and the

difficulty of access to the mandarins. The ships were detained outside in 1754 until the viceroy had promised to attend to these various complaints but little was ultimately gained. It is to be apprehended that the want of union among the Europeans had, as usual, the effect of frustrating their attempts at redress. "Some gentlemen," it is observed, "were of opinion that we ought to make a stand, and as, by arguing the case, we seemed to be the farther from a determination, we parted without any resolve, except that every man would do as he liked best." This certainly was not the way to succeed with the Chinese The animosities which prevailed between the English and French were productive of much trouble to both, and to such a height did the disorders arrive at Whampoa, between the crews of the different nations on shore, that an English sailor was at length shot by some of the French officers, and another taken prisoner, which was immediately followed by a letter addressed to the English supercargoes from "Le Conseil de Direction de Canton representant la nation Française a la Chine." The Chinese magistrate held an inquest at Whampoa, and desired the French, in the first place, to give up their prisoner, which they did, alleging however that the English had commenced the disturbance by attacking their people As the Frenchman fired a musket, of which he had deliberately gone in quest, it was plainly nothing better than a murder, and the English sailors were so exasperated, that there seemed to be no way of preventing their doing *themselves* justice, but to demand justice from the Chinese government. The viceroy stopped the trade until they should give up the criminal, and somebody was at length seized by the Chinese and taken into the city, confessing himself the guilty person. He was liberated the following year by order of the emperor,

on occasion of a general act of grace; and, as a means of preventing further disturbances at Whampoa, Dane's Island was allotted to the English, and French Island to the French sailors, for their recreation.

In 1755 Messrs. Harrison and Flint were despatched to Ningpo, with the view of re-establishing a trade there if possible. On their arrival they were well received, and the charges and customs appeared considerably lower than at Canton. The Fooyuen, or deputy-governor, was so desirous of giving them encouragement, that he conceded almost all the articles in their memorial: in so doing, however, he appeared to have exceeded his power; for when the ship 'Holdernesse' subsequently proceeded to Ningpo to take advantage of this apparent opening, the viceroy, who was then in the province, sent an order for all the great guns, small arms, and ammunition to be taken out of the ship, and the same duties to be paid as at Canton. Though the Fooyuen could not act directly against this order, he did not comply with it, but sent it straight up to Peking, with an account of what he had done, thereby putting it out of the viceroy's power, as well as his own, to make an absolute decision in the interim. As it would have been the end of September before an answer could possibly arrive from Peking, the mandarins agreed to begin business, provided that half the guns and ammunition were delivered. Twelve great guns were accordingly given up, and the ships unloaded: the 'Holdernesse,' however, paid to the mandarins 2000 taëls, and the other charges and duties proved double those at Canton, while no residence was allowed on shore. The objection made by the government to a trade at Ningpo was "the loss of revenue to the emperor, accruing from overland carriage of tea and other goods to Canton;" the very circumstance, of course, which enhanced the prices of

those goods to the European purchaser On their departure from Ningpo the supercargoes were formally acquainted by the mandarins of all future trade being forbidden them at that port, and, on reaching Macao, the officers of the local government in like manner informed them of a public edict confining the commerce to Canton

At length, in 1759 the factory once occupied by the English at Ningpo was destroyed, the merchants with whom they had dealt ordered to quit the place, and the war-junks directed to prevent any English ship from being supplied with provisions at Chusan Mr Flint notwithstanding this, proceeded to Ningpo, upon which the Canton government forbade his return, desiring that he should be sent home to England whenever he re-appeared On arriving at Ningpo he was refused all communication upon this he proceeded to the neighbourhood of Peking, and succeeded in making his complaints known to the emperor A mandarin of rank was appointed to proceed with him by land to Canton, and there, in concert with others, to sit in judgment on the Hoppo Mr Flint, on reaching Canton, remained ten days in the city, and then proceeded to the factory Two days after, the foreigners of all nations were received by the Chinese commissioners, and informed that the Hoppo had been degraded, his place being supplied by another All impositions, moreover, were remitted, except 6 per cent. on goods, and the *present* of 1950 taels from each ship

It proved, however, that these fair appearances were destined only to be the prelude to a storm Some days afterwards the viceroy desired to see Mr Flint, for the purpose of communicating the emperor's orders the council wished to accompany him, and their request was granted When the party had reached the [illegible] palace, the Hong merchants proposed their [illegible]

a time, but they insisted on proceeding together; and on Mr. Flint being called for, they were received by a mandarin at the first gate, proceeding onward through two courts with seeming complaisance from the officers in waiting: but, on arriving at the gate of the inner court, they were hurried, and even forced into the viceroy's presence, and (under pretence of doing homage after the Chinese fashion) a struggle ensued with their barbarian conductors, in which they were at length, by dint of numbers, thrown down. The viceroy, seeing their determined resolution not to submit to these base humiliations, ordered the people to desist; and then, telling Mr. Flint to advance, he pointed to an order, which he called the emperor's edict, for his banishment to Macao, and subsequent departure for England. This he declared was on account of his endeavouring to open a trade at Ningpo, contrary to orders from Peking; he added, that the man who had written the Chinese petition was to be beheaded that day, for traitorously encouraging foreigners, "which execution," the record observes, "was performed on a man quite innocent of what these absolute and villanous mandarins were pleased to call a crime." At the same time, the complaints against the Hoppo were admitted to have been just. Mr. Flint was detained in the city, and conveyed to a place called Tsienshan, or Casa Branca, near Macao, where he was imprisoned, but pretty well treated, though all correspondence was cut off.

Some days after the above occurrence, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch met in a body at the English factory, and jointly entered a protest against the act of the viceroy: but Mr. Flint remained in prison from March, 1760, to November, 1762, when he was carried by the Chinese to Whampoa, and put on board the ship 'Horsendon,' to be conveyed to England.

The success and impunity of the Canton government on this occasion seem to have encouraged it in its assumptions for some time after When in March, 1765, his Majesty's ship 'Argo' arrived, convoying the 'Cuddalore' schooner, with a supply of half a million of dollars for the Company's treasury, the Chinese insisted on searching the schooner, on the plea that a woman was on board but when this was declined, as contrary to all precedent, they said it would be sufficient if a mandarin were admitted 'to walk two or three times up and down the deck' They were told that, when a licence had been granted for taking out the silver, they might send whom they pleased to walk up and down the deck Provisions were denied to the 'Argo' in consequence of this dispute, and it was at length arranged that a mandarin should go on board when the money was unladen The Chinese next demanded to measure his majesty's ship '*Argo*,' but this was refused by Captain Affleck, more especially as there was a precedent against so strange a requisition from a king's ship, in the case of the 'Centurion,' Commodore Anson, in 1742 The trade was again stopped in consequence, and the Council at Canton offered to pay the amount of measurage of the Company's largest ship in lieu of the 'Argo,' but the mandarins would not consent, and Captain Affleck at length allowed the 'Argo' to be measured Had he sailed away at the commencement of the dispute, it is probable that this might have been avoided

The ill will generated on both sides by the insolence of the Chinese, and the consequences resulting from it, had the effect of constantly embroiling the English and natives for several years after, during a period in which a greater number of affrays and homicides occurred than have ever been known of late years In 1772 the 'Lord Camden' was detained from 17th December to 5th January follow-

ing, in consequence of a tumult in which several Chinese and Europeans were badly hurt; the wounded men were all conveyed into the factory, where two mandarins examined them. The ship was at first detained, but permission at length given for her sailing, on condition that the person who originated the mischief was detained in confinement; but the recovery of all the wounded soon after put an end to the affair. In the following year a most atrocious act of sanguinary injustice occurred at Macao, stamping indelible disgrace on the Portuguese of that place. A Chinese had lost his life, and, some ungrounded accusation having implicated an Englishman named Francis Scott, the local authority caused him to be apprehended and confined. The case was tried in the Portuguese court, the accused examined, and depositions of witnesses taken; but the slightest trace of guilt could not be attached to the prisoner. The mandarins, however, obstinately claimed him, and threatened the town in case he was not delivered. To bring this perplexity to a close, a general meeting or council was convened, and a member of the Macao Senate argued, "It is unjustifiable to consent to the sacrifice of an innocent man; and, as the most accurate inquiry sufficiently proves that the Englishman is not guilty, our reasons for not surrendering him should be submitted to the mandarins, and persevered in until we shall have succeeded in saving him from an ignominious death." The vicar-general, however, named Francisco Vaz, argued in the following singular manner:—"Moralists decide that when a tyrant demands even an innocent person, with menaces of ruin to the community if refused, the whole number may call on any individual to deliver himself up for the public good, which is of more worth than the life of an individual. Should he refuse to obey, he is not innocent, he is criminal." Another Portuguese observed, with

still less ceremony, "The mandarins are forcing away the Chinese dealers, determined to starve us, therefore we had better surrender the Englishman" The plurality of votes decided that Scott should be handed over, and the Chinese put him to death *

The following case occurs on the proceedings of 1780 —" 14th December Some days ago a French seaman from the 'Success' galley, country ship, killed a Portuguese sailor belonging to the 'Stormont' in one of the merchants' houses The man took refuge at the French Consul's, where he remained many days, but at last was given up to the Chinese, and was this morning publicly strangled by order of the Fooyuen This is the first instance of one European being executed for the murder of another in this country, and appears to be a very dangerous precedent, as it may involve us in inextricable difficulties, if even by *accident* one man should kill another The man executed to-day could not have had any trial of common justice the affair happened between him and the deceased in Seunqua's hong at night, nobody knowing of the quarrel until the 'Stormont's' man was killed, and we do not understand that the Chinese government took any means to find out the truth Foreigners are not here allowed the benefit of the Chinese laws, nor have they any privileges in common with the natives They are governed merely by such rules as the mandarins for the time being declare to be their will, and the reason why more inconveniences do not occur is this —the officers of government on such occasions rather choose to exact money from the security merchants, compradores, &c, than use harsh measures by which they gain nothing Their corruption, therefore, is so far the foreigner's security

* Taken from a Contribution to a Historical Sketch of Macao 1834

The fundamental maxim of Chinese intercourse with foreigners has been accurately translated by Père Premare as follows, and it is quite sufficient to explain their conduct. "Barbari haud secus ac pecora non eodem modo regendi sunt ut reguntur Sinæ. Si quis vellet eos magnis sapientiæ legibus instruere, nihil aliud quam summam perturbationem induceret. Antiqui reges istud optimè callebant, et ideo barbaros *non regendo* regebant. Sic autem eos *non regendo* regere, præclara eos optimè regendi ars est." That is, "*The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians by misrule. Therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and the best way of ruling them.*" It was on this principle that all the benefits of Chinese law were (before the war) denied to strangers, and that, in the case of even *accidental* homicide, they were required to be delivered up, not for trial, but execution. The mischiefs of such a system are obvious; and it is in consequence of this that acts of atrocious violence on the part of foreigners, committed by them under the plea of doing themselves right, have been plausibly justified, though coming strictly under the definitions of piracy, murder, or arson, which, under a more vigorous government, would have rendered them the property of the public executioner. The following is a singular instance of successful daring. In the year 1781 a Captain M'Clary, master of a country ship from Bengal, had stopped a sloop on her way from Macao to Manilla. Being on shore at Macao, he told the Portuguese governor that he had ordered his mate to bring her into the harbour for examination, having reason to suspect she was Spanish property. The Portuguese on this had

him seized and imprisoned until he had sent an order for the sloop being released without examination This order being taken to the mate, he bore down to the sloop in order to comply with it, but it blew such a gale of wind that the sloop got adrift, and was wrecked on the rocks M'Clary upon this was detained in prison for two months, until, by ill-treatment, and threats of being delivered to the Chinese, the Portuguese had extorted from him a payment of 70,000 dollars, under the pretence of its being the value of the sloop Some time after his liberation, while M'Clary's ship was lying at Whampoa, in company with another vessel under Dutch colours, news arrived of war between England and Holland, upon which he seized upon the Dutchman as a prize The Canton government immediately demanded restitution, but M'Clary told them that, if they would not interfere, the duties should all be paid regularly, whereas, if they molested him, he would take her out of the river On the Chinese insisting that he should restore the ship, he rigged her and began to drop down from his anchorage. There was immediately a great bustle among the Chinese, and all the troops available, about 200, were rendezvoused at Tiger Island to intercept his passage The ship in the mean while was surrounded by mandarins and merchants, and, when threats and civilities had all failed, the Chinese being very anxious for a compromise, the genius of Ponkhequa, chief Hong merchant, devised the following creditable expedient The prize being close to the river's mouth, the Chinese were allowed to board her in a shouting, triumphant manner, and, in return for his condescension, M'Clary was permitted to withhold an iron chest containing pearls and gold, freighted by certain Armenians

Meanwhile the Company's Council were in a very unpleasant situation, being held responsible by the govern-

ment for the acts of M'Clary, who certainly was little better than a pirate. They replied to the Chinese that they could not control his proceedings otherwise than by protests, and very properly refused the demand of the mandarins, that they should accompany the Chinese officers to the river to give weight to their measures. "The more," it is observed, "they perceived their own want of power over the real offender, the more they appeared resolved to exert it over us, whom they had been accustomed to see observant of all their regulations." An application was made by the Chinese to the Portuguese governor of Macao, to deliver them up, which he declined, and a conclusion was at length put to these difficulties, only by the circumstances already stated.

Towards the year 1782 the large sums lent by the merchants of various nations to Chinese, at a high rate of interest, had occasioned an accumulation of debts on the part of the latter, amounting, it is said, to the enormous extent of a million sterling. Among the creditors were numerous individuals connected with the trade of the Indian presidencies, and these, after a course of fruitless measures for the recovery of the property at Canton, applied, through the Indian Government, to the admiral on the station, Sir Edward Vernon, for his assistance. A frigate was accordingly despatched to China, bearing a remonstrance to the viceroy; and after a reference of the subject to Peking, an edict was received from the emperor, ordering the liquidation of the debts by the whole body of Hong merchants, as well as interdicting any one of them from borrowing money for the future from strangers. The debts were at length recovered, but so little effectual was the interdict that repeated failures of Hong merchants, for very large sums due to Europeans, occurred up to the year 1829.

Among the unhappy cases which have arisen from the sanguinary practice of the Canton government in the instances of homicides, whether accidental or otherwise, when committed by Europeans, the most remarkable, perhaps, is that frequently alluded to under the name of the *gunner's case*, in 1784 On the 24th November, in that year, information reached Canton that a chop-boat, alongside the 'Lady Hughes' country ship, being in the way of a gun fired in saluting, three Chinese had been badly injured On the following day it was learned that one had died, and the gunner, though entirely innocent of any bad intent, and acting as he did in obedience to orders, absconded from fear of the indiscriminating cruelty of the Chinese A *weiyuen*, or deputed mandarin soon waited on the chief of the factory, Mr Pigou, and with the interpretation of the Hong merchants required that the man should be submitted to examination, admitting at the same time, that his act had apparently proceeded from mere accident The mandarin was informed that there appeared no objection to the man's examination provided that it took place in the factory, a stipulation which was founded on the recollection of what had occurred in the Frenchman's case in 1780 Two days after, the weiyuen repeated his visit, accompanied by Ponkhequa, Hong merchant, with the same demands he was informed that the 'Lady Hughes,' being a private ship, was not to the same degree under the control of the chief as a Company's vessel, but that, if they would be satisfied with an examination in the factory, every persuasion should be used to induce the supercargo of the ship Mr Smith, to produce the man The Chinese declared that the trial must be before the Fooyuen in the city, and at length retired, requesting that Mr Smith might not leave Canton for three or four days, to which he assented At eleven the same

night they returned to say that the man should be examined in one of the factories; but the event soon proved that this was merely to lull their suspicions, for early the next morning it was found that Mr. Smith had been decoyed from his factory by a pretended message from Ponkhequa, and conveyed into the city by force. Meanwhile the avenues leading to the river had been barricaded, the merchants and linguists had fled, and the communication with Whampoa was suspended.

The heads of all the foreign factories, justly considering this as a very threatening proceeding to the whole European community, united in a resolution to order up the boats of the several ships manned and armed, both as a security, and to manifest in the strongest manner the light in which they viewed the acts of the government. Two English boats were despatched to Whampoa to carry this into effect. The watchful Chinese now endeavoured to quiet them by a message from the Fooyuen, to the purport that they should not be alarmed by the seizure of the 'Lady Hughes's' supercargo, as the intention was merely to ask him a few questions and send him back again. The greater number of ships' boats reached Canton, although attempts were made to prevent them by firing from the junks and forts in the river, and notwithstanding their having been absurdly ordered to use no arms in their own defence. A very bombastic document was received from the Fooyuen, threatening destruction if any opposition were made, and a show of force at the same time assembled in the river before the factories. On the 28th the foreigners all joined in an address in behalf of Mr. Smith, and in the evening the Fooyuen desired to see a deputation from the factory of the several nations. These reported that "his behaviour was much agitated, and it was evident he would be glad to get handsomely

out of the business " The Chinese were, in fact, frightened at their own boldness, and a little resolution on the other side might have saved the man's life

A linguist soon arrived at the factory, bringing a letter from Mr Smith to the captain of his ship, desiring he would send up the gunner, or some other person, to be tried by the mandarins, and this was forwarded on the 29th to Whampoa, backed by a letter from the Council . On the 30th the unfortunate gunner, an old man, was brought to Canton, and sent into the city, with an address " signed by the English Council and the representatives of the foreign nations,' in his favour He was received by a mandarin of superior rank, who *verbally* stated that no apprehensions need be entertained as to his life, and that when the emperor's answer had been obtained he should be restored In about an hour after, Mr Smith returned to his factory, stating that he had been very civilly treated On the 8th of January following the unhappy gunner was strangled!

This was the last instance of the kind to which the English had to submit in China, although not the last which has occurred at Canton, for the case of the poor innocent Italian, Terranova, given up by the Americans in 1821, was very similar . Our own countrymen, warned of what they had to expect from Chinese justice and good faith, have on all subsequent occasions been ready to undergo any extremities rather than be parties to the death of an innocent man, and their exertions have in several instances been crowned with signal success . Soon after the above unfortunate occurrence, in 1784, the attention of the British government was naturally drawn to the growing magnitude and importance of the trade at Canton, and it cannot be denied that, after the course of amelioration then commenced, the general condition of

the English at that place became considerably bettered. It was in fact only four years after the death of the gunner that Colonel Cathcart was sent from England (in 1788), in the 'Vestal' frigate, as ambassador to China. His death on the passage out, in the Straits of Sunda, put an entire stop to the mission for the time, and the frigate returned to England;* nor was it until 1792 that the project was renewed on a larger scale. In the month of January of that year Mr. Dundas set on foot the proposal of a Chinese embassy, grounded on the consideration of our trade having gradually increased until its actual amount exceeded that of all other nations; to which it was added, that the intercourse of almost every other country with that empire had been attended with special missions to Peking. It was hoped that such a measure might relax the various trammels by which the commerce with China was shackled, relieve it from some of its exactions, and place our countrymen at Canton on a footing of greater respectability, as well as security, in relation to the local government. Lord Macartney accordingly proceeded from England in the 'Lion,' a 64-gun ship, in September, 1792, accompanied by Sir George Leonard Staunton, as Secretary of Legation. The occurrences and result of that embassy are so well known from the celebrated work of the last-named individual, as well as from the relation of Mr. Barrow, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon them here. One of the principal effects of the mission was to draw a much greater share of the public attention towards China, and to lead gradually to the study of the language, literature, institutions, and manners of that vast and singular empire—a field which had hitherto been occupied almost exclusively by the French.

* The tomb of Colonel Cathcart is still marked by a handsome monument, visible from the anchorage of ships at Anjier Point.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH INTERCOURSE TO THE OPENING OF TRADE

Objects and results of Lord Macartney's embassy — Affair of the 'Providence' — Americans at Canton — Expedition to Macao — Mission to Cochin China — Admiral Linois defeated — Ladrones — Successful resistance to mandarins — Second expedition to Macao — Ill success of Admiral Drury — Interdict against Mr Roberts — The 'Doris' — Successful measures of the committee — Embassy of Lord Amherst — The *ko-tow* — The 'Alceste' — Cases of homicide — Conduct of Americans — The 'Topaze' — Fire of Canton — Failure of Hong merchants — Discussions — Affair of Parsees — Factory invaded by Fooyuen — Opium smuggling — The 'Amherst' — Affrays of smugglers with Chinese — Termination of Company's charter.

ONE of the principal objects of Earl Macartney's mission to Peking was to obtain, if possible, the permission of the emperor to trade at Ningpo, Chusan, Tientsin, and other places besides Canton. All discussions upon these points, and indeed every matter of business, were studiously avoided by the Chinese ministers and mandarins, during the residence of the embassy at Peking; but, in his letter to the King of England, the emperor did not omit to state distinctly that the British commerce must be strictly limited to the port of Canton "You will not be able to complain," adds he, "that I had not clearly forewarned you. Let us therefore live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words."

Were a judgment to be formed from the experiment which took place in that same year to trade at Chusan with the specific leave of the emperor, the privilege [illegible] not seem to be a very valuable one. Captain Mac[illegible] of the Company's ship 'Hindostan,' who [illegible] majesty's ship 'Lion' to the Yellow Sea, had [illegible]

to trade at Chusan if he pleased (on that particular occasion), and the ship was freed from all duties and port-charges, as pertaining to the embassy. He accordingly went there,* and "found the mandarins and people perfectly well disposed to comply with the emperor's orders in respect to the privileges to be granted to the captain and his officers in the purchase of a cargo there; and tea and silk were much cheaper than elsewhere: but the Chusan traders were not prepared for so extensive a concern as a cargo of goods fitted for the European market, to fill a ship of the size of the 'Hindostan,' full 1200 tons, nor for the purchase of the European goods on board her, better calculated for a larger city. They would therefore expect *specie* for most of the articles they could furnish for the 'Hindostan,' and which had not been provided by her commander. He found it therefore expedient to proceed to Canton." †

As it was hoped that the embassy had not been without its effect in conciliating the good-will of the Chinese government to the British trade, it was resolved, shortly afterwards, to follow it up by a letter from his majesty to the emperor, accompanied by presents. These accordingly reached Canton in January, 1795, with letters and presents from the ministers, and the Chairman of the East India Company, to the viceroy; and the whole were conveyed into the city by the chief of the British factory. The viceroy received the address to the emperor with much satisfaction, and forwarded it, together with the presents, to Peking, from whence a reply, with corresponding presents, was afterwards returned. Objections, however, were made to accepting the letters and gifts in-

* Staunton's Embassy, vol. ii. p. 523.

† This island was in our peaceful possession from 1842 to 1846, with scarcely any trade. It was important as a military and political position, not as a commercial.



The Emperor Kien-Lung.

tended for the heads of the Canton government, on the ground of its not being allowable for Chinese ministers to entertain a correspondence with the officers of a foreign government. It was recorded on this occasion, as well as on a subsequent one in 1795, that tribute had been sent by the King of England to the Court of Peking, and the record was quoted not long ago by the Canton government in an official paper addressed to the writer of this, as president of the select committee in China, who stated, of course, in reply, that presents had been sent, but no tribute.

No untoward events occurred for several years, when

quent to the embassy, to interrupt the quiet progress of affairs at Canton. The mandarins had improved in their conduct towards the merchants, and the highly objectionable measure of stopping the trade on the most trifling occasions had not been lately resorted to by the Chinese. At the same time, some of the heaviest burthens on the European trade still continued, being too profitable to both the local government and the Hong merchants to be readily abandoned by them. The most objectionable of these were the *Consoo* fund, arising from a rate which the Hongs were permitted to levy upon the foreign commerce, in order to meet the heavy demands of the government on themselves; and the inordinate amount of the port-charges and fees.

An unfortunate occurrence, however, in 1800 threatened for some time to place British affairs at Canton in some jeopardy, although proceeding, as very usual on such occasions, from the fault of the natives. While his majesty's schooner 'Providence' was lying at Whampoa, a party of Chinese in a small boat appeared one night to be attempting to cut the schooner's cable. As they returned no answer on being hailed, a shot was fired into the boat, by which one Chinese was wounded, and another, who jumped overboard in his fright, was drowned. The government, as usual, demanded that the person who fired the musket should be delivered up; but Captain Dilkes, who was then in China, commanding his majesty's ship 'Madras,' required, on the other hand, that the Chinese in the boat should be punished for their delinquency; and refused to deliver up the seaman, or even to allow him to be tried, except in his own presence. The wounded Chinese at length recovered, and so the correspondence closed; but, some time afterwards, an abstract of the Chinese law relating to homicide was handed to the select

committee by the local government, although the shameful injustice and perfidy with which, on several occasions, the mandarins had treated foreigners accused of such offences, gave them no right to expect that their laws should be much attended to

It was in the year 1802 that the American flag was first hoisted at Canton The consular agent for the United States, who was, in all cases, appointed from among the American merchants resident in China, was simply a commercial officer, and called a *Tae-pan*, or factory chief, by the Chinese He received no salary whatever from his government, but was permitted to levy fees in the transaction of business with his countrymen, besides trading on his own account The American flag continued to fly at Canton, notwithstanding the interruption which the trade of the United States, for some time previous to 1815, experienced by the war with England, but in the year 1832 a dispute occurred between the consul for the time being, and the captain of an American frigate then on a visit to China The captain having failed to call upon the consul, the latter took offence on the occasion, and the two republicans were too tenacious of their respective ranks and dignities to come to an accommodation The flag was struck, and the consul proceeded home Such disputes are rendered impossible, between English officers, by the regulations of subordination and etiquette conveyed in the consular and naval instructions

An occurrence of some importance, in 1802, tended to establish, beyond all doubt, a point which had sometimes been questioned, and this was the nature of the tenure on which the Portuguese held *Macao* of the Chinese It was in that year that Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India, being apprehensive that the French republic had some designs against the Portuguese establishments in

that one of the eleven, named Edward Sheen, should remain in custody of the committee The understanding at first was, that a fine to the relations of the deceased would be sufficient, but, on the committee preparing to proceed to Macao, the government required his being left behind. Captain Rolles now interfered, and declared that, if Sheen was not permitted to be taken by the committee to Macao, he should take him on board the 'Lion,' and the point was at length conceded The local government, being puzzled how to proceed, invented a tale in which it was stated that Sheen, while opening an upper window, had dropped by misfortune a piece of wood, which struck the Chinese on the forehead and caused his death This was sent up to Peking as an official report, and an imperial reply was soon obtained, sanctioning the liberation of Sheen on his paying a fine of about twelve taels, or four pounds sterling, to the relations of the deceased. This singular transaction proves at once how easily the emperor may be deceived, and with what unscrupulous readiness the local government can get out of a difficulty The firm and successful conduct of the committee and of Captain Rolles was much approved, and to the latter 1000*l* was voted by the Court of Directors

Early in 1808 information reached India of the probability of ambitious views being entertained by France towards the East, and of the danger to which Macao might be exposed by the vicinity of Manilla, if the French should make that Spanish colony their own In consideration of treaties by which England was pledged to protect Portugal and its settlements against aggression, as well as of the interests which the English themselves had at stake in the neighbourhood of Canton, Lord Minto, having garrisoned the colony of Goa by a convention with the governor of that place, deemed it fit to send an

this could not be persisted in; and, after several long and tedious audiences with the mandarins, the principal points in dispute were gained, and incorporated in an official paper from the viceroy, as the only security against a breach of faith on the part of the Chinese. The privilege of corresponding with the government under seal, and in the native character, was now for the first time established; an assurance was given that no Chinese officer should ever enter the British factory without leave previously obtained; and licence was given to native servants to enter into the service of the English without molestation from the petty mandarins; together with some other points.

The measures above detailed were highly approved in England; but the conduct and disposition of the Chinese government for some time past had been such as to prove that the commercial interests of the nation in China were exposed to the utmost hazard from the chance of perpetual interruption at the will of a capricious and despotic set of delegates, who kept the court of Peking in profound ignorance of their own oppressive and arbitrary conduct towards the Company's trade. To these circumstances are to be attributed the embassy of Lord Amherst in 1816, of which the object was to secure, if possible, the commerce of Great Britain upon a solid and equitable footing under the cognizance of the emperor, and with the advantage of a ready appeal to him in case of need The design of a mission to Peking had been for some time entertained by his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, when the arrival from China of the despatches of 1815 confirmed them in the resolution. It was hoped, as a collateral object, and one within the range of possibility, that an English resident might be admitted at the capital, or permission be obtained for trading to some of the ports on the north-east coast.

The embassy left England in the 'Alceste' frigate on the 10th of February, attended by the 'Lyra' brig, and the 'General Hewett,' a Company's ship, and arrived off Macao on the 12th of July, when it was joined by Sir George Staunton, the first commissioner, as well as by the Chinese secretaries, and the other gentlemen who were appointed from England to accompany it to Peking The ships reached the Gulf of Pechelee on the 28th of July, but the ambassador did not land until the 9th of August On the 12th the mission reached Tien tsin, where a feast was conferred on the part of the emperor, and an attempt made to bring about the *practice* of the *ko-tow*, or prostration, before a yellow screen preparatory to the grand performance of it before the emperor himself This, however, was successfully avoided on the plea that Earl Macartney had not been required to execute that act of fealty and vassalage

As some uninformed persons have, without sufficient consideration or knowledge of the subject, ventured to argue that the non performance of the *ko-tow* was too strict an adherence to punctilio on the part of both our ambassadors it may be as well to show, that putting (with them) all considerations of national honour and dignity entirely out of the question as mere vanities, and viewing the matter simply as one of commercial profit or loss, there is nothing to be *gained* by it, but the reverse It was observed in the narrative of Lord Macartney's mission, "The Dutch, who in the last century submitted at once to every ceremony prescribed to them, in the hope of obtaining in return some lucrative advantages complained of being treated with neglect, and of being dismissed without the smallest promise of any favour * The fate of a later Dutch embassy was still worse, but it is fair to

* Vol ii p 131

state their gains against their losses on the occasion. In return for beating their heads nine times against the ground before the throne, they certainly had some broken victuals—des ossements rongés—sent them as from the emperor. Of these, however, Van Braam observes, that they were principally sheep's trotters, "which appeared to have been already gnawed clean. This disgusting mess," he adds, "was upon a dirty plate, and appeared rather destined to feed a dog than to form the repast of a human creature." As this was the only public advantage they gained by their painful corporeal exertions upon the ground, it may next be observed that the whole course of their treatment on the journey back was (very deservedly) of the most mortifying and degrading character. This embassy occurred in 1795, during the era of small-clothes, and before liberal principles had been generally established in dress, as in other matters; and these hapless Dutchmen were made, on the most trivial occasions of *ceremony*, to perform their evolutions, while the wicked mandarins stood by and laughed—and who would not?—at what has been styled "the embarrassment of a Dutch-built stern in tight inexpressibles."

Sir John Malcolm, who understood, if any man ever did, the Asiatic character, has observed in one of his works,—"From the hour the first mission reached Persia, servants, merchants, governors of towns, chiefs, and high public officers, presuming upon our ignorance, made constant attempts to trespass upon our dignity; and, though repelled at all points, they continued their efforts till a battle royal at Shiraz put the question to rest, by establishing our reputation, as to a just sense of our own pretensions, upon a basis which was never afterwards shaken." Russia, whose ambassadors, like our own, have *refused* to perform the Chinese act of vassalage, has a residency at

Peking, which may at least (as an advantage) be set against "les pattes d'un mouton," and "les ossements ronges,' which the Dutchmen gained by *performing* it Admitting, however, that the balance was in favour of the latter, it may reasonably be questioned whether it is wise, on such occasions, to sink *all* considerations of national respectability The Athenians were a politic as well as brave people, and when Timagoras, who was sent by them as ambassador to the King of Persia, had the imprudence to degrade his country by the act of prostration, he was condemned to die on his return.

But let us only do as the Chinese *themselves* have always done Gerbillon tells us that, when an officer of the Emperor Kang hy was taken by the King of the Eluths, the latter insisted on his speaking on his knees, but the Chinese refused, saying he was *not his vassal*, but his own emperor s A Chinese account of Japan expressly states that an ambassador from Peking to that country refused the prostration, and, rather than compromise the honour of his nation, returned without communicating the orders of his court But it has been mere ignorance to consider the *ko-tow* as nothing but a *ceremony* The unthinking majority is led by names, and it is important to know that the prostration is the solemn rite by which the King of Cochin China, and the rulers of the petty kingdoms of Corea and Loo-choo, do homage by their emissaries upon being confirmed by the Chinese emperor in the succession The spirit and import of the *ko-tow* is that of the form by which the feudal tenant *in capite* did homage to his liege lord, and every country that, like Japan, has professed to be independent, has declined performing it

However oddly it may sound to us, at the distance of more than 12,000 miles, the aspirations with which the

court of Peking aims at universal supremacy are best expressed in the words of the old secular hymn:—

> "Alme sol, possis nihil urbe Româ
> Visere majus!"

All countries that send tribute, while their ambassadors go through the forms of allegiance, constitute a part of the empire, and their respective kings reign under the sanction of the "Son of Heaven." This of course signifies little enough at a distance, but the effect is felt in China; for any remonstrance against oppression, on the part of a subject of one of these states, must be stopped by such an unanswerable argument, which proves at once his relative inferiority and worthlessness; and what had been merely the rights of independence in another, become, in his case, rebellion. Mr. Barrow, who had really studied China, and understood it well, observed that "a tame and passive obedience to the degrading demands of this haughty court serves only to feed its pride, and add to the absurd notions of its own vast importance." A Jesuit at Peking, quoted by Du Halde, remarked, as long ago as 1687, that the princes of Europe should be cautious how they send letters and presents to China, lest "their kingdoms be registered among the tributaries."

Though our altered relations with China have happily rendered this no longer a question of expediency, or even possibility, it is as well to add Dr. Morrison's observations:—"There is a difference of submission and devotedness expressed by different postures of the body, and some nations feel an almost instinctive reluctance to the stronger expression of submission. As, for instance, standing and bending the head is less than kneeling on one knee; as that is less than kneeling on two knees; and that less, again, that kneeling on two knees, and putting the hands

and forehead to the ground, and doing this once is, in the apprehension of the Chinese, less than doing it three times, or six times, or nine times. Waiving the question whether it be proper for one human being to use such strong expressions of submission to another or not, when any (even the strongest) of these forms are *reciprocal*, they do not interfere with the idea of equality, or of mutual independence. If they are *not* reciprocally performed, the last of the forms expresses in the strongest manner the submission and homage of one person or state to another: and in this light the Tartar family now on the throne of China consider the *san-kwei kew-kou*, thrice kneeling and nine times beating the head against the ground. Those nations of Europe who consider themselves tributary and yielding homage to China should perform the Tartar ceremony, those who do not consider themselves so should not perform the ceremony.

"The English ambassador, Lord Macartney, appears to have understood correctly the meaning of the ceremony, and proposed the only condition which could enable him to perform it, viz. a Chinese of equal rank performing it to the King of England's picture, or perhaps a promise from the Chinese court that, should an ambassador ever go from thence to England, he would perform it in the king's presence, might have enabled him to do it. These remarks will probably convince the reader that the English government acts as every civilised government ought to do, when she endeavours to cultivate a good understanding and liberal intercourse with China. But since, while using these endeavours, she never contemplates yielding homage to China, she still wisely refuses to perform by her ambassador that ceremony which is the expression of homage." This argument takes the question upon a higher ground than that sordid one of a mere commercial

unnecessary apprehensions for their safety from duly maintaining the dignity of the British flag. The viceroy, it appeared, had a letter from the emperor for the Regent, which he was bound to deliver in person to Lord Amherst. It was resolved by his excellency not to consent to any meeting with that functionary unless the first place was yielded to himself and the commissioners; as Chinese of the rank of the viceroy were too much accustomed to arrogate to themselves the precedence on such occasions, even with their guests, and it was important at Canton, the seat of our connexions with the country, to take this public opportunity of maintaining his own rights. Accordingly, a yellow tent was erected, in which the viceroy, reverently lifting above his head with both hands the emperor's despatch, which was enclosed in a roll of yellow silk, delivered it, with much solemnity, into the ambassador's hands. The whole party then repaired to an adjoining tent, where his excellency, with Sir George Staunton (who had now resumed his former station at Canton) and the other commissioner, took their seats to the left, or place of honour; and the viceroy, and his lieutenant, and the Hoppo, on the other side. It was this same officer, by name Tseang Tajin, who had inflicted so many vexations on the English at Canton since 1814, of whom it was one of the principal objects of the mission to complain, and whose intrigues at court may be considered as a chief cause of its rejection. His looks on this occasion betrayed his unfriendly feelings; but an attempt which he made to say something uncivil met with such a reception as made him shrink within himself, and he was glad to hide his embarrassment in a hurried take-leave, which closed the business of the embassy in China. Mr. Barrow calculates * that Lord Macartney's mission cost the Chinese

* Travels in China, p. 605.

government a sum equal to 170,000*l* sterling Lord Amherst's must have cost nearly the same during the five months it was on their hands · and it is hardly surprising if they are not anxious for many such expensive visits

It has often been a subject of just remark that this *unsuccessful* mission was followed by a longer interval of tranquillity and of freedom from Chinese annoyance than had ever been experienced before From the year 1816 to 1829 not a single stoppage of the British trade took place, except in the affair of the 'Topaze' frigate in 1822, and there the Canton government was glad to make the first advances to a resumption of the suspended intercourse, as we shall see In 1820 an accidental occurrence took place, which gave rise to transactions of a very remarkable nature, proving, in the strongest manner, the anxiety of the government to avoid a discussion with the English . Some boats from one of the Company's ships were watering in the river, when they were barbarously attacked by a party of Chinese with stones The officer in charge of the boats fired over the heads of the assailants to make them desist, but the shot unfortunately took effect among some boys on a high bank opposite, and killed one of them The Chinese, as usual, demanded that somebody should be given up, but the committee insisted on the urgent emergency which led to the discharge of the gun, as well as on the accidental nature of the case

In the mean while, the butcher on board one of the ships committed suicide, and the Chinese, on hearing this, immediately took it up, thinking proper to assume that *he* must be the individual who had shot the boy ! The utmost eagerness and haste were shown by them in appointing an inquest of mandarins, who proceeded to examine the body, and, as it was decided by them at

which affairs at Canton proceeded tranquilly, without accident or hindrance of any kind; but in the mean while the mismanagement, or dishonesty, of some of the Hong merchants was preparing embarrassments of another description. Their number had of late years consisted of ten or eleven, and of these one or two poorer individuals, who had never enjoyed much credit or confidence, failed for a small amount, without producing much effect on the general trade; but about the beginning of 1828 the known difficulties of two of the principal Hongs began to display the evil effects of a system of credit, which had grown out of the regulations of the government in respect to the payment of the Hong debts.

It had been for many years enacted, by an order from the emperor, that the whole body of Hong merchants should be liable for the debts of their insolvent brethren to Europeans. It was at the same time ordered that no money obligations should be contracted by them to foreigners; but the prohibition proved utterly ineffectual. The solid guarantee of the Consoo, or general body, which afforded every certainty to the European or American capitalist that he should ultimately recover his loan, whatever might be the fate of the borrower, gave to the Chinese merchants such a facility in obtaining credit, as led some of the more prodigal, or less honest ones, to incur very large debts at the usual Chinese rate of ten or twelve per cent. One of them failed in 1828 for the amount of more than a million of dollars. He was banished to Tartary, which, in Canton-English, is called "going to the cold country;" but, being of a broken constitution, and withal a smoker of opium, he died on his journey. In the following year, 1829, another Hongist, who had borrowed very largely of Europeans and Americans, failed for a nearly equal sum. This last, however,

as altogether a fraudulent transaction, for Chunqua hich was the man s name) made off to his native pro nce with a large portion of the money, and such was e influence of his family, some of whom were persons high official rank, that he contrived to keep his ill otten gains, and to make the Consoo pay his creditors

The e two failures, to the aggregate amount of about o millions of dollars produced as might be expected, considerable sensation and loud clamours among the reign merchants at Canton Discussions sub equently ro e with the Consoo as to the period in which the debts ere to be liquidated, the Hong merchants contending r ten annual instalments, while the creditors would ot extend it beyond six At length, by the powerful fluence of the select committee, which was exerted on e side of the Europeans and Americans, it was settled at both the insolvents debts should be finally liquidated y the end of 1833, which was about six years from the ccurrence of the first failure The eyes of the govern ent were, however, opened to the mischievous conse uences of the regulation which obliged the corporation f Hong merchants to be answerable for the debts of any ember of the Consoo, however improvident or dishonest, nd it was enacted that from henceforth the corporate ponsibility should cease The whole amount of the o millions was strictly paid up at the end of the limited eriod, and there was no real cause of regret, to the oreign merchants, in the rule which made every man nswerable for his own debts, for, in the first place, the revious arbitrary system had generated a hollow species f credit, which was anything but favourable to the trade t large, and, secondly, the debts, though they might eem to have been paid by the Hong merchants, were n reality paid by the foreigners, as a tax on imports was

made by the committee appeared not to have been without its effect on the Chinese authorities, for no attempt was made to put the new regulations in force, and Europeans carried on their business unmolested at Canton

In the month of November his majesty's ship 'Challenger' arrived from Bengal, conveying the letter of remonstrance from the governor general to the viceroy After some negotiation this was delivered in a suitable manner to a deputation of mandarins, but the written replies, though they disavowed any intention of insult or outrage to the factory, were so far from satisfactory, and conveyed in so objectionable a mode, that the committee refused to accept them Thus the matter rested, and subsequent instructions from England put a stop to all further proceedings on this subject

The smuggling trade in opium, which the exactions of the Portuguese at Macao drove from that place in 1822 to Lintin, a small island between Macao and the entrance of the Canton river, increased with extraordinary rapidity from its first commencement, in consequence of the negligence or connivance of the Chinese government This soon led to hopes (which were at length destined to be disappointed) that a surreptitious trade of the same kind might be extended along the whole coast of China to the eastward, not only for opium, but for *manufactured goods* The local government of Canton had placed itself in so false a position, with respect to the emperor as well as to Europeans, by its long course of secret and corrupt practices in relation to the prohibited drug, that it was even disabled from interfering to protect its own subjects at Lintin, where the armed smugglers lay in open defiance of all law and control Chinese were on several occasions shot from the smuggling ships, with perfect impunity The relations of the deceased, as usual, appealed to the

might move up and down the river without a licence; and restrictions were contemplated on the mode of addressing the government, contrary to the stipulations of 1814. In consequence of these threatening proceedings of the local officers, notices in English and Chinese were issued by the committee, stating that, unless the apprehended evils were redressed or removed, the commercial intercourse would be suspended on the 1st of August following. A letter was at the same time despatched to the governor-general of India, suggesting the expediency of an address from his lordship to the viceroy, to be conveyed by one of his majesty's ships. At the end of May the English merchants and agents at Canton published a set of resolutions, concurring in all that had been done by the committee, as the only safeguard against additional evils and encroachments.

On the 9th June an edict was received from the viceroy (who had, in the mean time, been absent on account of an insurrection in Hainân), sanctioning what the Fooyuen had done, and forwarding the *emperor's confirmation* of the eight regulations which threatened the trade. The sanction of the emperor having been thus obtained to the obnoxious clauses, their abrogation no longer rested with the local government. It therefore became necessary for the committee to review their position, as the probability, or rather possibility, of any alteration in these threatened regulations previous to the 1st August could no longer be contemplated. They accordingly came to the resolution of postponing any measures as to stopping the trade, and any active steps towards obtaining a redress of grievances, until the result of their reference to India could be ascertained. This was accordingly made known by a second notice, and the Bengal government was apprised of the resolution. In the mean while, the stir

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mandarins; but the anomalous situation of these functionaries in respect to the Lintin trade always obliged them in the end to evade or relinquish the demand for satisfaction; and the Company's authorities of course disclaimed all responsibility for proceedings out of the limits of the river, where the smuggling system being connived at by the lower mandarins themselves, they must take the consequences of their own iniquity.

The attempts to establish a surreptitious trade were soon extended from Lintin to the eastern coasts; but the success did not answer expectation. Beyond the limits of the Canton province, as *all* European trade was expressly prohibited by a long-established ordinance of the country, the mandarins had not the same shelter for corrupt practices; and, though opium might be introduced in small quantities, a smuggling trade in manufactures proved altogether visionary. The conductor of one of these experiments, in 1831, reported that he could obtain "no traffic besides opium; nor had any of the vessels which had gone to the eastward been ever able to deal in other articles, except occasionally a little saltpetre." It soon appeared, in short, that, without the consent of the supreme government of Peking, no prospect existed of an advantageous trade in manufactures, except at Canton.

So much, however, had been both imagined and asserted at home, regarding the facilities for trade at the prohibited ports of China, that it seemed desirable to the select committee in 1832 to try a final experiment, in order to prove or disprove what had been given in evidence before parliament. After ascertaining to what extent the disposition of the local authorities on the coast might favour such a smuggling trade, the next point of inquiry related to the ports or stations at which it might most

conveniently be carried on The 'Lord Amherst,' a small country ship, was accordingly sent on this service, in charge of one of the Company's servants, who was accompanied by Mr Gutzlaff, well versed in the spoken language of China, and especially of the coast Every possible advantage was thus afforded to the experiment, and the selection of the goods was as various, and as well adapted to the occasion, as a previous knowledge of the tastes or wants of the Chinese could suggest The ship sailed on the 26th February, and did not return until the 4th September Among other points on the coast, she touched at Amoy and Foochowfoo in Fokien, at Ningpo in Chĕkeang, and at Shanghae in Keangnân On the return, Corea and Loo choo were visited No device of ingenuity or enterprise was spared to dispose of the goods on board, and to establish a traffic with the natives These showed a very hospitable disposition towards the strangers, but all commerce was effectually prevented by the mandarins, except in one or two trivial instances Some of the officers of government were civil and forbearing, and even accepted of small presents, others, less condescending, were fairly bullied by the people in the 'Amherst,' their junks boarded or their doors knocked down, and their quarters invaded Still the same vigilance was exercised to prevent trade, and trade was prevented

On the conclusion of the voyage it was stated in the report that "much alarm and suspicion had invariably been manifested, on the part of the local governments, at their appearance, and to *fear* might be mainly attributed the civility which on some occasions they experienced" As a commercial speculation, it was observed, the voyage had failed, for they had "only succeeded in disposing of a portion of the goods shipped" These goods, being intended for experiment only, and not for profit, amounted

or security for either natives or strangers as long as acts like these might be committed with impunity, and, under the circumstances of our anomalous relations with the country, it befitted our government to place a very summary controlling power in the hands of whomsoever it appointed as its representative in China *

Towards the close of 1833, when the authority of the Company was drawing to an end, and before it had been replaced by any other, the effects were seen in a series of violences that took place not far from Lintin, where some furious engagements occurred with the natives, and one of them was killed In revenge for this, an unfortunate lascar, belonging to the smuggling ship principally concerned, and who had been taken prisoner by the enraged Chinese, was put to death by them An organized attack of armed boats from the opium ships was now prepared against the town or village near which the occurrence took place, but the natives were prepared for them, and such a fire was opened from a small fort when the boats made their appearance, that it was thought better to return *quietly*, without attempting to land

The relatives of the deceased Chinese, not yet satisfied, applied to their government for redress, but the transaction had occurred in connection with the opium-trade, and the provincial authorities found themselves hampered with the usual difficulties A singular device was fallen upon by the Hong merchants —One of these, by authority of the government, caused to be conveyed to Canton some individual out of a trading junk in the harbour of Macao, who, for a bribe or reward, was to personate the culprit who had shot the Chinese! He was to be im-

* The Duke of Wellington in his memorandum observed that such an officer " must have great powers to enable him to control and keep in order the king's subjects

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH INTERCOURSE—(continued).

Commons committee of 1830—Act of 1833—Lord Napier appointed chief commissioner to China—His difficulties and death—Mr Davis succeeds—Edicts of the viceroy—Administration of Sir George Robinson—Increase of smuggling—The opium trade—Debts of Hong merchants—Visit of Admiral Maitland—Evils of the opium traffic—Efforts for its suppression—Proceedings of commissioner Lin, and their results—Massacre of an English boat's crew—The 'Volage'—Affray with war-junks—The 'Psyche'—Affair of the 'Thomas Coutts'—Collision with Chinese vessels——English trade stopped—War declared.

IN the evidence before a committee of the House of Commons appointed at the beginning of the year 1830, with reference to the approaching termination of the East India Company's charter, it was clearly stated, as the opinion of some of the most competent witnesses, that the removal of the China trade from the management and control of the Company would be attended by a great increase of smuggling, and by an aggravation of all those circumstances which were calculated to embroil the English with the government of China. One witness plainly declared "the result would be, sooner or later, a war with China, accompanied by wide-spread individual ruin." The report which the committee grounded upon the whole of this evidence was expressed in terms of caution, and by no means recommended an entire subversion of the system under which the British trade with that singular and exclusive people had attained a magnitude and importance unparalleled by that of any other country, even of America and others whose trade was free.

Many prudent and reflecting persons were of opinion

that British traders from England, like those from India, might safely be allowed an unlimited access to Canton, but that *both* should still be subject to the control of the Company's authorities, who, as the channels of intercourse with the Canton government, should remain undisturbed. This was the opinion and intention of the Duke of Wellington; and when Lord Grey's cabinet subsequently proposed the bill for the entire overthrow of the Company at Canton, with the immediate subversion of the long-established system, his grace entered his protest against it. In the debate of the 13th of May, 1840, on Lord Stanhope's motion with reference to China, the Duke declared that "there existed on the records of their Lordships' House amendments moved by him to the China Trade Bill in order to induce the government and parliament to continue the trade in the hands of the East India Company, simultaneously with British subjects at large, and to leave in the hands of the East India Company most particularly the management of the whole business with the Chinese government at Canton."

Dîs aliter visum!—We have since been at war with China; and it will be the business of this chapter to present a succinct narrative of events from the subversion of the East India Company's administration in 1834 to the end of the year 1839. The official documents have all been made public in the Blue Book prepared for both Houses of Parliament. In the year 1833 a bill was carried through parliament by Mr. Grant, President of the India Board, by which it was enacted "that it should be lawful for his majesty, by commission under his royal sign-manual, to appoint not exceeding three superintendents of the trade of his majesty's subjects with China, and to give to such superintendents certain powers and authorities." The East India Company were not only

deprived of their *exclusive* right of trading with China, but of the right of trading at all, in common with the rest of the king's subjects, and, as the operation of the Act was to be immediate, their commercial property and shipping were sold at a great loss. The English community at Canton were scarcely less surprised at the suddenness of the revolution than the Chinese themselves were. The maxim of Bacon, that nature should be imitated by politicians in the *gradual* character of her changes, seems to have been forgotten or disregarded, and before the arrangements consequent on so complete a transmutation could be well completed, the chief commissioner arrived in China on board the 'Andromache' frigate, in the person of Lord Napier, an amiable nobleman and zealous public servant, who deserved a more propitious errand and a better fate.

The rumours of judicial and fiscal powers to be exercised under the new commission were calculated to excite the alarm of the jealous and watchful government of the country, whose attention had only just before been drawn to the attempts of English traders on the coast to force a trade by intimidation. No previous communication whatever with the Canton authorities prepared them for the appointment of Lord Napier,* indeed there was no time for it, and his instructions were—"Your lordship will announce your *arrival at Canton* by letter to the viceroy." The chief commissioner was received at Macao on the

* T[illegible]
the se[illegible]
press[illegible]
few p[illegible] from the king to the Chinese emperor transmitted, without any embassy, through the viceroy of Canton, as in 1795 (as I believe once again afterwards), would have been a good mode of announcing so important a change. It seems to me that the native government had some right to it, and that it was an eligible and inexpensive way of dispelling or allaying their accustomed suspicions.

15th July, 1834, in the manner due to his rank and personal character, by the president of the committee, to whom Lord Napier produced the commission and instructions under the royal sign-manual, appointing him colleague and eventual successor to himself. Mr. Davis's intention to quit China that year had long been settled and declared, but the actual insertion of his name in the commission, and a letter from the minister who had drawn up the new bill, made him consider it his duty to accept office while upon the spot; and this was declared in an official letter, on the express condition that he should be at liberty to proceed home that same year. Sir George Robinson undertook the provisional office of third commissioner until his majesty's pleasure could be known.

On the 23rd July the commission embarked on board H.M. ship 'Andromache,' and proceeded to the anchorage at Chuenpee, below the batteries at the Boca Tigris. At noon on the following day the superintendents left his majesty's ship, and proceeded on board the cutter on their way to Canton, where they arrived at two o'clock on the morning of the 25th.

Lord Napier addressed a letter from himself to the viceroy, announcing his arrival according to his instructions; and when this had been translated by Dr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary to the commission, it was despatched to the usual place of delivery, near one of the city gates. Under a variety of pretexts, grounded principally on the wording of the address, the mandarins at the station declined to receive the letter, the real object of the government being to oblige Lord Napier to quit Canton until the emperor's permission for his residence had been obtained. This indeed appears to be an act of sovereignty of which all states are naturally exceedingly tenacious. Though China has never yet been recognised

by any European [illegible] obligations of [illegible] law, a knowledge of [illegible] these papers from the Chinese [illegible] that Lord Napier's [illegible] from England [illegible] claimed.

It was [illegible] very first [illegible] and immediate [illegible] but he declining [illegible] correspondence with the Hong [illegible] and his views [illegible] communication with the [illegible] fied by later events [illegible] that comes [illegible] as a mere matter of [illegible] been [illegible] their [illegible] with the Portuguese [illegible] ment and ought [illegible] to the British [illegible] who, not being a merchant, [illegible] with the Chinese [illegible] cation through the [illegible] of the Hong merchants, until the mandarins found [illegible] themselves to him. In fact, the [illegible] years before [illegible] in the most [illegible] despatch from Lord William Bentinck [illegible] by the 'Challenger' frigate, and [illegible] letter, and not a *petition*. The Hong merchants, acting as the [illegible] of the local government, and finding that Lord Napier would have nothing to say to them, soon fell upon the old expedient of threatening the stoppage of the trade, endeavouring by this means and craftiness to create a division among the English, and set up a party opposed to the measures of his lordship. They unhappily succeeded at length in *kindling a com-*

munity which had long contained within itself the germs of dissension; but Lord Napier took the earliest steps to prevent it, if possible. In his despatch to the Foreign Office of the 14th August he wrote, with reference to a requisition from the Hong merchants to the English merchants, calling upon them to attend a meeting of the Hong at the Contoo House, "This appearing to me rather a novel and unprecedented measure, I immediately called a general meeting of all British inhabitants, to be held at the hall of the superintendents at half-past ten, in order to deliberate on the propriety and the consequences of attending such a meeting. Mr. Davis and myself addressed the meeting, deprecating such an attendance as that proposed; and a draft of the letter to the Hong merchants, being read, was carried unanimously, with some verbal alterations."

In the midst of these difficulties and discussions it naturally occurred that now was the proper time to present a respectful address to the emperor by the way of the Yellow Sea, waiting the results of which, the commission might suspend its functions and retire for a time within itself. Lord Napier alludes to this in his despatch of the 14th August in these words:—"Mr. Davis has perhaps offered some observations on this head, as he has already done to me, in reference to the advantage of immediate communication." Such observations were in fact contained in the letter to the secretary of state already quoted at p. 113 (*note*), but omitted in the extract from the Foreign Office.*—"The next best thing" (to an announcement from England) "might have been a discretionary power vested in Lord Napier, in the event of the provincial authorities being found hostile or impracticable (things quite within the range of possibility), to send up a

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 25.

re pectful addre to the emperor by the way of the Yellow Sea announcing the change, and praying for just and liberal treatment from the Canton government. Lord Naper tells me his hand are quite tied up on the point, and that he mu t not communicate with Peking except by a previous reference home I could have wished that at so great a di tance as 15,000 miles, a larger latitude of discretion had been allowed, presupposing a well-founded confidence in those who were to exercise it" There can be little doubt that if the proposed reference could have been made, and the function of the commi ion suspended *ad interim* the unfortunate occurrences which followed might have been prevented.

Towards the end of Augu t, after the viceroy had refu ed Lord Napier s letter of announcement, and declined every sub equent offer of direct communication, the departure of a ship for England presented the first opportunity that had occurred since Lord Napier s arrival for sending despatches to the Foreign Office As the ship after quitting the river and remaining some days at Lintin, way out, circum tances f the late t intelligence le i his lordship to request the second commi ioner to proceed to the latter place and await the vessel s departure That being accomplished, Mr Davis wrote to beg that H M cutter might be sent down for him as soon as pos ible The services of that vessel in communication with the two frigates prevented her arrival until the night of the 5th September, when she brought a letter from Lord Napier explaining the delay Very early on the following morning the second commissioner started in the cutter with Captain Elliot, and, on the way up a few lines were received from Sir George Robin on, saying that he had come down to the frigates with a requisition from

Lord Napier to Captain Blackwood to move the 'Imogene' and 'Andromache' to the anchorage of the merchant-ships at Whampoa. A note from Captain Blackwood stated that he would look out for the cutter until seven o'clock the next morning, when the frigates would weigh anchor to pass the batteries. We accordingly passed the cutter on under all sail, and, the wind being fair, fortunately got on board the 'Imogene' at midnight.

It appeared that the Chinese, not contented with their earlier acts of annoyance and indignity—whether of a personal nature, as the unnecessary breaking open of Lord Napier's baggage, and the seizure of the purveyors of provisions; or the more serious and public injury inflicted by the stoppage of the trade—had been emboldened to proceed so far as to beset his lordship's residence with soldiers, to drive away his native servants, and to cut off the supply of provisions. Under these circumstances, accompanied by the denial to sanction or make good any transactions involving British property subsequent to the 16th August, the right honourable the chief superintendent deemed it necessary, on the 5th September, to send for a guard of marines, and to request the senior officer of H. M. ships to proceed with the 'Imogene' and 'Andromache' to the anchorage of the trade at Whampoa.

Early on the morning of the 7th September we passed the batteries at the Boca Tigris, in working up against a northerly wind; but, under every disadvantage, silenced the fire which was opened on us, with only one man hurt by a splinter, and a few ropes shot away. The wind then failed, and the ships came to an anchor against the ebb-tide below Tiger Island fort. Here they lay in a dead calm until the 9th, when a breeze sprung up, and

we weighed to pass Tiger Island The battery opened its best fire on the frigates, but we passed within pistol shot, knocking the stones about the ears of the garrison, though with the loss of a man killed in each ship and a few wounded Baffling calms again retarded the progress of the frigates, which did not reach Whampoa anchorage until late on the 11th September

On the arrival of H M ships among the merchantmen at Whampoa the communication between that place and Canton was found to be entirely closed for all purposes of commerce or otherwise, and to the Americans as well as to the English A negotiation then commenced in which the local government required the withdrawal of the frigates from the anchorage of the merchantmen, and the retirement of Lord Napier from Canton previous to the resumption of commercial business His lordship was therefore induced, on the 15th September, to address a letter to the British community, in which he informed them that having thus far without effect used every effort to establish the commission at Canton he did not feel authorised at present, by a continued maintenance of his claims to occasion the further interruption of the trade of the port It was therefore arranged that the frigates should proceed to Lintin and Lord Napier, whose health was in a very precarious state, embarked in a chop boat for Macao on the 21st September On the morning of the 26th his lordship reached that place by the inner passage, his illness having been aggravated by the heat of the weather, and by the delay and annoyances experienced on the passage down

The viceroy proved for once as good as his word in reopening the channel of commercial business as soon as the chief commissioner retired from Canton and the traders were soon fully engaged in loading their ship In the

mean while Lord Napier's illness unhappily increased, and at length, notwithstanding the unremitted care of his family and medical attendants, terminated his existence in the course of a few weeks after his arrival at Macao.

His lordship's successor, Mr. Davis, in writing to the secretary of state, observed, with reference to his own advice of an appeal to Peking, that it might be recommended by such reasons as the following:—first, that no fact was better authenticated than the general ignorance in which the local government kept the court in regard to Canton transactions and its treatment of Europeans; secondly, that Chinese principles sanctioned and invited appeals against the distant delegates of the emperor; thirdly, that a reference of the kind was so successful in 1759 as to occasion the removal of a chief commissioner of customs at Canton, though made by only a subordinate officer of the East India Company.

The useless office of master-attendant, now become superfluous by the abandonment in England of the scheme for levying duties on our ships *in the Canton river*, was abolished by the chief superintendent, and the late master-attendant, Captain Elliot of the Royal Navy, was appointed by him to the office of secretary to the commission. The severe loss experienced in the recent death of Dr. Morrison, the Chinese secretary (more practically versed in the language than any European), had been supplied by his son; and the services of Mr. Gutzlaff, as joint interpreter, were now secured by transferring to him the salary which had lately been paid to the master-attendant.

Two edicts were in the mean while issued by the Chinese viceroy, in which the English merchants were called upon to elect a temporary Taepan, or commercial chief, to control the English shipping, and prevent the

smuggling at Lintin, where nearly forty [illegible] anchored. They were, besides, directed to [illegible] for a Taepan, who was to be a merchant, and not a [illegible] officer the object of course being to keep the [illegible] of the English in the hands of the Hong merchants. No notice whatever was taken of these edicts, as it was clear that the embarrassment which must result to the local government, from the want of some authority to address themselves to, would in time oblige them to recognise the king's commission This opinion was completely sanctioned by the event, a direct correspondence with the officers of government having been established by Captain Elliot.

When the British trade had continued prosperous [illegible] a space of between three and four months [illegible] superintendent in his communication with the [illegible] of state * took a review of the [illegible] that period as the best [illegible] the measures which our [illegible] am aware, he observes [illegible] opposite nature [illegible] the one which I have [illegible] a season of [illegible] amount of [illegible] the [illegible] first [illegible]

when the Company's ships were detained for five months to little or no purpose, was a warning which I now do not regret having profited by.

"I might, on the other hand, have adopted the opposite extreme, of an immediate submission to the dictates of the local government, and have proceeded to Canton to place myself under the management of the Hong; but from this I was deterred by the conviction, stated to your lordship in my despatch of the 11th November, that any adjustment ought to take place as the result of a mutual necessity, and that an unbecoming and premature act of submission on our part, under present circumstances, could not fail to prove a fruitless, if not a mischievous, measure.

"It was reasonably hoped by the commission that a complete silence and abstinence from all further attempts to negotiate with the Canton government, pending the reference home, might be attended with a favourable effect. The imperial edict forwarded with my despatch of the 2nd instant, in which the blame of the transactions of August and September is thrown on the Hong merchants, and the late troubles attributed to their extortions on the trade, must be viewed as an unequivocal sanction of that opinion. An opportunity is afforded by this imperial document, which his majesty's government may not be inclined to neglect, of making an appeal to the court of Peking against the conduct of its servants at Canton, whose corrupt system in relation to the European commerce tends nearly as much to defraud the emperor of his dues as to discourage and oppress the European trader."

Under the above circumstances, and with positive instructions not to appeal to the court of Peking without a previous reference home, the chief superintendent waited until the latter end of January, and then embarked for

England, being succeeded by Sir George Robinson With a view to securing to his majesty's commission the valuable services of Captain Elliot as one of the superintendents, Mr Davis waived certain claims which the regulations afforded himself, and resigned entirely his station on embarking, thus causing Captain Elliot to succeed as a member of the commission, according to the general tenor of the sign manual instructions

For the space of two years from that date, during 1835 and 1836, public affairs proceeded in uninterrupted quiet, under the charge of Sir George Robinson, who strictly adhered to the principle that no advances should be made towards negotiation but such as were dictated from England. It was the pleasure of the government, however, to leave the commission without any additional instructions or powers, and to take no measures whatever for appealing to Peking, or availing themselves of the opening afforded by the emperor's edict before referred to The reciprocal commercial interests of English and Chinese fortunately kept affairs tolerably quiet, notwithstanding the doubtful or inadequate powers of the British authorities, and the absence of a ship of-war to strengthen the hands of the chief commissioner, or, as the duke's memorandum expressed it, "be within his reach" The only remarkable exception to this quiet tenor occurred in the case of a British trader, who, on the seizure of his goods by the Chinese customs, threatened, and was actually proceeding, to procure redress for himself by acts of reprisal against the Chinese trade This was fortunately prevented, and a despatch from the Foreign Office, in 1836, declared that, if the individual persisted in his intention, "he would be abandoned to the fate which such a course would probably bring upon him, and further, that the commanders of any of his majesty's ships

which might fall in with him would be bound to act towards him as the naval instructions require them to act towards pirates."* Our commercial and political intercourse with China having been restored, a very summary controlling power over British subjects was required in the hands of the English representative, backed and supported by a naval force.

It is universally allowed that the opening of the trade in 1834 gave an immediate stimulus to smuggling of all kinds, at the expense of the fair trade. In forwarding to the secretary of state one of those edicts against opium which until then had been regarded as mere waste paper, Mr. Davis observed, "It remains now to be seen whether *the native government, having its attention at length* awakened by the increased amount of smuggling transactions consequent on the open trade of this season, will endeavour to give greater efficacy to its edicts, and oppose some effectual impediment to the contraband commerce of Lintin."† Just four years afterwards, Captain Elliot, who had succeeded to Sir George Robinson, wrote thus:— "There seems, my lord, no longer any room to doubt that the court has finally determined to suppress, or more probably most extensively to check, the opium trade. The immense, and it must be said the most unfortunate, increase of the supply during *the last four years*, the rapid growth of the east coast trade in opium, and the continued drain of the silver, have no doubt greatly alarmed the government."

The magnitude of the evil led the Peking government to consider various proposals submitted by its chief advisers; and the hopes of some persons, not very well acquainted with Chinese principles of government, were at one time confident that the trade would be legalised.

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 126. † Ibid. p. 76.

A mandarin named Heunaetse advised that a tax should be laid on opium, and that it should be admitted, like other goods, with a duty of about seven dollars a chest, while the expenses of smuggling amounted to at least forty dollars He argued that the increased severity of the law against opium had only tended to increase the amount of the bribe paid to the official underlings for their connivance, and that the lawless habits of increased smuggling gave rise to a set of desperate villains, who defied authority and became capable of the most atrocious crimes This argument was specious and conclusive when viewed in the light of expediency alone, but those ill understood the unbending character of Chinese maxims who expected that it would be adopted. "It is a principle of the Chinese government" (said Dr Morrison long ago) "not to license what they condemn as immoral. I know they glory in the superiority, as to principle, of their own government, and scorn the Christian governments that tolerate these vices, and convert them into a source of pecuniary advantage or public revenue" All that the unfortunate mandarin got by his liberal advice was to be banished into Tartary, and the measures of the imperial government became more decided than ever

The total amount of English smuggling had not only been much less during the administration of the Company at Canton, but they had the power and the means of effectually excluding it from the interior of the Boca Tigris, and confining it to Lintin and the coast In this manner, however nefarious the nature of the traffic, and however corrupt the officers of the customs, some external show of decency at least was preserved But on the subversion of the long established system, and the substitution of an authority whose powers were both inadequate and imperfectly defined, it was soon discovered

that licence was unbounded, and impunity complete. Captain Elliot observed* that "the manner of the rash course of traffic *within the river* had probably contributed most of all to impress (on the Chinese government) the urgent necessity of repressing the growing audacity of the foreign smugglers, and preventing their associating themselves with the desperate and lawless of their own large cities." Thus it was the opium-trade *within* the Boca Tigris—not the mere existence of the trade, but the barefaced mode of carrying it on—which exasperated the Peking government. "While," said Captain Elliot in the same despatch, "such a traffic existed in the heart of our regular commerce, I had all along felt that the Chinese government had a just ground for harsh measures towards the lawful trade, upon the plea that there was no distinguishing between the right and the wrong." For such cogent reasons that officer repeated, in the most urgent manner, his application to be "vested with defined and adequate powers for the reasonable control of men whose rash conduct could not be left to the operation of Chinese laws without the utmost inconvenience and risk, and whose impunity was alike injurious to British character and dangerous to British interests." But the time had now passed by, and in three months after the above was written the great explosion took place, in the indiscriminate and outrageous imprisonment of all the English at Canton,—all those at least whom a forecast of some coming mischief had not led to decamp in time. But we are anticipating.

The more rigid enforcement of the laws on the smugglers at Lintin, and the other long-established haunts

* Despatch dated 26th January, 1838. A witness examined in May, 1840, declared with equal candour and truth—"We never paid any attention to any law in China that I recollect."—*Evidence.*

at the outside of the Canton river, had driven the trade into new channels. A great increase took place in the smuggling on the east coast, but the most dangerous result was the growing importation *within* the river, and as far as Whampoa, by Europeans themselves in their own boats. In this Captain Elliot very early foresaw that the authorities would be driven to some violent measure, in order to avert which he addressed a memorandum in November, 1837, to the government at home, recommending a special commissioner to be sent to Chusan, or some other principal point on the coast, away from the influence of the Canton mandarins, for the adjustment of this perilous business. The government, in reply, declined taking any steps of the kind at present.

If anything had been wanting to add to the gloomy aspect which affairs were assuming at Canton about the beginning of 1838, it was to be found in the enormous debt of more than three millions of dollars due to the English merchants from two insolvent Hong merchants, with very little prospect of repayment. The last dollar of a nearly equal amount had been paid up in 1834 to the European creditors, through the influence and power of the East India Company, who in fact stopped it from the Hong merchants' accounts, but no such potent means of justice against the Hong monopoly were any longer available under the free trade.* The Co-Hong had the effrontery to propose that these new debts to the free traders should be paid back in *fifteen* years—that is, in a period when the bonds bearing 12 per cent interest would have more than doubled their capital in interest alone. After a long and harassing discussion of many months,

* An open trade upon our side with such an association as the Co-Hong on the other must always be a very unfortunate state of things to ourselves. —*Captain Elliot's Despatch*, p. 310

it was settled that between eight and ten years should be the period allowed for paying the new debts arising since the opening of the trade; and to this the English creditors found themselves obliged to submit. One of these drew up a very curious paper on the history of the Hong merchants and their debts, in which he recapitulates by saying "that the British merchants who have succeeded to the East India Company, not possessing the advantages of that body's monopoly, and consequent identity of interest and unity of action, are neither in the position to avoid incurring the debts, nor to recover them when due; and that the organs of her majesty's government in China have not as yet possessed the means to acquire moral weight with the local authorities, or Hong merchants, to replace the commercial influence of the East India Company's factory." In consequence of this melancholy and desperate state of things, a debt of about three millions of dollars became due to the English from the Hong merchants, besides the claim for two millions sterling on account of opium subsequently seized by Commissioner Lin.

A visit to China on the part of Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, in H. M. ship 'Wellesley,' about the period when these debts were under discussion, might have seemed to afford a good opportunity for his powerful interference in behalf of the British merchants; but there is nothing to warrant the inference that the admiral discussed this point with the Canton government, or indeed that he had any communication with the viceroy. The 'Wellesley' arrived in China on the 12th of July, 1838, accompanied by H. M. brig 'Algerine,' and the British superintendent immediately joined the admiral, and proceeded with him to the anchorage of Tong-koo Bay, about seven leagues south of the Boca Tigris. An edict soon arrived from the viceroy, in the old form, addressed to

the Hong merchants, and forwarded by them This document was returned unopened, with a message that the strict orders of her majesty's government made such a mode of communication impossible Captain Elliot then proceeded to Canton, and forwarded to the city gates an open paper for transmission to the governor by a mandarin The paper was left open with a view to obviate the difficulty about the use of the character *pin*—a petition It was conveyed to the viceroy, but the merchants returned it with a remark from his excellency that he could not take it unless it bore the character *pin* Captain Elliot then declared that he had formally offered to set forth the peaceful purposes of the admiral's visit, and, if the viceroy did not think fit to accept these explanations, his business at Canton was concluded, and he should forthwith retire A British boat, meanwhile, passing the Boca Tigris, was fired upon by the forts, and, when boarded by a mandarin, was required to state whether the admiral or any person belonging to him was there, as they should not be permitted to pass up Sir Frederick, on being informed of this insult remarked that he had come to China with a determination to avoid the least violation of customs or prejudices, but that he was nevertheless resolved to bear no indignity to the flag He accordingly proceeded forthwith to the Boca Tigris with the vessels under his command, to demand a formal disavowal of these unprovoked attacks A civil letter was soon received from the Chinese admiral Kwan (since killed in action with our forces) asking the reason of Admiral Maitland's visit, and, in reply to this, a demand was made for reparation on account of the late insult The result was, the mission of a mandarin captain of war junks to wait upon the British admiral, accompanied by one of less rank, and the expressions of disavowal of any intention

to insult were written at the dictation of the higher officer by the hand of the other on board the 'Wellesley' in the presence of the several parties. Sir Frederick Maitland signified his satisfaction with this declaration, and, after the exchange of some civilities, returned to his former anchorage, and soon afterwards sailed away.

In two months after the departure of the 'Wellesley' another outbreak took place, as the result of that rash system of smuggling within the Boca Tigris which had grown up since the commencement of free-trade. A seizure of opium was made at Canton, the property of a British trader, and immediately in front of his dwelling. The individual and the ship from which the opium came were ordered out of the river within a given time, and the unhappy Hong merchant who secured the ship, though perfectly unconscious and innocent of the act, underwent the severe punishment of the cangue, or wooden collar. When the obnoxious individual had withdrawn himself, the trade, which had been stopped in the mean while, was expected to be resumed.

The government would seem to have been irritated by this occurrence into one of its barbarous outrages on human feeling, with a view probably to intimidate the European smugglers in their desperate courses within the limits of the river.* Only a few days after the discovery above mentioned, the foreigners were struck with astonishment by a sudden preparation, in the square immediately before the factories, for the strangling of a native opium-dealer. It was at once determined to resist this unprecedented and intolerable act, and they succeeded in chasing away the carnifex and his horrid apparatus. The considerable crowd of Chinese that had assembled evinced no unfriendly disposition towards the foreigners, but (as

* Blue Book, p. 324.

the despatch observes), "from a general concurrence, rather the contrary." When, however, the crowd had become exceedingly dense, some rash foreigners provoked the people by forcibly pushing in amongst them, and assailing them with sticks. They returned this with showers of stones and other violence, and in a few minutes the Europeans were driven within the gates of their respective factories, which were immediately closed. But the fury of the crowd, consisting at this time of some thousands, was excited to a degree that threatened tragical results; until the Chinese soldiers succeeded in dispersing the mob, while the criminal was executed at one of the usual places. "All these desperate hazards" (the despatch observes) "were incurred for the scrambling and comparatively insignificant gains of a few reckless individuals, unquestionably founding their conduct upon the belief that they were exempt from operation of all law, British or Chinese."*

The inconvenience and danger were so imminent, that the chief superintendent called a meeting, at which many foreigners besides English voluntarily attended. He felt bound to say "that the present mischiefs originated in the existence of an extensive traffic in opium, conducted in small boats within the river. The results were the actual interruption of the legal trade; the seizure and punishment of innocent men; the distressing degradation of the foreign character; and the certainty that the illegal and violent traffic would fall into the hands of the desperate, the refuse, and probably the convicted of all the countries connected with China." A notice was accordingly issued to the small smuggling craft in the river belonging to the English, that they must proceed outside within three days, and the superintendent at the same

* Blue Book, p. 327.

time offered his co-operation to the government for the purpose of putting a stop to the river smuggling. It was on this occasion that he obtained from the viceroy the important concession of a direct communication with the mandarins, without the intervention of the Hong merchants.

The stagnation of the opium traffic for some months proved that the proceedings against both smugglers and consumers were sufficiently effective, and a report soon spread that a very high officer from the court, bearing the summary powers of a Kin-chae, or special Imperial Commissioner, was soon to be sent to Canton. Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, significantly hinted that unusually strong measures would be taken by this new functionary, and dwelt upon the manifold mischiefs of the trade, particularly on the alarming character of the late interior traffic, asking the British superintendent what his government would do under such circumstances? Captain Elliot answered that no such state of things could happen in England; and that the present evils had not only been induced by the venality of the highest officers, but had been put down by his own proceedings, as far as those could operate. Howqua concluded by saying that some strong official communication on the subject must be expected as soon as the high commissioner arrived.

A proclamation was in the mean while issued by the local government in January, 1839, not through the Hong merchants, but addressed directly to the foreigners, —a remarkable and unusual proceeding, furnishing strong evidence of the earnest feelings of the court. It was required that the receiving ships on the outside should be all sent away under the penalty of hostile measures. The high commissioner's approach was announced, and it was declared that, "though the axe should break in his

hand or the boat should sink from beneath him, yet would he not stay his efforts until the work was completed '

The arrival of the high commissioner was immediately preceded by a native opium smuggler being suddenly brought down into the square before the foreign factories, accompanied by a considerable force of troops, and there publicly strangled ! All the European flags at Canton were hauled down, and remonstrances made to which no answer was returned From this event until the commissioner's arrival, rumours of every description were afloat, but the general impression was, that he would proceed forthwith to Macao and commence his operations from thence Tents were pitched, a considerable force was assembled, junks and boats of war collected, and under the forts at the Boca Tigris, a display of old native vessels preparing to serve as fire ships On the 22nd March it appeared that the storm had changed its direction, and impended over the whole foreign community at Canton in the most alarming form

On his arrival Commissioner Lin far surpassed in his measures the most formidable apprehensions that had preceded him He immediately issued an edict directly to the foreigners, demanding that every particle of opium on board the ships should be delivered to the government, in order to its being burned and destroyed At the same time a bond was required, in the foreign and Chinese languages, that "the ships should hereafter never again dare to bring opium, and that, should any be brought, the goods should be forfeited, and the parties suffer death, moreover, that such punishment would be willingly submitted to' He plainly threatened that, if his requisitions were not complied with, the foreigners would be overwhelmed by numbers, and sacrificed, but at the

same time made some vague promises of reward to such as obeyed.

On first hearing of the proceedings at Canton, the British superintendent, always present where danger or difficulty called him, hurried up in the gig of H.M. ship 'Larne,' and made his way to the factories on the evening of the 24th March, notwithstanding the efforts made to stop him. The state of intense distress in which he found the whole foreign community may be estimated by stating that the actual pressing difficulty was the obstinate demand that one of the most respectable English merchants should proceed into the city, and attend the commissioner's tribunal. Captain Elliot's first step was to proceed to Mr. Dent's house, and convey him in person to the hall of the superintendents. He immediately signified to the Chinese his readiness to let Mr. Dent go into the city with himself, and upon the distinct stipulation, under the commissioner's seal, that he was never to be moved out of his sight. The whole foreign community were then assembled, and exhorted to be moderate and calm. On the same night the native servants were taken away and the supplies cut off, the reason given being the opposition to the commissioner's summons. An arc of boats was formed, filled with armed men, the extremes of which touched the east and west banks of the river in front of the factories. The square between, and the rear, were occupied in considerable force; and before the gate of the hall the whole body of Hong merchants and a large guard were posted day and night, the latter with their swords constantly drawn. So close an imprisonment is not recorded in the history of our previous intercourse.

Under these circumstances the British superintendent issued a most momentous circular to his countrymen, requiring the surrender into his hands of all the English

opium actually on the coast of China at that date. In undertaking this immense responsibility, he had no doubt that the safety of a great mass of human life hung upon his determination. Had he commenced with the denial of any control on the occasion, the Chinese commissioner would have seized the pretext for reverting to his measures of intimidation against individual merchants, obviously his original purpose, but which Captain Elliot's sudden appearance had disturbed. He would have forced the whole into submission by the protracted confinement of the persons he had determined to seize, and, judging from his proclamation and general conduct, by the sacrifice of their lives.

On the 3rd April it was agreed that the deputy superintendent should proceed down the river with the mandarins and Hong merchants, and deliver over to the commissioner 20,283 chests of opium from the ships, which were assembled for that purpose below the Boca Tigris. The imprisonment and blockade in the mean while remained undiminished at Canton, and attempts were made to extort from the foreigners the bond by which their lives and property would have been placed at the disposal of the Chinese government. This, however, was avoided.

It was not before the 4th May, when all the opium had been delivered, that the state of imprisonment and blockade ceased at Canton. Leave was then given for all to quit except sixteen individuals, who ultimately took their departure, under an edict from the government never to return. Frequent rumours in the mean while reached Canton of Commissioner Lin's aggressive intentions towards Macao. The Portuguese had taken advantage of the proceedings within the river to embark their opium and send it to Manilla, but the commissioner insisted on

the delivery of a certain quantity, under the threat of occupying the forts with Chinese troops. Captain Elliot took the first opportunity to write to Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, detailing that "course of violence and spoliation *which had broken up the foundations*" (to use his own words) "of this great trade, as far as Canton is concerned, perhaps for ever." He at the same time applied for as many ships of war and armed vessels, for the protection of life and property, as could be detached from the Indian station.

The Chinese commissioner in the mean while set on foot a system of restriction on the trade and intercourse with foreigners to which Canton had hitherto been a stranger, and which at once converted that place into the Nagasaki of the Japanese. All the unlicensed merchants and shopkeepers, engaged in most extensive transactions with Europeans, were ordered to remove forthwith, and their streets blocked up. Barriers were built across some streets, the factories stockaded about, terraces torn down, and the foreigners made little better than prisoners within their dwellings. The Americans submitted to all this; but it did not immediately affect the English, for the British superintendent very properly ordered every subject of her majesty out of the river, or left it to him to stay at his own peril. Captain Elliot did not quit Canton himself until the 25th May, when the sixteen proscribed individuals had left that place in safety, and the persons of no other British subjects were in jeopardy.

On a view of the conduct and proceedings of the chief superintendent through this eventful scene of trial, it is not easy to deny the truth of the high encomium passed on that officer by the best of judges, the Duke of Wellington himself. In the debate of the 13th May, 1840, in the House of Lords, his grace observed, with reference to the

immense responsibility incurred for the safety of British subjects, that Captain Elliot "performed a service for which this country and government owed him thanks, an act of courage and self devotion such as few men had ever had an opportunity of showing, and probably still fewer would have shown" The duke might well add that "he had never known a person filling a high station in another country treated in such a manner as Captain Elliot had been treated by the authorities of the Chinese government at Canton

In the month of July, 1839, the English traders were most of them resident at Macao, and a large fleet of merchantmen lay at Hong kong It was obviously impossible to trust to the faith of so perfidious a functionary as Commissioner Lin who had violated, one by one, all his promises during the progress of delivering the opium, and kept the British superintendent and his countrymen confined for six weeks, in the vain endeavour to obtain the bond by which they were to yield themselves up to the future mercy of the government The commissioner remained at Canton, not daring to leave that province until he could report the peaceful resumption of the regular British trade at Whampoa His anxiety to accomplish this prime object of his hopes was betrayed by repeated papers addressed to the English, who, however, felt no disposition to place themselves once more within the power of a man who set himself above the ordinary obligations of honour and good faith The impetuosity of this rash functionary had certainly placed him in a very critical situation, for, according to the invariable policy of the Chinese government, he was doomed to remain in his present office until he had worked his mission to a conclusion The commissioner's perplexity was soon increased by the impulse which his reckless measures had given to the more

desperate traffic in opium on the east coast. The high prices soon brought on the immense stocks from India, and, as the superintendent observed, "the coasts were delivered over to a state of things which seemed likely to pass from the worst character of a forced trade to plain buccaneering." Had the Canton government accepted the sincere offers which Captain Elliot made to co-operate with it in the repression of the vilest part of the traffic, these calamitous and threatening results might have been prevented; but the impracticable pride of the Chinese was soon destined to meet with its reward.

In the mean while an unfortunate occurrence took place at Hong-kong in the death of a Chinese, killed in a riot which broke out on shore with some American and English sailors. There was the plainest proof on all hands that Americans were engaged as well as English; but they denied it, and, as the Americans were still trading at Canton, the Chinese found it convenient to lay the whole responsibility on the English, who were not trading. Captain Elliot proceeded to the utmost verge of his powers, with a view to afford the government all reasonable satisfaction, by setting in action the criminal jurisdiction, and placing six of the English rioters on their trial. The mandarins were invited to attend, but did not think fit to comply. Five of the men were found guilty of riot and assault only. These proceedings did not satisfy Commissioner Lin, who was glad to be able to ascribe the stoppage of the trade to the recent homicide, and not to his own violent proceedings at Canton. He moved down to Heangshan, a place forty miles from Macao, with about 2000 soldiers; insisted upon the delivery of a man, and upon the entrance within the river of all the British shipping (his real object); while, with a view to enforce his demands, he took away all the native

servants and stopped the supplies of food to Macao. As the Portuguese governor of that place confessed his want of means to afford the English any protection they all quitted the place, and embarked on board the ships at Hong kong on the 26th August.

The state of hostility and insecurity was greatly aggravated by a barbarous murder committed at this time by some armed Chinese boats on the defenceless crew of an English schooner, when seven lascars were massacred, and a passenger on board left for dead, after having been cruelly cut and mutilated. As a mandarin hat and knife were left on board by the murderers, there rested a strong suspicion that the assailants were mandarin boats acting at the instigation of the commissioner, whose acts had proved that he was quite capable of such a proceeding when he saw little chance of an innocent sailor being delivered to him for execution.

The arrival of H M ship 'Volage' at this juncture was a fortunate occurrence, which assured the security of British subjects and their shipping from the threatened attacks of the Chinese. Assistance was immediately offered to the Portuguese governor of Macao, and all the means to render that place secure and independent, but he declined the offer, and trusted to the preservation of a rigid neutrality. An untoward event soon afterwards occurred on the 4th of September, in the encounter of Captain Elliot's cutter, accompanied by the pinnace of the 'Volage,' and a small armed vessel, the 'Pearl,' with three large Chinese war junks, employed in intercepting provisions from the fleet, and anchored under a large and

were prepared for actual conflict The junks, however,

had suffered, and were presently seen to weigh and make sail for the purpose of escaping through an adjacent outlet. By this time cartridges had been made, and the boats, bearing up, succeeded in beating the junks back to their former position. In the evening the 'Volage' arrived at the bay, and the three boats joined her. During the night, however, it was agreed not to proceed in the morning to destroy the three junks; and this was the only unfortunate feature of the affair, being calculated to make the Chinese ascribe their forbearance to wrong motives.

A disquieting occurrence on the 8th of September for some time kept the English fleet in painful suspense. The master of the British armed schooner 'Psyche' imprudently left the harbour of Hong-kong without orders, taking with him fifteen people, to reconnoitre a passage in the immediate vicinity, said to be occupied by war-junks. No time was lost on the following day, when his absence became known, in sending boats to make inquiries, but without success; and as there appeared every reason to suppose that the parties, sixteen in number, had fallen into the hands of the Chinese, the urgent nature of the case led the chief superintendent and Captain Smith of the 'Volage' to declare the Boca Tigris in a state of blockade until the men were delivered up. Before the period of the blockade arrived, however, the boat and her crew returned in safety. A strong adverse tide had caught them in the narrow passage they purposed to explore, and, observing a considerable force in the rear, they had pushed on through the opposite outlet, and succeeded in reaching Macao, though after a long passage, and in a very exhausted state, having neither provisions nor sails with them. The blockade was accordingly withdrawn.

Towards the end of October there was a prospect of a

temporary adjustment of difficulties, so far as to admit of the commerce being carried on below the Boca Tigris until further instructions had been received from England. The British community were returning to Macao, and the ships to Chuenpee in order to deliver their cargoes There was no departure whatever from the principle that it was impossible to deliver up a man to be tried by the Chinese, or to sign a bond of consent for the capital punishment of the queen s subjects by the mandarins

But all this was doomed to be frustrated On the 5th November the chief superintendent wrote thus to the Foreign Office *—" A different and unhappy turn of affairs has been brought about, and I am grieved to report that this serious public mischief is attributable to the conduct of a British subject, Mr Warner, master of the ship 'Thomas Coutts' Upon his arrival from Sincapore, Mr Warner did not repair to Hong-kong, but demanded his pilot, and proceeded to the Boca Tigris, signed the required bond of consent to the new laws, involving the infliction of capital punishment by Chinese forms of trial, and the ship was immediately carried up to Whampoa" *A committee of British merchants had previously stated* their apprehension " that the circumstance of one English ship, the 'Thomas Coutts,' Captain Warner, having actually proceeded inside the Bogue, in violation of the injunctions of her majesty's chief superintendent, and the fact of the captain having signed the bond required by the Chinese government, might occasion delays and difficulties in the proposed trade outside, which would never have arisen had all the English remained firm, as they had hitherto done"

The consequence was a determination on the part of the commissioner to break off his concluded arrangement,

* Additional Parliamentary Papers p 8

and a demand for the entrance of the whole British shipping on the same terms as the 'Thomas Coutts;' or their departure in three days, under menaces of destruction if they remained. It was soon Captain Elliot's task to report the most serious collision which had ever taken place between our navy and the Chinese force, if we except perhaps the passage of the Boca Tigris in 1834. Finding that the Chinese were preparing for aggressive measures against the fleet, and that Admiral Kwan was in considerable force near Chuenpee, the chief superintendent recommended to Captain Smith the immediate removal of the 'Volage' and 'Hyacinth' to that neighbourhood, and a moderate but firm address to the commissioner. This measure was calculated to ascertain the actual extent of preparation, and her majesty's ships could be in no more suitable or imposing situation than in sight of the batteries, and under the immediate observation of the commissioner.

Captain Elliot accordingly repaired on board the 'Volage' frigate on the 28th October; but strong adverse winds retarded their arrival until the morning of the 2nd November, when her majesty's ships were anchored about a mile below the first battery, where an imposing force of war-junks and fire-vessels was collected. A lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, the interpreter, was despatched to the admiral's junk with the address to the commissioner. They were civilly received, and the admiral replied that he would forward the paper to their excellencies then in the neighbourhood, and send the answer next day. He also expressed a wish that the ships should move down a little farther, which Captain Smith immediately did, with the intention to prove his peaceful disposition. In the course of the same evening a linguist was despatched to the ships with a verbal mes-

sage, requesting that Mr Morrison might be sent on board the admiral's junk It was answered, that the written address contained all that was to be said, and for the present such a visit was inexpedient.

In the forenoon of the 3rd an officer of some rank anchored at a short distance from the ships, and again sent the linguist to desire Mr Morrison might come to them in reply to which the previous message was repeated. About this time the Chinese squadron, under the command of the admiral, broke ground, and stood out towards her majesty's ships, which were immediately got under weigh, and directed towards the approaching force As soon as this proceeding was observed, the squadron anchored in good order to the number of twenty-nine sail, and her majesty's ships were hove to, while a short correspondence ensued, in which the Chinese were peremptory in demanding the delivery of an Englishman, and refused to retire.

Captain Smith now very properly declared that he did not feel himself warranted in leaving this formidable flotilla at liberty to pass inside of him at night, and carry into effect the menaces against the merchant vessels, and thinking that the retirement of her majesty's ships before a force moved out with the palpable intention to intimidate was not compatible with the honour of the flag, he resolved to constrain their return to their former anchorage At noon, therefore, the signal was made to engage, and the ships, then lying hove to at the extreme end of the Chinese line, bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam In this way, and under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a destructive fire The lateral direction of the wind enabled the ships to perform the same evolution from the other extreme of the line, running up again with their port

broadsides bearing. The Chinese answered with much spirit, but the terrible effect of the English fire was soon manifest. One war-junk blew up at pistol-shot distance from the 'Volage,' three were sunk, and several others water-logged. The admiral's conduct is said to have been worthy of his station. His junk was evidently better manned and armed than the others; and after having weighed, or perhaps cut or slipped his cable, he bore up and engaged her majesty's ships in handsome style. In less than three-quarters of an hour, however, he and the remainder of his squadron were retiring in great distress to their former anchorage, and, as Captain Smith was not disposed to protract destructive hostilities, he offered no obstruction to their retreat. It is to be feared, however, that this clemency was thrown away upon the Chinese, who have no conception of the true principles of such forbearance, and subsequent facts show that they actually claimed the victory. This they perhaps founded on the circumstance of her majesty's ships making sail for Macao, for the purpose of covering the embarkation of the English who might see fit to retire from that place, and of providing for the safety of the merchant-ships. On the 4th November the 'Volage' joined the fleet at Hong-kong, and the 'Hyacinth' was left at Macao, to watch events in that quarter.

It was time that the Chinese should receive such a lesson as the foregoing, for not long prior to it they had robbed and burned a Spanish brig, the 'Bilbaino,' utterly unconnected with opium, under the plea that she was an English vessel, though her proper flag was flying. As that brig lay at anchor in the Taypa, a harbour pertaining to Macao, she was surprised at daybreak by four war-junks and several fire-rafts, accompanied by a number of mandarin boats, whose crews entered the brig, robbed her

of everything on board, and then set fire to her The Spanish mate was carried off in chains, with one of the sailors, while the rest of the crew saved their lives by jumping overboard The Chinese carried away the flag with them, and the Spanish consular agent at Macao was denied all redress for this gratuitous and unjustifiable outrage

The discomfiture of Admiral Kwan's squadron was soon followed by the refusal of all trade to the English with China, but, for some months, the Americans continued to trans ship goods and carry them up to Canton, bringing back cargoes of tea on British account, which were shipped for England on the outside of the Boca Tigris This at length attracted attention, and the emperor's edict, cutting off the commerce of the English, was enforced to the utmost, by denying intercourse to such American ships as trans shipped cargoes The local government went so far as to purchase several ships—rather to act as floating batteries than to be added to the emperor's squadron of war-junks Their sense of their own weakness, on the other hand, was proved by Admiral Kwan not risking such another victory as that for which he had been lately rewarded, but keeping very close to the forts at the Boca Tigris, notwithstanding several attempts to coax him out The Governor General of India was invested with full powers to declare war, and direct its operations, and thus commenced the most important and momentous enterprise, next to the conquest of India itself, in which the British arms have ever been engaged to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH INTERCOURSE TO THE EXPEDITION OF 1857.

First capture of Chusan — Visit to Peiho — Hostilities at Canton — Reinforcements — Capture of Amoy — Recapture of Chusan — Chinhae and Ningpo taken — Land operations — Capture of Chapoo — Of Woo-sung and Shanghae — Chinkeangfoo stormed — Treaty of Nanking — Troubles at Canton — Keying's visit to Hongkong — Convention of Boca Tigris — Restoration of Chusan — Riot at Canton — Assaults on Englishmen — Expedition of 1847 — Chinese murderers executed — Progress of rebellion to Nanking — Sir John Bowring — Outrage on the flag.

A DETAILED narrative of the war with China, under any circumstances unsuitable to this work, is rendered the more superfluous by its previous existence in another,* of which it is the main subject. So small a share had opium, except as the spark which exploded the mine, in what some have been pleased to call the "opium war," that opium was never once mentioned in the treaty which concluded it, save as claiming a fraction of the indemnity. Two hundred years of submissive policy at Canton, leading to the evils already detailed, and the transfer of our relations from the East India Company to the hands of the British government, when the same submission became impossible, were sufficient to account for what very many persons had foresight enough to predict.

The presumption of the local government and people of Canton, in which all troubles of consequence then and since have originated, and where the remedy should always be *topical*, was unfortunately fostered by the first step

* China during the War, &c. Longman, 1852.

taken by us in the war. Our fine armament, instead of addressing itself to the offending quarter, passed Canton, where they were prepared for and expected us, to proceed to Chusan, an unoffending place, where they were not prepared. The inference at the former place was inevitable and the emperor was duly informed that we were afraid of them. Chusan fell at once into our hands in July, 1840, and a lull took place, during which the Chinese pursued their miserable system of kidnapping and murder in detail, proving that they could assassinate at least, if they dared not fight. That fine island, which, for four years after the termination of the war, proved so healthy in the occupation of the 98th and other regiments under the command of Colonel (now Sir Colin) Campbell, was at first a mere pesthouse, through the combined influence of bad provisions and the abuse of spirits. A large proportion of the Cameronian regiment lie buried on the west of the town of Tinghae, near which they were quartered, and disease was the most destructive enemy of our land forces during the whole war. The navy, being confined to their ships, were less exposed to the causes of mischief—above all, Chinese spirits commonly known as *samshoo*.

A number of small operations that of the 'Blonde' frigate at Amoy, and of the 'Cruizer' at Chapoo, served only to inspirit the Chinese, who, on the departure of those ships, claimed the victory. A small surveying vessel, the 'Kite,' was seized while aground at the mouth of the great river, and its inmates paraded in cages, previous to their intended execution, which, however, they happily escaped. At length, in August, 1840, the plenipotentiary resorted to the mouth of the Peking river, too shallow to be approached by any but small vessels, and thus defended by nature. He was referred back to

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Canton for the proposed discussions, and Keshen, a person of high rank, was deputed to meet him there.

The mischievous training which the Cantonese had always received from their government had lately been aggravated by the proceedings of their favourite Lin, attended as these were with temporary success. The general feeling was against the new negociator, when it was known that he came the advocate of pacific measures; for a besotted notion prevailed that the so-called "rebellion" might be easily subdued by an appeal to arms. The wily Keshen fell upon the safer course of gaining time by protracted discussions, costly to us, but attended with the hope of some turn of fortune in his own favour. At length, on the 6th of January, 1841, in the midst of the most bland professions, the provoking discovery was made of a secret edict, consigning to detailed destruction and murder all British ships and subjects wherever they might be found. This perfidy was fitly visited the very next day by the storming of the forts at Chuenpee and Tykoktow, the destruction of several hundreds of the enemy, and the disabling of 173 guns. The Bogue forts unfortunately escaped by the grant of an armistice. "We must adopt other methods to stop them (said Keshen to the emperor), which will be easy, as they have *opened negociations*." A furious despatch in the mean while arrived from Peking, directing the minister "to send the heads of the rebellious barbarians to the capital in baskets." Keshen, however, was so hard pressed that he concluded a convention with the British, by which Hong-kong was ceded to us, six millions of dollars agreed to be paid as indemnity, and the trade opened within ten days, with a direct official intercourse on equal terms.

This proved the ruin of the minister at Peking, whence the emperor despatched a notable diatribe, in which

Keshen was degraded, and his enormous property (exceeding the wealth by which some gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion have purchased nobility in Europe) confiscated. Chusan having been given up as the result of the temporary armistice, hostilities were resumed in the south. On the 26th February Sir Gordon Bremer captured all the Bogue forts, an event which produced consternation at Peking, and some dismay even at Canton.

With the hope, perhaps, that wisdom might be found in the multitude of counsellors, a triumvirate was despatched from court, of whom the chief, Yihshan, a relative of the emperor,* had no better qualification than his presumption and ignorant contempt of foreigners. The third commissioner reached Canton the first of the three, just after the capture of the Bogue forts, immediately despatching 2000 of the new troops from the north to the first bar to "expel" us. Sir Thomas Herbert's light squadron taught them a terrible lesson on the 1st March, dispersing the whole of the Chinese force on shore with great slaughter. Yet they were afraid to report the affair otherwise than as a victory, and a succession of victories of the same description led to the capitulation before Nanking in 1842.

A deputation from Canton invited a parley on the 3rd March, near Napier's Fort at the barrier, but the absurdity of their terms, relaxing as little as the Sibyl herself, led to the occupation of Napier's Fort by our troops. Yihshan at length reached his post on the 14th April, though his besotted ineptitude rendered him a mere spectator of passing events, and left Yang fang, his colleague, the real actor. Meanwhile an interval of armed suspense occurred, unfavourable to ourselves, during which the

* For general character of imperial relatives see Chap. IX., p. 317.

Chinese were anything but relaxing in their preparations; while the cold and dry season was passing away, to give place to heat and rain when we renewed operations.

Chinese troops arrived daily from the north, and unequivocal symptoms of an approaching storm began to thicken. The native traders near the foreign quarter forsook their shops with ominous haste, and the European merchants thought it time to consult their own safety. Soon after the prefect of the city had assured them in the most winning terms that they were in no sort of danger, the attack began towards the night of the 21st May, on our weakest quarter, by fire-rafts and by guns on the shore, now unmasked for the first time. The main body of the British land force, to the surprise of the Chinese, advanced round by the westward to take possession of the heights in the rear of the city. The number of troops, including the Manchow garrison, cooped up within the walls, has been estimated at 20,000, and served mainly as a scourge to the inhabitants, the confusion being terrible in its results to them.

When the forts to the north had been carried by our troops, the fugitives pressed tumultuously into the city. The inhabitants, on the other hand, fled from the tender mercies of their own soldiery by the eastern gates. A civil war of extermination soon began, and the leaders, unable to control their rage, resolved to conclude a convention, at any risk or expense, with us. Every outwork had been mastered, and Canton lay at the mercy of the British force. One of the Peking triumvirate made his appearance on the walls, and invited a parley with Sir Hugh Gough; but the terms of a convention had already been concluded by the plenipotentiary on the river-side of the city. Six millions of dollars were to be immediately paid as ransom, and the foreign trade resumed

on condition of our troops being withdrawn It was significantly reported to Peking, that, "having once got rid of the barbarians, and blocked up all the passages leading to Canton, we may cut off their commerce, and place them in the worst position"

While the negociations were yet pending, an event had occurred which surprised the Chinese leaders themselves Some of our idle camp followers wandered into the empty villages and committed excesses of various kinds, including the violation of several tombs, in which the strongest feelings of the Chinese are centered A general rising took place around, every weapon was seized, and a collection of some thousands seemed to threaten the rear of the British position As their numbers gradually increased, a message was delivered to the city, that the flag of truce should be hauled down, and operations resumed, unless this demonstration was quickly withdrawn The prefect of Canton despatched an order, and succeeded in dispersing the assemblage, but many a wish has since been uttered that the "braves' had received a taste of that for which they seemed so ready, and been put to the rout by shot and shell From that day an idea seized the rabble that they were equal to the enemy which had defeated their rulers, and, however absurd the notion, it has been productive of the utmost trouble and mischief ever since Soon after the completion of the peace in 1842, the Canton mob burned down the factories and flag staff under the organized conduct of leaders, and their aggressions were perpetually resumed for about five years, until the public decapitation of the four murderers of Englishmen, in 1847, seemed to diminish their taste for mischief, and some ten years of comparative immunity took place previous to the events consequent on the affair of the 'Arrow' lorcha

A change took place in the chief actors on both sides soon after the conclusion of the operations against Canton. With the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger, followed by large reinforcements, the scene of war became transferred to another quarter. The Canton government did all in their power to communicate with the new plenipotentiary, who would not see any of them. A typhoon, or hurricane, did some damage to our squadron as it lay off Hongkong, but the energy of Sir W. Parker, the admiral, repaired all defects, and towards the end of August, 1841, a fine naval and military force was on its way to effective operations on the north-east coast. Views were at first entertained of molesting Hongkong on the departure of the armament, but the small force still retained there proved amply sufficient for its protection.

Since the first capture of Chusan the Chinese government had not neglected preparations along the most accessible points of the coast. Amoy, from its good harbour and former connection with European trade, was selected as a point of defence, being a likely one of attack. A stupendous stone rampart, of many hundred yards in length, had been constructed eastward to the entrance of the harbour. The guns of the line-of-battle ships produced little effect on this by their shot on the 27th of August, but the left flank was escaladed by landing a party of troops, who easily drove the enemy along the whole length of the rampart, and the commandant, seeing the place carried, walked into the sea and drowned himself. Immediately opposite to the town of Amoy is a little island called Koolangsoo, a mile in length, which is easily defended, and commands the town and harbour. It was resolved to leave a small land force there, and not to occupy Amoy itself while the expedition proceeded to Chusan. A report was immediately sent to Peking that

we had evacuated Amoy, and not a word was said about Koolangsoo and its garrison

The person in charge of the defence of Chusan and Ningpo was the Mongol Tartar Yukien, a more sanguinary savage than even governor Yeh of Canton Like him, however, he employed assassination, poisoning, and kidnapping, as legitimate modes of warfare One of his exploits was to flay alive the master of an English transport caught on shore But his punishment was exemplary, and not long deferred Chusan had been defended by a huge embankment along the whole sea line in front of the town, on the supposition that the attack would be made there, but this was easily turned by scaling the heights on the left, and charging the Chinese along the rampart The force then pushed on for the hill immediately above the city on the west, where the wall being scaled Chusan fell a second time into our possession, on the 1st October, 1841 Many of the inhabitants had so largely profited by our former occupation that they now remained quietly to take care of their property The greatest order and discipline prevailed, the markets were well supplied, and for five years perfect contentment existed among our temporary subjects in that fine island

After the fall of Chusan, Yukien tried to keep up the game of misrepresentation, and addressed the emperor in a document still more mendacious than any previous But it was the last he was destined to write The day for which he professed so much desire at length arrived, and on the 10th October our land and sea forces appeared before Chinhae, his boasted stronghold The two line-of battle ships were towed, in a perfect calm, into their respective berths before the citadel, on the left bank of the Ningpo river, and with the rest of the squadron undertook

the reduction of that and the town; while the land force, about 2200 strong, was put ashore on the opposite side to attack the Chinese camp, numbering full 5000 men. The attack was made in three columns, the centre one in advance, and the enemy formed with great confidence to receive it, commencing a fire from their small artillery. But the almost simultaneous attack of the three advancing columns, with their well-plied volleys of musketry, soon proved too much for the Chinese, who broke up in confusion, flying on all sides, and leaving hundreds of dead and wounded on the ground.

The ships meanwhile operated with fully equal effect against the defences of the left bank, and the superior range of their artillery and missiles spread destruction before the enemy could get theirs to bear. The ruin and consternation were fearful, nearly as much from the explosion of the Chinese magazines as from our fire; and the sanguinary Yukien was condemned to view this dismal discomfiture of all his boasted anticipations. He at first sought safety in flight, but, awaking to a sense of his disgrace, attempted to drown himself. He was dragged out by his followers, but on the following day contrived to destroy himself by swallowing either opium or some other deadly agent.

Such was the panic created among the whole population, who had assembled in multitudes to witness our expected destruction, and many of whom fell victims to the fire, that not an attempt was made at further resistance; and the city of Ningpo, only a few miles up the river, was taken quiet possession of by our force on the 13th October, being destined to afford a good asylum during the ensuing winter to the land forces. Here the campaign of 1841 closed in the progress of conquest to the northward; but some signal successes were achieved

on shore, both at Ningpo and in the immediate neighbourhood, all tending to disabuse the Chinese government of its notions of invincibility, and to hasten the conclusion of peace.

When the people of Ningpo discovered that they would be treated like peaceful subjects, and that their worst enemies were their own troops, or the vagabond banditti by whom the town had been chiefly plundered, they cheerfully remained, and supplied the provisions, for which they received punctual payment Three neighbouring district towns were easily reduced, and a period of tranquillity ensued until the commencement of March. The Chinese leaders, perhaps emboldened by the temporary lull, had been for some time collecting a force with a view to retake the city by surprise, and on the night of the 10th March a furious attack was made, by dense columns of the enemy, on the west and south gates At the former they were bravely repulsed by the small guard of the 18th Royal Irish, under Lieutenant Armstrong, but succeeded *in gaining an entrance by the latter, though* they met with such a reception in the interior as soon led to their retreating through the same gate with severe loss In the mean time a gun, with a party of artillery, hurried to the west gate, and did great execution on the assailants before they retreated Smaller attacks simultaneously at Chinhae and Chusan were easily defeated

This occasioned our force becoming assailants in their turn Intelligence having been received of an army of 5000 or 6000 men assembled in the neighbourhood of Tsekee, under a Tartar general, a military and naval brigade of 1250 men proceeded, on the 15th March, in three steamers up the river, and found the enemy encamped on the heights of Segaon, to the north of the town The attack was made in three separate columns, and after

some loss in ascending the heights from the enemy's matchlocks, the whole force of the Chinese was soon put to the rout, with considerable carnage. This was among the final lessons which were necessary to dispel the ignorant conceit of the government, and teach them (what they had long denied) that they were as unequal to us on the land as at sea. The grand army of Chĕkeang was now effectually dispersed, and the time quickly approached for continuing the expedition in its victorious advance towards the north, where its final success was promoted, not less by what the enemy had learned of the moderation and humanity of the reported barbarians, than by their uniformly irresistible career.

The first point of attack after quitting Ningpo was Chapoo, on the shore of the great bay or estuary of the river on which Hângchow is built. Here the resistance, on the 18th May, was as ineffectual as usual, with the exception of a sharp contest with some hundred Tartars, who had retired to the interior of a temple, and, seemingly ignorant of our custom of giving quarter, defended that post in the most desperate manner until burnt out. The astonishment of the survivors was great on being dismissed with praise and rewards. The British force was now advancing fast towards the mouth of the Yang-tse-keang, and the worst fears of the Peking government began to be realised. Great preparations had been made at Woosung, lying at the entrance of the Keang and of the Shanghae river; but, when the squadron reached that point, on the 16th June, they ranged themselves at anchor along the formidable-looking batteries, and after two hours' firing the seamen and marines of the fleet sufficed to drive the garrisons from their posts, after killing the Chinese commandant, whose image was subsequently enshrined in a temple at Shanghae, further up the

river The British force advanced at once upon that city, a flourishing port of trade, destined to contain one of our new consulates Here the resistance was almost nothing The town had been abandoned by its defenders, and the plunder and devastation by thieves and vagabonds considerably preceded our occupation

The apathy and indifference of the people to invasion had resulted very much from the experience of the immunity enjoyed during the past winter by the unresisting natives at Ningpo and elsewhere Being little partial to their Tartar rulers, they had the less motive to resist us, and this was ominous to the imperial government The British force quitted Shanghae on the 23rd July, to try the great problem of the navigability of the Yang tse-keang Perhaps the most remarkable exploit of the whole war was the safe conduct to Nanking a distance of 200 miles, of fifteen ships of war, ten steamers, and above 50 transports, conveying 9000 troops, by the admirable arrangements of Sir William Parker, along this mighty stream, which had never before been ploughed by a European keel On the 19th July the force was at anchor off Chinkeangfoo, a little below Nanking

As guarding the openings of the Grand Canal north and south of the river, and the transit of the river itself, the post was of great importance This was best proved by the large Tartar garrison under Haeling, a commander of some eminence The resistance here on the 20th of July was greater than at any other point, and we lost more in killed. Our squadron might have shelled the city from the water, but the attack was reserved for the land force After dispersing some Chinese troops in the plain, our attacking columns scaled the walls or forced the gates with little opposition, but it was on the ramparts that the contest began, and for about two hours the

Tartars disputed it step by step. Overpowered at last with great carnage, the remnant disappeared, and Haeling, retiring to his house, deliberately burned himself to death. The families of the Tartar troops nearly all destroyed themselves, as their companions had before done at Chapoo.

The capture of this citadel and the destruction of so many of the emperor's own prætorians, tended very much to hasten the conclusion of a contest now so threatening to the Peking government. The estimable and pacific characters of the two chief commissioners, Keying and Elepoo, both Tartars, aided the attainment of what was now the principal aim of both parties. Moderation, humanity, and comparative sincerity on the Chinese side, took the place of blustering, cruelty, and evasion. On the 4th of August the 'Cornwallis' flag-ship anchored off the north gate of Nanking, and the whole of the squadron having arrived by the 9th, the disembarkation of troops commenced the next day. The city was ill provided for resistance, and the Tartar garrison had a foreshadowing of their own probable fate in that of their comrades at Chinkeangfoo. Negotiations soon commenced, and, on the first appearance of vacillation on the Chinese side, preparations were made for carrying Nanking by storm. The emperor at length, after hesitating on one or two minor points, yielded his consent, and a treaty of peace was signed by Sir H. Pottinger on board the 'Cornwallis' on the 29th of August. The principal articles were, the payment of 21,000,000 dollars as indemnity for the war; the abolition of the Hong monopoly; the opening of five ports of trade under a tariff of moderate duties; the cession of the island of Hongkong; and direct communication on terms of perfect equality between the two governments.

The four new ports of trade (in addition to Canton, the old one) had not been ill selected, considering the means of information existing at the time. Amoy and Ningpo were chosen as having been previous trading ports, and Ningpo has proved on trial the least profitable of the four, perhaps from its vicinity to Shanghae, which is the best of all, and therefore draws away its trade. At Shanghae and Amoy we have the advantage of trading under the guns of our ships, but at Foochowfoo, as at Canton, there is the great disadvantage (in China) of all transactions being at the distance of ten miles from the shipping. The most untoward feature of all, however, on the conclusion of the treaty, was the condition of affairs at Canton. At that old and traditional seat of animosity the rabble and its leaders had only added to the leaven of hatred and malice which their rulers had always instilled. To quote from a volume* published five years ago, "This worked so effectually, that on the 7th of December, a few months after the treaty was signed, a mob, first attracted by a broil with some lascar sailors in the streets, proceeded systematically to set fire to the British consulate, their especial attention being devoted to the destruction of the flagstaff, which at length fell amidst the shouts of the crowd. The organised character of the proceeding was clearly marked by some of the ringleaders, or those who appeared to direct the movements of the mass, endeavouring, when satisfied with the burning of the premises, to stop the plunder. The government paid a pecuniary indemnity on account of the losses, but Canton escaped with impunity a second time, and this cowardly rabble remained in possession of the comfortable opinion *that they had established their superiority* over those foreigners whom their rulers had systematically taught

* China during the War and since the Peace. 1852.

them to hate and despise during a restricted intercourse of some two hundred years."

All our troubles of the least consequence, and all that have not been conclusively dealt with since the peace, have been at Canton. At Shanghae, Ningpo, and Amoy, the British power and clemency were equally displayed and the best results ensued. "Happy the people whose annals are dull," and equally happy the even tenor of the treaty which is not enlivened by repeated infractions. It was discouraging, on reaching China in May 1844, and receiving charge from Sir Henry Pottinger, to be greeted with the intelligence that the incorrigible rabble of Canton had, only the day before, got up a serious riot ending in bloodshed. The spleen of the mob was, on this occasion, directed against the Americans, who armed themselves and lucklily shot one of their assailants, an example which served for some time to check their aggressive spirit. Not long after, when preparations were making to rebuild the British quarter, an abusive placard threatened renewed destruction to the consulate if it should be restored. All this, it must be added, was purely gratuitous—the Canton mode of commencing peace.

Under the circumstances, it was a subject of congratulation with myself that a man of so much wisdom and so alive to the real interests of his country as Keying had been chosen to conduct foreign relations at Canton. His high rank, as a relative of the emperor himself, gave him unusual weight and independence. The choice of the site was not equally fortunate, for, with the irritable tendencies already stated, there came, for the first two years, the periodical operation of paying up the instalments of the indemnity, which of course had anything

but a soothing effect * Opium on the other hand had ceased utterly to be a source of irritation since the war Not an edict was issued against it, and the drug was openly carried about the streets in broad day, and sold like any other article Our consuls had repeatedly (in pursuance of my directions, who wished to observe the treaty as to the prevention of smuggling in general), denounced to the mandarins this open and impudent violation of the law It was now, however, a dead letter as to opium, and the mandarins often requested that nothing might be said about it Under such circumstances, it is inconceivable why a certain set of gentlemen in England should any longer rave about opium, the more especially as the same gentlemen, with a Judaical observance of the Sabbath condemned by the Author of Christianity himself,† drive our own people into the gin and beer shops, by at once flying at and strangling every attempt at more innocent or improving recreations Opium is neither as brutalizing in its immediate, nor as prejudicial in its ultimate, effects as spirits

According to all reasonable expectation, considering the wily character of the Chinese, a succession of the most harassing attempts, direct or indirect, to invade our treaty rights, beset the commencement of my diplomatic or administrative functions Infractions of our sovereignty were attempted at Hongkong, though that island had been ceded to Great Britain, "to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty shall see fit to direct It was in

* Th—

the power of obtaining it

† The sabbath was made for man not man for the sabbath

fact a Crown colony, gained by right of conquest. The law officers of the Crown declared that it was impossible to abandon our complete jurisdiction over the Chinese inhabitants themselves, without converting the sovereignty of the island into a mere occupancy. One daring Chinese functionary attempted to levy contributions from the natives in the south of the island; and as it was necessary to diminish the appetite for such proceedings, he was towed round, at the tail of a steamer, in his own boat, and kept a prisoner at Victoria for three weeks, until his act had been formally disavowed.

Keying himself could not resist altogether the temptation of trying to retain at Canton something of the Hong monopoly, which had always proved so gainful to the government. He proposed that as many as one hundred licensed merchants should be established at that place; but he was told that the principle of the treaty, altogether abolishing the Hong system, would be equally violated by ten or by a hundred; and perceiving the case to be hopeless, he gave up the point with a good grace. Battles of the same kind were to be fought at the new consulates. The viceroy at Foochowfoo, well known for his anti-European disposition, endeavoured to deny our consuls residences within the town both there and at Amoy (also under his jurisdiction), under precisely the same pretext as at Canton—the hostility of the people. But the cases had not the remotest analogy. The most decided and energetic measures became necessary, and I had the satisfaction, after much trouble, of establishing our consuls in fitting residencies at Foochowfoo and Amoy about the beginning of 1845. In no country is the maxim "Principiis obsta" so indispensable as in China.*

* "The consuls at the several stations reported various infractions of the principle of perfect freedom in commercial dealings and competi-

A personal inspection of the new consulates soon demonstrated the great advantages of Shanghae above all the other five ports. Its commercial position relatively to the tea and silk districts, the friendliness of the native authorities, and the favourable dispositions of the people, were all in favour of this emporium, destined in a few short years to surpass Canton, in spite of old habits and ancient establishments The Cantonese had by their hostile propensities, on the very threshold of the treaty relations, forfeited all claim to regard or sympathy, and it was scarcely possible to view without satisfaction the almost certain prospect of their forfeiting that foreign intercourse from which the wealth and importance of their city had been exclusively derived

It was a wise policy which prompted England, France, and America to make common cause—the cause of civilization against barbarism—in these negociations *Divide et impera*, a maxim which implies the substitution of intrigue for substantial power, had not been neglected by the Chinese during the war; but had always been met, and by the French especially, with a straightforward manliness which altogether disconcerted them The

tion This indirect interference was calculated and evidently intended, to impede the natural growth of European trade at the new ports One instance was the obstruction of teas in their passage from the place of production towards Shanghae, and the attempt thereby to divert them towards their old destination Canton Another was a monopoly licence granted by the local authorities of Ningpo to certain persons to deal in iron A similar, or worse, monopoly of the trade in cassia was granted to a single dealer at Canton who accordingly exacted from every purchaser of that article a fee amounting to 50 per cent more than the duty required by the treaty tariff Then, again, it was found that a custom house had been set up in the interior for the collection of transit-duties on our cotton manufactures which by the treaty could not be levied at the ports of trade. ... nuances were finally abated but at the price of much ... ce"
—*China since the Peace*, p 91

madness of Governor YEH, in the late Canton troubles, altogether forgot or set at nought such prudential considerations, and he contrived to excite, not only the open hostility of the Americans, and the declared disapproval of the French, but the bitter enmity of the Spaniards, by assassinating their consul, in his indiscriminating appetite for foreign heads. Our civilised warfare to the northward in 1842 humanised and converted the Tartar and Chinese leaders, who ended in treating our prisoners with the *same kindness which we had uniformly displayed towards theirs:** but for YEH, *just reeking from the butchery* of his own countrymen, that was perhaps impossible. He proved himself a worthy imitator of his atrocious prototype Yukien (page 153).

Nothing could have been more unfortunate for Keying than the choice of Canton as his place of residence and negociation. With all his good intentions, the difficult position in which he often found himself placed, between his obligations to us and his fear of the bigoted Chinese party, led him occasionally to essay evasions of the treaty. Some of these have been alluded to, especially the attempt to exclude our consuls from the interior of Foochowfoo and Amoy, after the manner of Canton. Keying made a faint attempt to restrict the rule of equality between Chinese and British functionaries by the literal terms of the treaty, *correspondence* alone being specified, and to except their residences; but he was told that the eleventh article established not a form only, but a principle—that of perfect equality on every point whatsoever.

It is only just to say that Chinese faith is inviolable—as long as the guarantees are ample and sufficient. In this view the retention of Chusan with a British garrison proved of the utmost consequence in securing the fulfil-

* China during the War, vol. i. *passim*.

ment of treaty obligation. Koolangsoo (the little island opposite to Amoy) had also been retained by us, but it was a post of small consequence, and instructions were received from home to evacuate it before the stipulated time. The wish of Keying was rather that we should continue there, from a tenacious regard to the mere letter of our conventions. He recommended that the treaty should be observed "without deviating a hair's breadth," but as this hair's breadth precision would have been at the cost of a regiment in an unhealthy quarter, Koolangsoo was evacuated in 1845, and restored to the Chinese government.

Keying, in proof of his friendly disposition, paid a visit of four or five days to Hongkong in November, 1845, when he won golden opinions by his dignified and amiable conduct corresponding with his high rank as the delegate and representative of his sovereign. A steamer was sent to Canton to convey him down, with his suite, and when the same steamer carried him back he desired to bestow a munificent present of about two hundred pounds on the crew. The naval commander in chief saw objections to the receipt of this by the sailors, and accordingly it was remitted (with Keying's approval) to the London Seaman's Hospital, who thus enrolled among its chief benefactors this justly celebrated Manchow Tartar. It was Keying who negociated with M de Lagrené the treaty between France and China in 1844, as well as the Chinese treaty with the United States a few months previously. In both of these it was expressly stated (as well as in our own) that the stipulated privileges should be common to all the western states resorting to China—the firmest bond of union among them.

The approaching period for the restoration of Chusan in 1846 seemed a favourable moment for pressing the

long-deferred treaty obligation to open the city of Canton* to foreigners. The plea of disinclination on the part of the people had proved so utterly false at both Foochow and Amoy, and had there been so successfully overturned, that the amount of its validity seemed worth trying at Canton. As the result of renewed remonstrances a proclamation was issued by Keying and his colleague the Fooyuen, acknowledging the right of foreigners to enter the city: but the local government found itself then unable to carry the point against the factious rabble, which by degrees it had taught to oppose, not only foreigners, but itself. This stupid policy, by a righteous retribution, has proved one of the sources of the present unsuppressed rebellion, the leaders of which are Canton men.† Previously, however, to the delivery of Chusan, a convention was signed at Boca Tigris, and subsequently ratified by the emperor, formally admitting the *right* of entry to the city, suspended as it was for the reasons already stated. It is perhaps not impossible that the longer retention of Chusan might have sufficed to carry the point at Canton: but there was a universal outcry at the time for its immediate restoration according to treaty: besides that the troops were required in India.

It has been stated in another place, "At the new ports of trade there had been scarcely any trouble from the beginning. The people were generally well disposed towards us, and where local circumstances favoured trade the progress was satisfactory, especially at Shanghae.

* The privilege to individuals was worth nothing. The real evil of the exclusion was the odium and disgrace attaching thereby to foreigners, and the irritation which it kept up; besides interrupting the free personal communication of the respective authorities, and enabling the higher Chinese officers to shut themselves up in unapproachable exclusiveness. The mere denial of a treaty-right was an evil in itself.

† For an explanation of Governor Yeh's conduct to the people of Canton, see end of this chapter, p. 178 (note).

which seemed destined to supersede Canton in due course of time By way of accelerating this event the vicious and incurable rabble of the latter place, who burned down the British consulate only three months after the treaty of peace, seemed determined from time to time to renew the old feud lest its embers should gradually become extinct. The evacuation of Chusan had just been completed in July, 1846 and I had parted on the most friendly and cordial terms with the high officers appointed to receive it, when a despatch from the General at Hongkong announced that another riot at Canton, the third or fourth since the peace, originating in a street brawl, had well nigh caused the sack and pillage of the whole foreign quarter The rabble soon reinforced by shoals of vagabonds always ready for mischief had made a desperate onset upon the dwellings of the English and Americans, who perceiving the extent of the peril, combined to repel them with fire-arms, and at length succeeded in dispersing the assailants after shooting three of their number The Chinese government, in the mean while like "an ancient and most quiet watchman, did nothing for three hours from the commencement of the broil, and perhaps would not have interfered at all, unless in some fear at last for itself.

This tardy interference was made worse by the attempts, on the part of the Chinese authorities, to simplify the question by confining it entirely to the English, though it was only common to them with the Americans. It was required that the *lex talionis* should be visited on those (altogether uncertain) individuals whose shots in their own defence had told on the three Chinese To this there was but one answer,—"Your Excellency must be well aware that from the commencement a most unjust attempt has been made to fasten the odium of the late disasters exclusively on British subjects Had an impartial and fair line of conduct been adopted, the affair

might be more easily arranged. It is a rule with all nations, founded on the plainest principles of natural justice, that any person who chances to kill an aggressor in the necessary, and therefore lawful, defence of his life and property cannot be punished. According to this universal rule, the American who chanced to shoot a Chinese aggressor in 1844 could not be punished by his countrymen." The local government had, in fact, neglected the enforcement of some excellent regulations, which, with express reference to the affray of 1844, it had pledged itself with the American minister to carry out. The late disturbances were the inevitable consequence of such remissness, or rather bad faith, and it was time to revise its ancient but stupid maxim, "*Barbaros non regendo regere*,"* which bore on the face of it its own condemnation.

The foreign residents at Canton, finding themselves thus reduced to "a state of nature" in relation to the natives, saw the necessity of organizing their body into a corps of trained volunteers to repel force by force. However desirable the protection of two or three men-of-war at different points in the Canton river, it was not always easy to accomplish. The limited number of the Eastern squadron, with the demands of the other four ports—the want of ships to carry home, or to India, the successive instalments of the indemnity—the recall by the Admiralty of some, before their places had been supplied by others—and the then active operations at Borneo and New Zealand, had reduced the force on the China station below a convenient number. This was unfortunate at a moment when Chusan, that material guarantee—that bond of peace and amity—no longer remained to us.

Towards the end of 1846 the culminating point of

* *Vide* p. 54, *ante*.

misrule had been reached by the Canton populace. Among other acts of violence to British subjects or other foreigners, two seamen, after being enticed into the back streets, and there assailed by the mob, were beaten, pelted, and badly wounded, and then brought half dead to the consulate. The consul at Canton complained to Keying. But the restoration of Chusan had produced an unfavourable change. Other grievances called for a strong appeal, which, however, was met by Keying with a *brusquerie* never before exhibited.

Then again about the commencement of March following, a savage attack was made on an officer of rank in the Royal Artillery and five other gentlemen during an excursion up the Canton river. Soon afterwards a despatch arrived, conveying stringent instructions to demand the instant punishment of the parties who had ill used the two seamen, with an intimation to the Chinese authorities, that if "they would not, by the exercise of their own power, punish and prevent such outrages, the British government would be obliged to take the matter into their own hands, and it would not be their fault if in such case the innocent were involved in the punishment sought to be inflicted on the guilty."* A peremptory tone became now necessary, less agreeable than the cordial style of correspondence that had subsisted since the peace. Keying, however, took no notice of the communication from the home government, and for the rest made unmeaning excuses for delay.

There was nothing in the present demands beyond the obligations of existing treaty engagements, and a just blame would have attached to any want of decision in the emergency. In a consultation with the General commanding and the Senior officer of her majesty's navy, it

* Parliamentary Papers, 1847, p. 3.

was determined to proceed with a force to Canton and demand reparation on the spot.

The rapid and admirable co-operation of the naval and military forces insured all the success contemplated. There was fortunately little loss to the defenders in carrying the resisting batteries: but as a mere military precaution every fort from the Bogue upwards was taken, and every gun effectually disabled by spiking or knocking off the trunnions, or both, to the number, as the General reported, "of 827 pieces of heavy cannon." The force, *notwithstanding*, reached Canton in only thirty-six hours after quitting Victoria, and was drawn out in grim silence to receive the Chinese minister, when he repaired to a meeting at the British consulate. The immediate reparation, the only motive of the visit, was agreed upon in about as many minutes as it had been delayed months. The opening of the city had by the late convention* been acknowledged as a right, but postponed *sine die* by express agreement, and could not now be instantly demanded *par parenthèse* as it were; but a definite time was at least fixed, within a reasonable limit for both parties. The requirements of the consul for the future security of the British quarter were amply conceded. The ancient thoroughfare called by our people Hog Lane was hermetically sealed by a strong wall at the English end, and the site of the demolished buildings devoted to a Protestant chapel. It has been since acknowledged that this proved one of the best guardians of the peace—having, in fact, stopped the channel through which the rabble fired *the consulate* in 1842. The western extremity of the Foreign quarter, more exposed to inroad from the mob, was, by arrangement with Keying, placed under a *permanent* Chinese guard.

* *Vide* p. 166, *ante*.

It was necessary that the Foshan assailants should be made a public example of before quitting Canton, and this was accomplished in the presence of British officers deputed expressly. On the 8th April, after the lapse of a week, the force embarked in admirable order on its return to Hongkong, leaving the light company of the 18th Royal Irish still at the consulate. Both services received their meed of praise from the respective departments in England. The military were complimented by Lord Grey for their success, "a result attributed not less to the judgment with which these operations were planned than to the admirable discipline of the naval and military forces." To Captain McDougall, senior officer of the navy, who had harder work than anybody, the Admiralty conveyed expressions of approbation equally strong. Three months afterwards appeared the following testimony to the results of the expedition, impartial at least, as it was from an American quarter:—"The prompt exhibition of power, the reasonable demand of justice, the skilful conduct of affairs, the equitable settlement of difficulties, which are certainly distinctive characters of the policy that has been pursued, have (as in the natural remunerations of justice they ought) not only gone far in securing the particular ends that were desired, but appear sensibly to have increased the respect and good will, while they have tended not a little to suppress the contempt and ill feeling of the Chinese community towards foreigners." *

Meanwhile the disorder of the province was beginning to make itself felt to the Chinese government. The system of independent organisation, which had been rather encouraged than checked since the war, led to the maintenance of the "village braves," a very irregular

* Chinese Repository, 1847, p. [illegible]

militia, who at length proved not only expensive but troublesome to their employers. These licensed vagabonds frequently insulted foreigners who roamed into the country, and issued notices that they would maltreat or kill any one who entered their neighbourhood. Under these unfavourable circumstances it unfortunately happened that six young men went on an excursion into the country, some of them with pocket-pistols in their possession. It could not be ascertained how the unequal contest began; but with these pistols one Chinese was shot dead, and another subsequently was brought to the Consulate badly wounded in the abdomen. The fate of the individuals themselves was to be cruelly murdered by the brutal and exasperated populace.

The 'Dædalus' frigate was under way in a few hours for Canton, Keying, in his anxiety, having despatched three letters in succession, declaring that not an individual of the guilty should escape. In the course of nine days the point was carried that, without waiting for the emperor's warrant, four of the most guilty should be immediately executed at the village where the crime was committed, in the presence of a company of the 95th and a number of officers. Eleven others were afterwards punished with death or exile. A copy of Keying's report to the emperor was afterwards obtained. "I should wish" (he wrote) "to chastise with the utmost rigour these stupid villagers, that the stubborn population may learn to stand in awe, unnumbered troubles be prevented hereafter, and no excuse afforded to the English for revenging themselves. As the undeserving of clemency is but one village, and those deserving of consideration a number of provinces, the capital punishments in one for the edification of hundreds can be no reproach to your Sacred majesty's tender regard for life." The examples made in this case

had the effect of preventing a repetition of such crimes for years.

The Chinese authorities had soon to turn their attention to internal troubles, the natural consequences of the latitude which they had allowed since the war to the people of Canton province. That and the adjoining province of Kwang-se were, in fact, the nurseries of the rebellion, which at length, after a career of almost unchecked success, ended afterwards in occupying Nanking "the southern capital," and at one time threatened Peking, "the northern capital," itself. This was nothing but what had been foreseen by many, the result of a general break-down of the powers of government since the war with England, and the relaxation or abandonment of those constitutional principles* which had hitherto lent stability and strength to the huge machine. "On voit que l'autorité règne peut être en Chine, mais à coup sûr elle ne gouverne pas," observed a writer in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes.'

In course of time the month of April, 1849, came round, appointed by express stipulation for the performance of treaty engagements, in opening the city of Canton to both official and private persons. As regarded the latter, it has been already observed that the right was hardly worth a contest, but as concerned the former, its denial had the serious effect of preventing that free and equal personal intercourse on business with the officers of the Chinese government which had been properly deemed a main point in the treaty of Nanking, and the mere denial of which became a serious breach of that treaty. Sir George Bonham wrote home for authority to enforce our just requisitions when the time arrived, and had the bill been exacted when it became due (and there was a

* See Vol. I. Chap. VIII.

considerable force on the spot. The obvious timeliness and justice of the demand might have hastened the concession. Commissioner Seu, however, who seems to have been much on a par with his worthy successor Yeh, pleasantly observed that the agreement about the city must have been all a sham between Keying and Sir John Davis, and that if Keying's stipulation was to be observed he should come down from Peking in person. A far from satisfactory state of intercourse naturally ensued; and when in [illegible] the right had again to be insisted on, it was under circumstances much more unfavourable, from the very fact of the appointed period being long past.

Meanwhile the progress of commerce at the four new ports on the north-east coast, and the condition of our relations with the people and the government in that direction, presented a satisfactory contrast to the state of things at Canton. With the exception of an accidental collision with some disbanded [illegible] near Shanghae, which by the decisive measures of Mr. Consul Alcock terminated much to our honour, there was little to excite notice. The trade showed a marked tendency, as might always have been foreseen, to flow to Shanghae especially. It lies close to the silk districts, and to some of the most important of the tea countries. The trade at Canton had always been so far a forced trade, as it was the only trade allowed under the former rule to foreigners. The farthest point from Peking, at a great distance from the tea and silk provinces, in the hottest climate, as far as possible from the principal marts of the empire, it had to contend with every disadvantage. The access to more favourable markets doubled our importation of tea, from [illegible] millions in [illegible], to more than [illegible] millions of pounds in [illegible]. The trade in raw silk, again, was almost a new one, and to an enormous amount at Shanghae, being

above 50,000 bales in the latest year. On the side of British exports, however, the result was altogether different. For the reasons stated elsewhere in this work the consumption of our manufactures in China has not increased, notwithstanding the opening of the trade in 1834, and the access to all the northern ports since 1842. Our exports had been, in fact, a forced trade on the part of the East India Company, who submitted to a considerable loss on their outward cargoes, to be paid back by the teas imported.

Shanghae, under all its promising aspects, was doomed to be afflicted by the rebellion. It was in 1850 that the progress of the insurrection in the Canton and Kuang-se provinces first excited serious anxiety at Peking, and Commissioner Lin, of opium celebrity, was despatched to subdue them. He, however, died on his way; and it must have been a melancholy reflection for him to look back on his rash acts at Canton as the real cause of the present degradation and troubles of his country. Other officers were appointed; but in the course of two years and a half, from September, 1850, to about March, 1853, the Tae-ping* leaders made their way through the province of Hoonan to the Great River, where they took to the water as an auxiliary, and by that and the land fought their way, marked by devastation, through some of the richest parts of China, to Nanking and the mouth

* *Tae-ping* has been translated "peace," but it is more than that; the name in fact is a very ambitious phrase, having the exact import of *to be perfected on* [illegible] ... *Ping-to* was a subduer or conqueror more than a peacemaker. In the programme of the ceremony to which Lord Amherst would not submit in 1816, it was provided that while *the foreigners prostrated themselves, the music should play the air "Ping-to"* [illegible] — a highly appropriate and significant accompaniment, [illegible] really means subjugation.

"He makes a Solitude, and calls it Peace." —*Byron*.

of the Grand Canal, where our own peace was dictated in 1842. There, however, their fortune seemed to stop, and since that period some expeditions, with doubtful success, in the direction of Peking and other parts, seemed to occupy without improving their resources; while rumours of divisions and mutual assassinations threatened to dissolve that union and concentration to which they owed their previous success. The year 1850 was marked by the succession of a new emperor with a troubled prospect before him.

The hopes of the Christian world were at first raised by the news that the heads of the revolution were Christians; but they were, in fact, as unlike Christians as Mahomet was unlike a Jew. They might admit the same historical Scriptures; but one leader, in the intoxication of success, called himself the brother of Jesus Christ; while another subsequently assumed to be the third person of the Trinity. With all their blasphemous extravagancies, they denounced idol-worship, having learned their first lessons (however subsequently perverted) from a Protestant missionary; and hence it was that the Romish mission in China viewed them from the first with an evil eye. Their strange and hybrid profession of faith boded them little success, for Confucianism has not yet lost its hold on the Chinese mind.

The neighbourhood of Shanghae to the insurgents' head-quarters at Nanking occasioned a course of serious internal troubles at that place, much to the annoyance and hindrance of commerce. The panic in the early part of 1853 was at its height: and as the Chinese Intendant at that port originated very false and unauthorized rumours as to our being prepared to act with the emperor's forces against his rebel subjects, Sir George Bonham deemed it advisable to visit the neighbour-

hood of Nanking and prove our perfect neutrality. The 'Hermes' steamer proceeded up the Great River to Nanking in April, and a very curious and interesting account of the trip has been given by Mr. Meadows,* on that occasion Chinese secretary and interpreter to the plenipotentiary. The insurgent leaders, at the same time that they gave us the name of "foreign brethren," were found to be imbued with pretensions to universal supremacy in nowise less absurd and arrogant than those of the reigning dynasty. They were of course disabused of this in the plainest and most distinct terms, and they admitted the propriety of our remaining neutral, professing at the same time to require no aid whatever from any allies, as they were under the special protection of Heaven.

Sir John Bowring, who had been consul for some years in China, was appointed her majesty's plenipotentiary and governor of Hongkong in 1854. The condition of our relations with the government and people of Canton was anything rather than satisfactory. Repeated instances of unprovoked assault by the populace on British subjects had to be reported home, and the spirit by which the rabble was animated became manifest in a placard issued during July, 1856, only a few months before the commencement of hostilities.—"Hereafter (said this inflammatory document), whenever any barbarian dogs come within our limits, we ought, by calling together our families, to maintain the dignity of our city, and, bravely rushing upon them, kill every one." † The effect of such appeals may be imagined, not *really* discouraged as they were (whatever their professions) by the authorities, who had long adopted this dangerous and perfidious

* The Chinese and their Rebellions. 8vo. 1856.

† Printed Papers, 1857.

policy of secretly using the populace against the European residents, whom they feared as much as they disliked them. "Events in Canton" (observed a letter from Hong-kong) "will hardly have taken you by surprise. The fact is, that, hardened and encouraged by success in their policy of repulsion and haughtiness, the local authorities have brought matters to a pass which cannot but bring about a crisis. Every imperial commissioner has been worse than his predecessor; till at last the strongest representations—even those in which the treaty powers united—were either treated with disregard or scornfully noticed."

Commissioner Yeh * was the last and the worst of these mistaken politicians. In the minds of all who knew the history of the past there could be no doubt of the *animus* with which, on the 8th of October, 1856, he sent a force of two armed boats and sixty men to haul down the flag of a small British colonial vessel, the 'Arrow,' having an English master on board. The consul was (of course) insulted and threatened when he went to remonstrate; and it was well for British honour and interests that Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Seymour was at hand—the legitimate vindicator of his nation's flag—whose measures, at once deliberate and determined, inflicted the necessary castigation, without leaving a pretence for just complaint. If any sanction were required, it would be found in the simultaneous

* A curious, and not altogether unlikely, explanation has been given, on good Chinese authority, of the unparalleled barbarity exercised by Yeh on the Canton rebels, thousands of whom were beheaded by him in a single week. They were not only rebels towards the emperor, but some of them, in their march northwards, had destroyed his paternal and ancestral temple in Hookûang province. The deadly nature of this *double* criminality is explained at p. 282. It is said that the sufferings of the Cantonese were a source of gratification to him, and that he opposed all pacification partly on that ground.

hostilities of the insulted American navy, the avowed adhesion of the French minister at Canton, and the unanimous approval of all Christian residents in the country

The very inappropriate cry of a "Chinese war" was at first raised on the receipt of this intelligence in England, but to visit the sins of the misguided and stiff-necked Cantonese on their unoffending countrymen to the north would be as impolitic as it would be unjust Such a lesson as can be neither misinterpreted nor forgotten, unflinchingly administered in the right place, may long serve as the best of all peacemakers,* and if the services of our powerful navy are made available to the extinction of piracy on the coast, the result may be as beneficial to native as to foreign interests In the mean while China has had the honour of producing a dissolution of the British parliament

* The city itself and the heights behind, would afford good [illegible] to an occupying force and by the time the occupation had [illegible] fitting renewal of the Treaty of 1812, the Cantonese [illegible] leisure to discover that their impregnable [illegible] had really [illegible] taken especially if all the late "[illegible]" [illegible] demolished

CHAPTER VI.

GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CHINA.

Eighteen provinces of China — Dimensions — Temperature — Principal mountain-chains — Two great rivers — Imperial Canal — Crossing the Yellow River — Great Wall — The provinces — The Meaou-tse — Volcanic symptoms in the west — Manchow and Mongol Tartary — Neighbouring and tributary countries — Chinese account of Loo-choo — Intercourse with Japan.

This chapter will be principally devoted to a succinct view of the chief geographical features of China Proper, under which may be included, on account of their unparalleled magnitude, and the important stations which they hold in the maps of the country, a particular description of the *Imperial Canal*, and of the *Great Wall*. The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole of this fine country on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China.

Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country. The provinces of China, which then consisted of *fifteen* in all, have been increased, by the subdivision of three of the largest, to *eighteen*. Keang-nân has been split into Keang-soo and Gân-hoey, Hoo-kuâng into Hoo-nân and

Hoo pe and the western part of Shen sy has been extended and called Kan so These eighteen provinces constitute a compact area, extending (if we leave out the island of Haenan) from about 21° to 41° of north latitude, and measuring in extreme length from north to south about 1200 geographical miles with an average breadth from east to west of nearly 20° of longitude or something less than the extent north and south Perhaps no country in the world, of the same magnitude, can be considered upon the whole as more favoured in point of climate Being situated, however, on the eastern side of a great continent, China follows the general rule which observation has sanctioned in attributing to regions, so placed, an excess of both cold and heat at opposite seasons of the year, which its precise position in regard to latitude would not lead us to expect In the month of September, near Peking, Lord Amherst s embassy found the thermometer occasionally above 90° while the huge solid blocks of ice which were at the same time carried about for use, and exposed on the stalls, proved the severity of the cold in winter In the Yellow Sea during the month of July, and at 35° north latitude, the temperature of the water at 40 fathoms proved to be 65, while that of the air was between 80 and 90° Even at Canton, the southern extremity of the empire, and nearly in the latitude of Calcutta, the mercury frequently falls below freezing point during the nights of January, while in summer it sometimes, though not often, rises to 100 Notwithstanding these apparent extremes of heat and cold the climate must be generally characterised as highly salubrious—a circumstance no doubt arising in great measure from the extension of cultivation and drainage As a confirmation of the observations of Humboldt, in his treatise of Isothermal it may be

added, that the French missionaries were struck by the resemblance which the climate and products of northern China and Tartary bore to those of the east coast of North America; and that the wild plant *ginseng*, long a monopoly of the emperor in the Manchow country, has been imported in large quantities to Canton by the American ships, to the great surprise of the Chinese.

The whole surface of China is varied in elevation, rising generally in terraces from the sea towards the west, but there would seem, at the same time, to be no mountains of very remarkable height. The principal chains consist of two. One of these extends from Yun-nân along the borders of Kuei-chow and Kuâng-sy, passing to the north of Canton province, where a road is cut through the Mei-ling pass, which has been described in both our embassies: it then takes a north-east direction through Fokien, and terminates in Chĕ-keang. The larger portion of the ridge to the north-west of Canton province forms the inaccessible country (at least to the native government) of the Meaou-tse, who have never entirely submitted to the Tartars. Even in Chinese maps their country is left a *blank*. The second principal chain of mountains extends from Sse-chuen to Shen-sy, causing the Yellow River to make an abrupt bend northwards through the Great Wall. There are, besides, mountains of considerable elevation westward of Peking, towards Shân-sy province, but the plains from which they rise are little raised above the sea.

The two principal rivers of China occupy a very high rank in the geographical history of the globe. Taking the Thames as unit, Major Rennell estimated the proportions of the Yang-tse-keang and Yellow River at fifteen and a half and thirteen and a half respectively, and they are secondary only to the Amazons and the

Mississippi. The Yang tse keang, *the* river, or the "son of the sea," has been by some people styled the Blue River, but in sailing there we found no such name for it among the Chinese. It rises in Kokonor, the country between Thibet and China, not far from the sources of the Yellow River, *turning suddenly south, it makes an abrupt bend* through the provinces of Yun nan and Sse chuen, where it takes the name of the "Golden sanded River," and then flowing north east and east, it subsequently makes a gentle bend southward, and receives the superfluous waters of the Tong ting Hoo, the largest lake of China; thence in its course towards the sea, it serves as a discharger to another large lake, the Poyang Hoo, in Keang sy province, after which it runs nearly north east, and flows past Nanking into the ocean, which it reaches exactly under the thirty second parallel of latitude. This great stream flows with such a strong and prevailing ebb, that Lord Amherst's embassy found great difficulty in sailing up its course towards the Poyang lake, being unable to make any way at all, except with a strong north easterly breeze. The flood tide was felt no higher than Kuachow, below Nanking.*

The Yellow River rises also in the country of Kokonor, but, soon turning as abruptly north as the Keang does south, it passes across the Great Wall and makes an elbow round the territory of the Ortous, passing back again across the wall, it flows due south, and forms the boundary of Shan-sy and Shen-sy, whence it turns sharply eastward and reaches the sea in latitude 34. From the excessive rapidity of its stream, this river is nearly unnavigable through its greater length. In the

* Where the "grain bearing" canal leads to Peking. A naval squadron could probably make its way to this point and blockade it. (This was done in 1842, and the note is purposely left untouched.)

old maps of China the Yellow River has been represented as flowing into the gulf of Pechele, *north* of the Shan-tung promontory. If, then, in the construction of the canal under Koblai Khan, its ancient course was turned, it is possible that this violence to nature has occasioned the constant recurrence of the dreadful accidents which attend the bursting of its artificial but ill-constructed banks and dikes. It is a source of perpetual anxiety and heavy expense to the government; and there was a tax on the Hong merchants at Canton expressly on this account. The enormous quantity of mud held in suspension by the waters of the Yellow River (whence its name) causes depositions at its mouth which tend rapidly to lessen the depth of water. It is remarkable that the two great rivers of China, which rise at a small distance from each other, after taking opposite courses to the north and south, and being separated by a distance of full fifteen degrees of latitude, should reach the sea within two degrees of the same point.

The coast of China, south of the promontory of Shan-tung, is generally bold and rocky, except at the points where the Yellow River and Yang-tse-keang empty themselves. The province of Peking is a sandy flat, and the gulf which skirts it extremely shallow, so that a large ship cannot approach the shore within many miles. The whole coast of the empire abounds in safe and commodious harbours, of which those on the south were accurately surveyed under the East India Company. The east coast, however, though pretty correctly traced in the missionary maps, had still to be *nautically* surveyed for the purposes of shipping.* Generally speaking, from the mouth of the Peking river to Chusan, the sea has

* This has been accomplished in a set of Admiralty Charts since 1842.

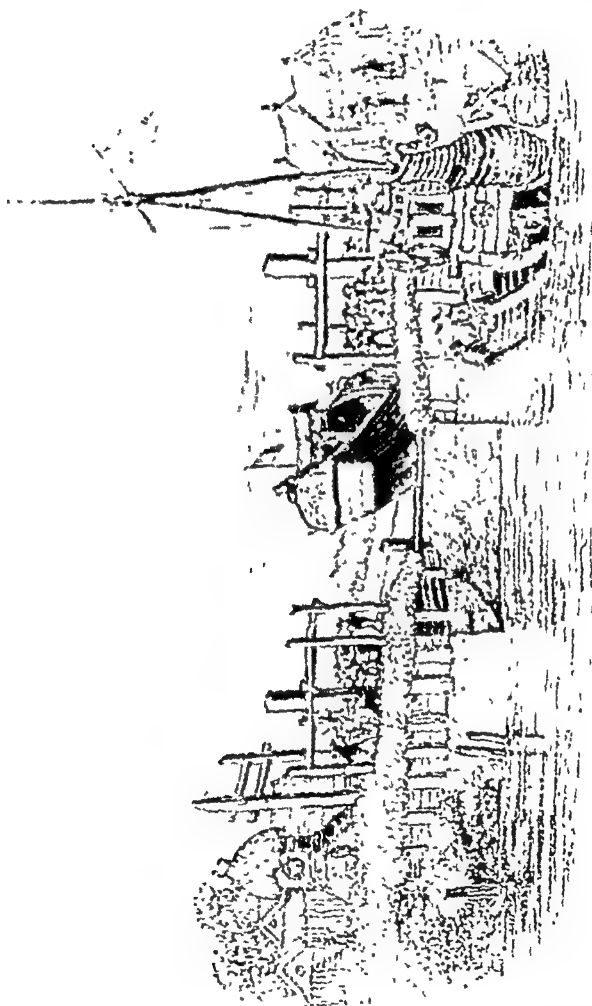
been found to be [illegible] the world.

For the internal [illegible] the Chinese are rendered almost [illegible] tion by their Imperial Canal, [illegible] magnitude of undertaking [illegible] unrivalled by any other work [illegible] world. The canal, as we have already [illegible] notice, was principally the work of [illegible] immediate successors of the Yuen race. In the MS. of a Mongol historian named Rashid-ed-[illegible] A.D. 1307, and made available to us by MM. Von Hammer and Klaproth, there is the following [illegible] of it:—"The canal extends from [illegible] (Peking) to Khinsai* and Zeytoon, ships can navigate [illegible] is forty days' journey in length. When the [illegible] at the sluices they are raised up, whatever [illegible] by means of machines, and they are then let [illegible] other side into the water." This is an exact description of the practice at the present day, [illegible] reference to the accounts of the two English [illegible]

It must be observed, however, that [illegible] the canal has been generally considered to extend from Teen-tsin, near Pekin [illegible] about 600 [illegible] so called, that is, the [illegible] commences only at Lintsing chow in Shan-tung, and continues beyond the Yellow River. The principal river that feeds it is the *Wun ho*, rising from the Taeshan in Shan tung, and falling into the canal at its highest elevation, in a line perpendicular to its course. The waters of the river striking with force against a strong bulwark of stone that

* [illegible] or capital, the present Hangchow [illegible] the Soong dynasty.

supports the western bank, part of them flow to the northward, and part southward; at this point is the temple of the "dragon king," or genius of the watery element, who is supposed to have the canal in his special keeping.



Passing a Sluice.

One principal merit of this great work is its acting as a drain to the swampy country through which it flows,

from Tien tsin to the Yang-tse-keang Being carried through the lowest levels, and communicating with the neighbouring tracts by floodgates, it has rendered available much that would otherwise be an irreclaimable swamp As it is, however, some individuals of the embassy, in passing through this desolate flat in 1816, were laid up with intermittents of rather malignant type The large city of Hoae gan-foo, near the Yellow River, extends for about three miles very much below the level of the canal. In passing along its dilapidated walls, upon which we look down from our boats, it was impossible not to shudder at the idea of any accident occurring to the banks of the canal, as the total destruction of the town must be certain Near this point resides the Ho-tsoong, or surveyor general of the river, who has charge of its banks

Many readers will be aware that to the period of Yaou, something more than 2000 years before our era, the Chinese carry back their tradition of an extensive flood, which by some persons has been identified with the universal deluge recorded in the Old Testament After a careful examination of their own written accounts, we feel persuaded that this deluge of the Chinese is described rather as interrupting the business of agriculture than as involving a general destruction of the human race It is observed, in the book of Mencius (ch v), that the great Yu "opened nine channels · Yu was eight years abroad regulating the waters." This could hardly mean the universal deluge, and in fact seems to have been some aggravation only of the natural condition of those low countries through which the Yellow River and canal now flow Were they both of them to burst their banks at present, the deluge of Yaou would be repeated It was for his merit in draining the country, or drawing off

the waters of the inundation, that the great Yu was so celebrated.

To return to the canal. Many persons, and among the rest Dr. Abel, have not been disposed to estimate very highly the labour and ingenuity displayed in the construction of that artificial channel. He observes, "This famous monument of industry, considered simply as a channel of communication between different parts of the empire, appears to have been somewhat overrated as an example of the immense power of human labour and of human art. In every part of its course it passes through alluvial soil, readily penetrated by the tools of workmen, and is intersected by numerous streams. It would be difficult to find any part of it carried through twenty miles of country unaided by tributary rivers. The sluices which keep its necessary level are of the rudest construction; buttresses formed of blocks of stone, with grooves fitted with thick planks, are the only locks of the Imperial Canal. It is neither carried through any mountain, nor over any valley." Much of this is certainly true, and confirmed by the observation of Du Halde, that, "in all that space there were neither hills, quarries, nor rocks which gave the workmen any trouble either to level or penetrate." But if the canal is admitted to be a work of high national utility in more lights than one, the simplicity of the means by which the end was attained can scarcely be considered to derogate from its merit: it would seem, on the contrary, to be a proof of the sagacity with which the plan was formed.

The following account of the process of crossing the Yellow River, at the point where it is intersected by the canal, is given from two unpublished journals of the last embassy. "On our left (proceeding south) was a stream called the 'New Salt River,' which, like the canal, opened

into the Yellow River, and on our right we had for several days very close to us the Yellow River itself, which just before this point of junction with the canal suddenly turns north eastward, after having run in a south easterly direction When we had been a short time at anchor, during which interval some of the chief mandarins visited the ambassador, we all got under weigh, and prepared to cross the famous Hoang ho All the boats, on entering the river, struck right across the stream without observing any order, and gained the opposite bank in less than an hour The weather being fine and moderate, and the water perfectly smooth, our boatmen were not so particular in the observance of their ceremonies and libations on the passage of the river as those of the last embassy, but every boat, I believe, burnt a few pieces of gilt paper, and let off a volley of crackers, in honour of the occasion The breadth of the river in this part was about three quarters of a mile, the direction of the stream north east by east with a current of three or four miles per hour, but the water not much more muddy or yellow, at this point, than it has been observed in the Pei-ho and elsewhere

"The stream was certainly violent, and carried us down a considerable way before we could reach the opposite bank, which was lined with a great number of boats of various shapes and dimensions, some of them being constructed exactly in the form of oblong boxes Many of these were stationary, and laden with the straw or stalk of the *holcus sorghum*, and with coarse reeds, ready to be transported to different parts of the river and canal for the repair of the banks This assemblage of boats, though the greatest we have yet noticed in this part of China bore no comparison to what may be daily seen in the river of Canton. When the current had c

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down some distance to the eastward, we had a mile or two to reascend the river, before we came to the opening through which we were to pursue our route to the south; and the passage in the vicinity of the bank, to which we kept on account of the current, was so obstructed with boats, that this was not effected under four hours from our first getting under weigh. The worst part was now to come in passing through a sluice, on the hither side of which the water, which had been confined in its passage through the abutments, raged with such fury as to suck down large floating substances in its eddies. This sluice upon a large scale was near one hundred yards across, and through it the waters rushed *into* the river, at a rate of not less than seven or eight miles an hour. The projecting banks at the sides were not constructed of stone-work, but entirely of the straw and reeds already mentioned, with earth intermixed, and strongly bound with cordage.

"Through this opening or sluice, and in close contact with the bank on our left, our boats were successively dragged forward by ropes communicating with several large windlasses, which were worked upon the bank: by these means the object was slowly accomplished, without the least damage or accident. After thus effecting a passage through the sluice, we found ourselves nearly in still water; not yet however in the southern division of the great canal, as we had expected, but in the main stream of another large river, hardly inferior in breadth to that which we had quitted. We were told it communicated at no great distance with the great lake Hoong-tse Hoo, to the right of our course. The stream by which this lake discharges its waters into the Yellow River is marked in all the maps of China, but represented as totally distinct and unconnected with the Grand Canal.

It seems evident, therefore, that the course of the navigation has been latterly altered here, either from the overflowing of the Yellow River or some other cause That a change has taken place seems indicated by the name 'New Salt River,' on the other side of the main stream of the Hoang-ho

"A great deal of labour and contrivance has been employed here in constructing the embankments, and regulating the course of the waters. In the first place, two or three artificial bays or basins have been hollowed out in the bank of the river, where the boats proceeding to the southward assemble in security and wait their turn to pass There are then two other narrow passes, or im*perfect sluices, subsequent to the first opening that leads* from the river to the canal, having also broad basins between them, and embankments constructed, as before, with the straw or reeds confined by cordage The object of this repetition of sluices, with the basins between, seems in some degree similar to that of the locks on our own canals "

The important figure which the Great Wall makes in the maps of China entitles this vast artificial barrier to be considered in a geographical point of view We have already stated that it was built by the first universal monarch of China, about 200 years before the commencement of the Christian era, or rather more than 2000 years from this time It bounds the whole north of China, along the frontiers of three provinces, extending from the shore of the gulf of Pechele, 3½° east of Peking, to Syning, 15° west of that capital The emperors of the Ming dynasty built an additional inner wall, near to *Peking*, on the west, which may be perceived on the map, enclosing a portion of the province between itself and the old wall From the eastern extremity of the Great Wall th

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an extensive stockade of wooden piles, enclosing the country of Mougden, and this has, in some European maps, been erroneously represented as a continuation of the solid barrier.

The gentlemen of Lord Macartney's embassy had the good fortune to pass into Tartary by one of the most entire portions of the wall, and a very particular examination of the structure was made by Captain Parish. On the first distant approach, it is described as resembling a prominent vein or ridge of quartz, standing out from mountains of gneiss or granite. The continuance of this line over the mountain-tops arrested the attention, and the form of a wall with battlements was soon distinctly discerned. It was carried over the ridges of the highest hills, descended into the deepest valleys, crossed upon arches over rivers, and was doubled in important passes, being, moreover, supplied with massy towers or bastions at distances of about 100 yards. One of the most elevated ridges crossed by the wall was 5000 feet above the level of the sea. It far surpasses, in short, the sum total of all other works of the kind, and proved a useful barrier until the power of Zenghis Khan overthrew the empire of the Chinese.

The body of the wall * consists of an earthen mound, retained on each side by walls of masonry and brick, and terraced by a platform of square bricks. The total height, including a parapet of five feet, is twenty feet, on a basis of stone projecting two feet under the brickwork, and varying in height from two feet to more, according to the level of the ground. The thickness of the wall at the base is twenty-five feet, diminishing to fifteen at the platform. The towers are forty feet square at the base, diminishing to thirty at the top, and about thirty-seven

* See plan, section, and elevation, from folio plates to Embassy.

feet in total height At particular spots, however, the tower was of two stories and forty-eight feet high The bricks are, as usual in China, of a *bluish* colour, about



Plan, Elevation, and Section of the Great Wall

fifteen inches long, half that in width, and nearly four inches thick; probably the whole, half, and quarter of

the Chinese *Che*, or earth. The blue colour of the bricks left no doubt of their having been burned: but some ancient kilns were observed near the wall, and since then, the actual experiment of Dr. Abel in 1816 has proved that the brick-clay of the Chinese, which is red at first, burns blue. The thinness of the parapet of the wall, about eighteen inches, justifies the conclusion that it was not intended to resist cannon: indeed the Chinese themselves lay claim to such antiquity for the invention of fire-arms. The above description confirms, upon the whole, that of Gerbillon, about a century before. "It is generally," says he, "no more than eighteen, twenty, or twenty-five geometrical feet high, but the towers are seldom less than forty."

The same missionary, however, informs us that beyond the Yellow River to its western extremity, or for full one-half of its total length, the wall is chiefly a mound of earth or gravel, about fifteen feet in height, with only occasional towers of brick. Marco Polo's silence concerning it may therefore be accounted for by the supposition that, having seen only this imperfect portion, he did not deem it an object of sufficient curiosity to deserve particular notice; without the necessity of imagining that he entered China from the westward, to the south of the great barrier.

As a minute geographical description of each province of the empire would be out of place in this work, we will notice generally the points most deserving of attention in all, commencing with those which lay in the route of the British embassies. The flat, sandy, and sterile province in which Peking is situated offers little worthy of notice. The vast plain which surrounds the capital is entirely devoid of trees, but wood is procured from that long hilly promontory of Tartary which forms the eastern boundary

of the gulf of Leaoutung, and was named by Sir Murray Maxwell the "Regent's Sword" The most considerable town, next to Peking, is Tien tsin, though it does not rank as a city it forms the *truum*, or point of junction between the canal the capital, and the sea Here are seen the immense piles or hills of salt described by Mr Barrow, this being the depot for the salt provided to meet the enormous consumption of Peking, and manufactured along the marshy borders of the sea On entering the adjoining province of Shan-tung to the south, the attention is soon drawn to the commencement of the *canal*, and on the lakes, or rather extensive swamps, through which it is carried, are seen the fishing corvorants, birds which will be more particularly described hereafter, exercising their profession for their masters in numerous boats The surface in the north of this province and in Pechele is so flat and low, that the tide, which rises only nine or ten feet in the adjoining gulf flows upwards of one hundred miles above the mouth of the Pei ho The country, therefore, consisting entirely of an argillaceous sand abounding in mica, is frequently laid under water, the general level not being more than two feet above the surface of the river at high tide In this circumstance, joined to the vicinity of that constant source of inundations, the Yellow River, we may perceive, perhaps, an explanation of the great inundation or deluge, which the celebrated *Yu* is said to have carried off in the course of eight years by constructing "nine channels"

On entering Keang-nan, which is divided into the subordinate provinces of Keangsoo and Ganhoey, the country soon improves, and the inequality of the surface renders the locks, or floodgates, very frequent on the canal This is certainly the richest province of China It is famous for its silks and japanned goods, made principally

at Soochow. Nanking, the ancient capital, became permanently abandoned for Peking by Yoonglo, in the fifteenth century. The area of the ancient walls, only a corner of which is occupied by the present city, measures seventeen miles in circumference, being rather more than the circuit of Peking. The reigning Tartar dynasty find it their interest to retain the modern capital, from its vicinity to Mougden, their birthplace; but the ancient one is greatly more centrical, with a finer climate, and altogether better calculated to promote the prosperity of the empire. Shanghae, a seaport near the mouth of the Keang, was visited by Mr. Gultzlaff in 1831, and described by him as the most considerable trading-place of any on the coast; it is, in fact, close to Soochow and Hângchow, and has now become our best commercial mart since the peace of 1842. On the Keang, not far from the mouth, is that remarkably beautiful little island called the "Golden Isle," surmounted by numerous temples, inhabited by the votaries of Budh, or Fo, and very correctly described so many centuries since by Marco Polo. At no great distance from this are the gardens of Kien-loong, erected for him when he visited his southern provinces, and viewed by us in the embassy of 1816. They were laid out in the usual style of Chinese gardening, with artificial rocks and ruins, and wooden bridges over a piece of water. The embassy saw the room in which the emperor dined, and a stone tablet, having engraved some sentences composed by himself. The whole, however, was in a sad state of dilapidation and ruin, like almost everything else of the kind that we see in the country.

In the district of Hoey-chow-foo, the most southern city of the province, is grown the best green tea. The soil in which it is reared is a decomposition of granite,

abounding in fel par, as is proved by its being used for porcelain Thus the same soil produces the tea, and the cups in which it is drunk. In this province, too, is *Foong yang foo, the birthplace of the founder of the* Ming dynasty, who served, at first, as a menial in a monastery of bonzes He then joined a body of insurgents against the Mongol dynasty, and became their chief From beating the Tartars in every battle, and at length chasing them from the country he was styled *Hoong woo*, "the great warrior"

The adjoining province of Keang sy is, perhaps, in point of natural scenery and climate, the most delightful part of China The Poyang lake, in size approaching the character of an inland sea, is bordered on its west side by strikingly beautiful mountain scenery It was only hereabouts that the two British embassies varied in their respective routes That of Lord Amherst proceeded along the Yang tse keang after leaving the canal, until it reached the lake, while Lord Macartney crossed the Keang below Nanking, visited Soochow and Hangchow, and, proceeding south and west, approached the lake at its southern extremity The following account of the west side of the Poyang is from a MS Journal — "Arrived early in the day at Nankang foo A long mole was built on the south east side of the town, making a small harbour for boats to lie in, secure from the tempestuous waters of the lake in bad weather While we were here, sufficient swell existed to make it resemble an arm of the sea, and the shore was covered with shingles in the manner of a sea beach" A description of the mountains in the neighbourhood is given in another place, as well as of King tĕ-ching, the most noted manufactory for porcelain to the eastward of the Poyang

From Keang sy to the adjoining province of Kuang

tung, or Canton, the passage is cut through the precipitous ridge of mountains which separates them. It was formed by an individual during the dynasty Tang, more than a thousand years since; and an arched gateway in the centre, of later construction, marks the boundary between the two provinces. The name of the pass, Meiling, is derived from the flower of a species of prunus which grows wild in profusion near the summit. After reaching the foot of the steep acclivity on the north side, the embassy were obliged to dismount from their horses, or quit their chairs, in order to walk up. On reaching the summit, where the rock is cut to the depth of above twenty feet, the view on the Canton side breaks upon the eye in full grandeur, consisting of ranges of wild mountains, well wooded. The rocks at the pass have been erroneously stated to consist of gneiss and quartz; they are, in fact, limestone, in common with the whole north of Canton province, and supply the grey marble which is so plentifully brought down the river. Immense square blocks of the stone which compose the mountain are piled up in pyramidal shapes on each side of the road down the southern declivity; the separate masses, however, preserving the remains of a horizontal stratification.

The only two provinces to the east, or left, of the route pursued by Lord Amherst's mission, are Chĕ-keang and Fokien, both of them bordering on the sea. The first of these competes with Keang-nân in the production of silk, and the country is thickly planted with young mulberry-trees, which are constantly renewed, as the most certain way of improving the quality of the silk which is spun by the worms. The principal city of the province is the celebrated Hâng-chow, at the end of an estuary of the sea, where the tide, according to Barrow, rises six or seven feet. Close to this opulent town, on the west, is

the famous lake Sy hoo, about six miles in circumference, the water quite limpid, and overspread with the nelumbium This extensive sheet of water is covered with barges, which appear to be the perpetual abodes of gaiety and dissipation On the coast, in the 30th parallel of latitude is the well known port of Ningpo, the former seat of European trade, and of a British consulate since 1842 The entrance is somewhat difficult as there are scarcely twenty feet of water on the bar at the highest tides Fifty or sixty miles from it, among the islands on the coast, is Chow san or Chusan, with a fair harbour, but inconvenient for trade in comparison with Ningpo itself The capital of Chu an is Tinghae, which with the island was held by us for four years as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the treaty of Nanking

The contiguous province of Fokien preserved its independence against the Manchow Tartars longer than any portion of the empire, being supported by the quadron of the famous pirate (as he is sometimes called though he deserves a better name) who e son expelled the Dutch from the adjoining i land Formosa, when the Tartars had dispo sessed him of the main. The people of Fokien retain a hereditary aptitude for the sea, and chiefly supply the emperor s war junks with both sailors and commanders A large proportion, too, of the trading junks that proceed to sea pertain to Fokien. Two circumstances probably tend to maintain the maritime propen ities of the inhabitants —first, this province is so far removed from the Grand Canal as to afford fewer inducements to inland navigation and trade, always preferred, if practicable, by the Chine e, secondly, the proximity of the opposite coast of Formosa keeps up a constant inter course by sea The language or dialect of Fokien is so peculiar as hardly to be intelligible el ewhere, and this

may chiefly be attributed to its long independence of the rest of the empire. *Ch* is always pronounced *T*, and hence the difference between *cha* and *tea* for the great staple production of China; the first name for tea being adopted by the Portuguese from Macao, and the second by the English from Amoy. This port, the name of which is a corruption of the native word Heamun, is well known to have been formerly the seat of the English trade, being placed on an island near the coast in latitude 24° 25', and since the peace of 1842 it has become the seat of a British consulate. Fokien is the great country of the black teas, and Bohea is a corruption of *Vu-ee Shan*, the hills where they are principally grown. Foo-chow-foo, the capital of the province, was yielded to us as another port of trade by the treaty of Nanking.

We have now taken a cursory view of the finest and most opulent parts of the empire. All the remainder are inland provinces, less known to Europeans, and, excepting the shores of the Yang-tse-keang, probably much less suited to the purposes of commerce. Of these, one of the largest is Hoo-kuâng, divided by the vast lake Tongting Hoo,* with its tributaries, into two subordinate provinces, Hoo-pé, and Hoo-nân—that is, "north and south of the lake:" the last is to be distinguished from Ho-nân, a province to the north. Immediately adjoining, to the south-west, is the province of Kuâng-sy, under the same viceroyalty with Canton, but greatly inferior in wealth. North of Kuâng-sy lies Kuei-chow, a small mountainous province, of which the south boundary has always been independent. It is peopled by a race of mountaineers called Meaou-tse, who thus defy the Chinese

* The English translation of Du Halde, we observe, states that the lake is very *venomous*, being thus absurdly rendered from the original *poissoneux*.

in the midst of their empire. They gave the government much trouble in 1832, and are said to have been "soothed rather than "controlled," to use favourite Chinese expressions—that is, managed rather than subdued.

The fact that an independent race of people should exist in the heart of a country so jealous of its dominion as China is certainly a singular one. The principal seats of these mountaineers are between the provinces of Kuei chow and Kuâng sy, though some of them exist in other parts of the same ridge; and in the Chinese maps their borders or limits are marked off like those of a foreign country, and the space left blank. L'Amiot has given an account of Kien loong's expeditions against them; but as his narrative is taken from the official papers sent to the emperor, which are in general not more correct or veracious than the first Napoleon's bulletins, it must be received with some allowances. According to him, the viceroy of a neighbouring province had sent an army against the Meaou tse, who enticed them into their mountains, and entirely cut off the Chinese with their general. To revenge this, Kien loong despatched a leader named Akuei at the head of his best Tartar troops to subdue them. This person is said to have entered their country, and, in spite of all opposition, to have taken their king prisoner, and nearly exterminated the race. Still, however, they remain as independent as ever, and the Chinese are contented to keep them within their own limits by small fortresses erected on the borders. Three thousand marched to Nanking in the rebellion of 1850.

The mountainous ridges occupied by this people extend full six degrees, or about 360 geographical miles, from west to east, comprising the southern borders of Kuei-chow, with the northern of Kuang sy, and the north west

limits of the Canton province; but the Chinese contrive to weaken their force by separating their different tribes. The men do not shave their hair like the Tartars and Chinese, but wear it tied up, in the ancient fashion of the latter people before they were conquered. The Chinese, in affected contempt, give them the names of *Yaou-jin* and *Lâng-jin*, dog-men and wolf-men. They are said to inhabit houses of one story raised on piles, occupying the upper part, and placing their domestic animals below. The Chinese, without entering their mountains, purchase the woods of their forests by agreement, and these, being thrown into the rivers which intersect the hilly country, are floated down into the plains. They make their linen from a species of hemp, probably the material of what is called *grass-cloth* at Canton; and likewise manufacture a kind of carpet for their own use. As soon as the children can walk, the Chinese say that the soles of their feet are seared with a hot iron, to enable them to tread on thorns and stones without pain; but this perhaps deserves little more credit than the grave assertion at Canton that the people have *tails*,—a piece of information which would have been duly appreciated by Lord Monboddo, in his speculations on the primitive elongation of the vertebral chain in the human race.

In the month of February, 1832, a great rising took place among the Meaou-tse, extending to the neighbourhood of Lien-chow, on the north-west of Canton. The leader took the name of the "Golden Dragon," and assumed a *yellow* dress: this gave great offence and alarm at Peking, and it was apprehended that some of the "Triad Society," whose object is the overthrow of the Manchow Tartars, had got among them. They made their way into the plains, and defeated several bodies of Chinese troops with considerable slaughter, including the

loss of their arms and stores. The commander-in-chief of a neighbouring province was among the killed. The mountaineers possessed themselves of several towns, but issued *notices to the Chinese people that they made war* only against the government. Of a thousand men sent from Canton to recruit the emperor's forces, two hundred were ordered back again as entirely useless, from the baneful effects of opium.

The viceroy of Canton (called by the English "Governor Le") proceeded against the insurgents and, though they at first retired, it was only to return to the amount, it is said, of 30,000, who engaged the Chinese army, and slew 2000 of them, with a considerable number of mandarins. One officer of rank, who understood their language and customs, was sent to treat with them; but on his entering their territory, they seized him and cut off his head, saying that the spirit of *Changkih* (Jehanghir), the Mahometan prince who was perfidiously murdered at Peking, had appeared and advised them to make no terms with the faithless. While "Governor Le" was unsuccessful to the south, the viceroy of Hoo-kwang attacked the insurgents on the north, and retook one of the towns of which they had possessed themselves, killing a great number, and taking some of the chief men prisoners. At length, two imperial commissioners were sent from Peking, and they performed by policy much more than had been likely to be done by arms. Reports were spread of the innumerable forces that were coming to exterminate the mountaineers, and they were at the same time invited to come to terms. At length it was agreed that they should confine themselves to their hills, and that the Chinese should not invade their territories, and the emperor's troops were withdrawn. "Governor Le," however, was, in consequence of his ill success, deprived

of his station at Canton, and ordered to proceed to Peking to be put upon his trial and degraded. The viceroy of Hoonân, on the other hand, was honoured with the peacock's feather, a distinction of a military character, pendent from the back of the cap, and a multitude of rewards were conferred on others, significant of the important advantages which had been gained over the enemy. These continue as independent as ever, and must have been a source of some anxiety to the Manchow dynasty at different times. A few served as allies against us at Ningpo, in 1842.

The province of Yun-nân, the most western part of China, which borders on the Burmese territory, and is not very far from Umerapura the capital, is extremely mountainous, and abounds in metals and other valuable minerals. Gold is found in the sands of the rivers, and the Keang, in this part of its course, is named *Kin-shâ*, or golden-sanded There is a salt-water well near Yaou-gân-foo. Towards the north-west of this province, on the borders of the Thibet country, is found the *Yak*, or cow of Thibet, the tail-hairs of which are used in various manufactures, particularly carpets. The large province of Szechuen, lying north-east of Yun-nân, is traversed by a portion of the great Keâng. From the name of "snowy mountains," applied by the Chinese to some of those which extend along the north-west of this province, bordering on the Thibet country, they must be of considerable elevation, and from their situation are probably higher than any in China. Salt springs are found here as in Yun-nân, towards the south-west. The province of Shen-sy, bordering on Thibet, has been enlarged and divided into two, of which the westernmost is called Kân-sŏ. Both this country and the adjoining province of Shân-sy, towards Peking, abound in symptoms of volcanic

action, as the connection of salt water lakes and springs with jets of inflammable gas and hot-wells The e may be traced towards the south-west, through Szechuen and Yun nân to the Burmese country, where they also occur in abundance, and are seemingly a continuation of those volcanic traces which extend up through the Malay peninsula from Sumatra and Java, both which islands contain numerous volcanoes in full action In Shen-sy, near the city Yen gan-foo, there distils from some rocks an inflammable substance, which the Chinese burn in lamps, and call Shĕ-yew, or *stone-oil*, being probably, what its name imports, a kind of *petroleum*

Although not precisely included in our plan, which is confined to China proper, it may not be amiss to take some notice of the countries immediately contiguous

The region of Manchow Tartary, formerly the territory of the Kin, whence the present rulers of China proceeded, has been generally described as consisting of three provinces Mougden, or Shing king, the birthplace of the reigning family, commences just at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, and is bounded on the south by the gulf of Pechele Here it is that the emperors are buried, and their family mausoleum established. The country is surrounded on the north west and north-east by a stockade of timber, about eight feet in height, which has been incorrectly inserted in some European maps as a continuation of the Great Wall. At Mougden is erected a sort of epitome of the imperial government of Peking, with various tribunals for the regulation of all parts of Tartary immediately dependent on the emperor, whose subjects in this part are called Bogdoi- by the Russians. To the eastward of Mougden, and bordering Corea on the north, is the second province of Manchow Tartary, called K[illegible],

it is here that the famous wild plant ginseng, to which the Chinese attribute wonderful properties, is gathered as an exclusive monopoly of the emperor. Not long since, however, the same plant was brought to Canton by the Americans, having been discovered in their northern states, in a climate and situation very similar to that of Eastern Tartary. The missionaries, who constructed the map for the emperor, were at a loss to explain the extremes of heat and cold prevailing in these regions;—"why countries which lie near the 40th degree of latitude should differ so much from ours (in Europe), in respect to the seasons and the productions of nature, as not to bear comparison even with our most northern provinces. The cold begins much sooner in these parts than at Paris, notwithstanding the latitude of that city is almost 50°." A small English vessel, which went up to the gulf of Pechele in the winter of 1832, was nearly frozen up there; and yet, during the month of August, 1816, we observed that the fishermen on the coast went stark naked on account of the excessive heat, and their skins were burned almost black by the sun. Nothing can prove more strongly that the climates of places are not influenced by their latitude merely. The third province of Manchow Tartary, of which the inhabitants are the Tagours, bordering on the Russian territory, is that of Hĕloongkeang, or "the river of the Black Dragon," otherwise called the Saghalien, or river Amûr.

The Western or Mongol Tartars, commencing from the Great Wall, extend as a distinct race even to the borders of the Caspian. They are distinguished by their nomadic habits, dwelling in tents, driving their flocks to pasture from place to place, and accoutred with the bow for sport or war. Of those dependent on China, but governed through the medium of their own princes, or

[illegible] the [illegible] They are all [illegible] the Yellow [illegible] is a [illegible] "[illegible] Canton [illegible] of Canton [illegible] Pekin from [illegible] of [illegible] very [illegible] residence.

[illegible] a [illegible] of China [illegible] various [illegible] Tartars [illegible]

* [illegible]

to China, in return for protection against the Eleuths, he submitted to the rank of Wâng, or King. At the time, however, when Gerbillon visited Tartary, the brother of the Kalka Khan told Kâng-hy's envoys that he expected to be treated as the son of an emperor, and was so treated accordingly. The most westerly of the Mongol Tartars are the Calmucs, or Eleuths, stretching towards the Caspian. They waged war with Kâng-hy in 1696, but were defeated; and these victories of the emperor's army were, as we have before stated, painted by the Jesuits, and engraved in France.

On the western side of China, bordering principally on Szchuen province, are the Sy-fân, or Too-fân, who, according to the Chinese, call their country *Too-pĕ-tĕ* (Thibet), and, like the other Tartar races, are worshippers of Budh, or Fo, and under the dominion of Lama priests. Their inaccessible mountainous retreats make them practically pretty independent of Chinese control, though they are counted among the subjects of the emperor. They appear to have made some show in Chinese history, previous to the dynasty of Yuen, or that of the Mongul Tartars, and their princes even compelled the sovereigns of China to yield them their daughters in marriage; but the arms of Zenghis Khan involved them in the common subjugation, and they have since remained very quiet within their hilly country, contented with the exercise of their superstitions. There is a Chinese resident at Lassa, the capital of Thibet, the high road to which from Peking lies through Sy-ning, in Kân-sŏ province.

To the south, bordering on the western part of Yun-nân province, are the Lolos, the original inhabitants of a portion of Yun-nân, and very similar in habits, religious observances, and language, to the Burmese, or people of Ava. The Chinese exercise but a doubtful control over

them, for, though the emperor is said to confer titles on their principal rulers, they appear to be entirely subject to their native chiefs in all matters of consequence On the outskirts of the empire, towards the west, are a number of towns or stations called *Too-sse*, or "native jurisdictions" where the aborigines are more or less independent, and where there is, in fact, a kind of divided authority, each party being immediately subject to its own chiefs This is particularly true of the Lolo In fact, Chinese authority exercised over strangers has always been found intolerable, and hence the independent jurisdiction secured to our consuls by treaty

The two large islands of Formosa and Haenân, being external to the main body of the empire, and therefore exposed to the power of any maritime and commercial nation that might wish to try the experiment of an insular settlement near the coast of China, are both of them deserving of some attention Of these two, Formosa is by far the most favoured and the most desirable region It lies principally between the 25th and 22nd parallels of north latitude, just opposite the coast of Fokien, from which it is distant, at the nearest point, little more than twenty leagues The length is nearly two hundred geographical miles, with an average breadth of about fifty, and the climate, as might be expected from an insular situation in that latitude, very favourable The island is divided longitudinally by a ridge of high mountains, and the western portion, having been colonised by the Chinese since the Manchow Tartar conquest, is now held by them as a portion of the opposite province of Fokien. The side that lies eastward of the hills is still inhabited by the aborigines who have always been described as a primitive and savage race, bearing some common resemblance to the Malays and to the inhabitants of the islands in the

Pacific; since they blacken their teeth like the former, and tattoo their skins, as a distinctive mark of rank, after the manner of the latter. The expulsion of the Dutch by the Chinese, nearly two hundred years since, from their settlement on the west coast of Formosa, has already been described in the first chapter. The island continued for some years to be held by the Chinese, independently of the Tartar conquerors of the empire; but in 1683 it submitted to the Manchow emperor, Kâng-hy, and became annexed to the empire as a part of the province of Fokien. The position of Formosa, opposite to the central coasts of China, would render it a most advantageous situation for the promotion of European trade, except for the badness of the harbours and the dangerous nature of the coast.

Haenân is rather smaller than Formosa, its greatest length being under one hundred and fifty miles, with an average breadth of about a degree. It is divided from the province of Kuâng-tung (to which it is subject) by a very narrow as well as shallow strait, on the shore of which the principal city of the island, Keung-chow-foo, is situated. The climate of the island, from its situation south of the parallel of latitude, is naturally hot; but the worst feature of the country consists in the dreadful hurricanes by which it is devastated during the southerly monsoon—a visitation from which Formosa seems to be comparatively free. During the months of August, September, and October, the interior of Haenân, as well as its coasts, is peculiarly liable to the destructive typhoons for which the Chinese sea is so notorious, and which have, at different times, wrecked many European vessels on the island, besides the numbers that have foundered at sea. Haenân has its aborigines as well as Formosa: they are said to inhabit the mountains towards the middle of the

island and occasionally to give trouble to the imperial government

The Chinese affect to consider all countries tributary that have once sent an ambassador, but those which really have been so, and whose tribute is periodically forwarded to Peking, are Corea, Cochin China, Lewkew, (or Loo-choo) and Siam Corea (called Chaou sien by the Chinese) is said to have become a kingdom about 100 years before our era, it is entirely ruled by its own sovereigns but the investiture of a new king is obtained from the Emperor of China, who, whenever there is a vacancy deputes two officers to confer on the next in succession the title of Kuo-wang To prevent contests after his death the reigning king sometimes names his heir, and applies to the emperor to confirm him. The Coreans use the Chinese character, but have a syllabic alphabet of their own. The coasts of Corea are very far from being correctly laid down in the maps, nor is it surprising that the ships of the embassy in 1816 should have found them so erroneously represented, for P Regis state that no European had ever entered the country, and that the only authority for the missionaries' map of Corea was a *native* map brought back to Peking by a Chinese envoy, and adopted for want of a better He expressly says, "There should be some further observations on the south and east sides which would complete the account of Corea as a part of the general geography of Asia.' Two French frigates were lost on that dangerous coast in 1847 The chief productions of Corea are sable skins, ginseng, and a strong paper used by the Chinese for windows, instead of glass

Cochin-China, including Tonkin, bordering on Kuang-sy province, had its limits fixed as a separate state about A D 200, by a brass pillar which remains to this day, and

of which the situation is marked in the Jesuits' map. The tribute of Cochin-China, as well as of Siam, is sent periodically to Canton, whence it is forwarded in charge of the ambassadors to Peking, and the vessels claim exemption from port-charges and duties. The late war, however, between Siam and Cochin-China interfered with the regular transmission of tribute from both countries.

Lewkew, or Loo-choo, has been made in some degree familiar to us by the relations of Captain Basil Hall and Mr. M'Leod, and it has since been visited by Captain Beechey, and later still by Mr. Gutzlaff and others. There is every reason to suppose that the people of those islands are a jealous and suspicious race, being in the power at once of Japan and China, and that their anxiety to exclude Europeans from their country was veiled, on the occasion of the 'Alceste' and 'Lyra's' visit, under a cunning and plausible semblance of courtesy and good-will, for hospitality it could hardly be called. The King of Loo-choo derives his investiture from the Emperor of China, and sends an embassy with tribute about once in two years. Those islands seem to have had little or no intercourse with China before the *Yuen* or Mongol dynasty; and there is reason to suppose that the unsuccessful expedition sent by Koblai Khân against Japan may have had some communication with them, and originated the relations which have since existed.

According to the Chinese account of Loo-choo (printed at Peking with moveable types), the island was formerly divided into three nations or tribes, which were subsequently united into one. It is stated that they have a written character of their own (identical with that of Japan), in which is recorded the ancient history of the country, but that they also use the Chinese character. So far from the people of Loo-choo having no weapons, the

same account relates that the foundation of the kingdom was laid by military force, in the person of a Japanese prince, and that, in the temple dedicated to the conqueror, there is to this day an arrow placed before the tablet where his name is inscribed, in conformity with his will, to show that his kingdom was established by arms. They have also a copper coin of their own, but, as the metal is scarce on the island, it exists in no large quantity, and this may perhaps account for the first English visitors having seen none. The Chinese say they sometimes use *their* copper coin, and sometimes that of Japan, both of which are introduced in trade. Loo-choo, in fact, lies equidistant from both countries, and is tributary to both.

According to the same authority, there is a nominal king of Loo choo, but the real power is exercised by a minister, who is absolute. They have borrowed from China the gradation of nine ranks, and compiled a system of law from the penal code of their great neighbour. They likewise borrowed from China its best institution—a national education, with district schools, and public examinations for promotion. They venerate the memory of Confucius, and study his works, with the notes of his great commentator, Choofootse. Their religion is that of Fŏ, or Budh, and they have all the subordinate idols attached to that persuasion. Among other articles of food, the Chinese say that the Loo-chooans make a sort of *pemmican*, composed of meat and pulse pounded and pressed together, which is dried in the wind, and keeps a long time. Their dislike of foreign visitors no doubt arises in some measure from fear of giving offence to the Chinese, a consideration which likewise influences the people of Corea in their exclusion of strangers. Keying, the Chinese minister, was very urgent for the exclusion of

few or no returns, and not only denying the homage which was so much coveted, but demanding it from the other party. At length an armament of 15,000 men was sent by the way of Corea, but they only plundered the coast and returned. Six years afterwards an envoy was again despatched, who, with his whole retinue, was murdered by the Japanese. This led to an armament of no less than 100,000 men being despatched from China by Koblai Khân, for the conquest of the country. On their arrival upon the northern coast, a storm arose which destroyed the greater number of the vessels, and the Japanese, attacking them on shore in several engagements, either killed or made captives of nearly the whole force, of which it is said that only three individuals ever returned to their own country. This agrees in the main with the account given by Marco Polo.

The Chinese dynasty of *Ming*, which drove out and succeeded the Mongols, suffered severely from the predatory attacks of the Japanese on the coast, in return for the hostilities which the latter had experienced from the family of Koblai Khân. Envoys were sent to remonstrate on the subject, and to invite the Japanese to friendly intercourse, in which a hint at homage seems not to have been forgotten. They were permitted to land, as they were not sent by the hateful Mongols; but no better success appears to have attended their efforts to obtain tribute, although some of the persons employed as envoys were priests of Budh, for whom the Japanese have a respect, on account of their connexion with their own national religion. The piracies along the eastern coasts of China were frequently repeated, but they seem to have led to no renewed attempts on the part of the celestial empire to punish or subdue Japan. Some commercial intercourse at present subsists between the two countries, principally

noong, Hoang-ty, and their immediate successors, who, like the demigods and heroes of Grecian fable, rescued mankind by their ability or enterprise from the most primitive barbarism, and have since been invested with superhuman attributes. The most extravagant prodigies are related of these persons, and the most incongruous qualities attributed to them;—according to Swift's receipt for making a hero, who, if his virtues are not reducible to consistency, is to have them laid in a heap upon him. "National vanity, and a love of the marvellous, have influenced in a similar manner the early history of most other countries, and furnished materials for nursery tales, as soon as the spirit of sober investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders which marks the infancy of nations as well as of individuals." *

The fabulous part of Chinese history commences with *Puonkoo*, who is represented in a dress of leaves, and concerning whom everything is wild and obscure. He is said to have been followed by a number of persons with fanciful names, who, in the style of the Hindoo chronology, reigned for thousands of years, until the appearance of Fohy, who, it is said, invented the arts of music, numbers, &c., and taught his subjects to live in a civilized state. He inhabited what is now the northern province of Shen-sy, anciently the country of *Tsin*, or *Chin*, whence some derive the word China, by which the empire has been for ages designated in India. *Fohy* (often absurdly confounded with *Fŏ*, or Budh) and his two successors are styled the "Three Emperors," and reputed the inventors of all the arts and accommodations of life. Of these, Shin-noong, or the "divine husbandman," instructed his people in agriculture; and Hoang-ty divided all the lands into groups of nine equal squares, of which the middle

* Royal Asiat. Trans. vol. i.: *Memoir concerning the Chinese.*

one was to be cultivated in common for the benefit of the state. He is said likewise to have invented the mode of noting the cycle of sixty years, the foundation of the Chinese system of chronology. The series of cycles is at least made to extend back to the time in which he is reputed to have lived, about 2600 years before Christ; but it is obvious that there could be no difficulty in calculating it much farther back than even that, had the inventors so pleased; and this date is therefore no certain proof of antiquity.

To the "Three Emperors" succeeded the "Five Sovereigns," and the designations seem equally arbitrary and fanciful in both cases, being in fact distinctions without a difference. The fictitious character of this early period might be proved in abundance of instances, and it is the worst feature of Du Halde's compilation to set everything down without comment, and to be filled with general and unmeaning eulogies out of Chinese works, whatever may be the subject of description. He observes that one of these *five Sovereigns* regulated the Calendar, "and desired to begin the year on the first day of the month in which the sun should be nearest the 15th degree of Aquarius, for which he is called the author and father of the ephemeris. He chose the time when the sun passes through the middle of this sign, because it is *the season in which the earth is adorned with plants, trees renew their verdure, and all nature seems reanimated*."—this of course must mean the spring season. Now the person alluded to is said to have lived more than 2000 years before Christ, and, according to the usual mode of calculating the precession of the equinoxes, the sun must have passed through the 15th of Aquarius, in his time, somewhere about the *middle of December*. In a Chinese historian [illegible] blunder is not surprising, and only shows the character of

their earlier records; but it ought to have been corrected in a European work.

Yaou and *Shun*, the two last of the five sovereigns, were the patterns of all Chinese emperors. To Yaou is attributed the intercalation (in their lunar year) of an additional lunar month seven times in every nineteen years; the number of days in seven lunations being nearly equal to nineteen multiplied by *eleven*, which last is the number of days by which the lunar year falls short of the solar. Yaou is said to have set aside his own son, and chosen Shun to be his successor, on account of his virtues. The choice of the reigning emperor is the rule of succession at the present day, and it is seldom that the eldest son succeeds in preference to the rest. To the age of Shun the Chinese refer their tradition of an extensive flooding of the lands, which by some has been unthinkingly identified with the Mosaic deluge. It was for his merit in draining the country, or drawing off the waters of the great inundation, in which he was employed eight years, that "Yu the great" was chosen by Shun for his successor.

He commenced the period called *Hea*, upwards of 2100 years before Christ. Yu is described as nine cubits in height, and it is stated that "the skies rained gold for three days," which certainly (as Dr. Morrison observes) "lessens the credit of the history of this period." In fact, the whole of the long space of time included under Hea and Shâng is full of the marvellous. *Chow-wâng*, however, the last of the Shâng (about 1100 years before Christ), was a tyrant, by all accounts, not more remarkable for his cruelty or extravagancies than many other tyrants have been. Frequent allusion is made to him in Chinese books, as well as to his wife, and various stories are related of their crimes. One of the emperor's rela-

tions having ventured to remonstrate with him, the cruel monarch ordered his heart to be brought to him for inspection, observing that he wished to see in what respects the heart of a sage differed from those of common men. With the Chinese the heart is the seat of the *mind*.

At length Woo wong, literally "the martial king," was called upon to depose the tyrant, and all the people turned against the latter. When no hopes were left, he arrayed himself in his splendour, and, retiring to his palace, set fire to it, and perished, like another Sardanapalus, in the flames. When the conqueror entered, the first object he perceived was the guilty queen, whom he put to death with his own hand, and immediately became the first of the dynasty *Chow*. This forms the subject of a portion of the 'Shooking,' one of the five classical books delivered down by Confucius. The Chinese have no existing records older than the compilations of *Confucius*, who was nearly contemporary with Herodotus, the father of Grecian history, and to whom Pope has given a very lofty niche in his 'Temple of Fame':—

> "Superior and alone Confucius stood,
> Who taught that useful science—to be good."

The *five classics* and the *four books*, which were bequeathed by that teacher or by his disciples, contain what is now known of the early traditions or records of the country. The period of authentic history may be considered as dating from the race of *Chow*, in whose time Confucius himself lived; for, although it might be going too far to condemn all that precedes that period as absolutely fabulous, it is still so much mixed up with fable as hardly to deserve the name of history. In his work called Chun tsew (*spring* and *autumn*, because

written between those seasons) Confucius gives the annals of his own times, and relates the wars of the several petty states against each other. The southern half of the present empire (to the south of the Yang-tse-keang) was then in a state of entire barbarism; and the northern half, extending from that river to the confines of Tartary, was divided among a number of petty independent states, derived from a common origin, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with each other.

The period of Chow, comprising above eight centuries, and extending down to 240 B.C., was distinguished, not only by the birth of Confucius, but by the appearance in China of Laou-keun, and, in India, of Fŏ, or Budh, who were destined to give rise to the two sects which, subordinate to that of Confucius himself, have influenced rather than divided the population of China ever since. The estimation, however, which they have respectively enjoyed has been very different. The memory and the doctrines of Confucius have met with almost uninterrupted veneration to the present time; they have even retained their supremacy over Budhism, the native worship of the Tartar dynasty; while the absurd superstitions of the other two sects have been alternately embraced and despised by the different sovereigns of the country. The mummeries of the Budhists are a parallel to the worst parts of Romanism; and the disciples of Laou-keun combine a variety of superstitions; each sect, at the same time, being plainly a corruption of something that was better in its origin. We shall have to speak of these more in detail hereafter, under the head of Religions.

Confucius was respected by the sovereigns of nearly all the independent states of China, and was employed as minister by one of them. After his death, which hap-

pened B.C. 477, at the age of seventy three, a series of sanguinary contests arose among the petty kingdoms which gave to this period of history the name of *Chen-kuo*, or the "contending nations," and proved in after times the ruin of the race of *Chow*. The king of *Tsin* had long been growing powerful at the expense of the neighbouring states: he fought against six other nations, and, after a course of successes, compelled them all to acknowledge his supremacy. The chief government began now to assume the aspect of an *empire*, which comprehended that half of modern China lying to the north of the great *Keang*, but which, after the lapse of a few centuries, was doomed again to be split into several parts.

The *first Emperor* (which is implied by the title Chyhoang ty), being troubled by the incursions of the Tartars on the northern frontier, rendered himself for ever famous by the erection of the vast wall which has now stood for 2000 years, extending along a space of 1500 miles, from the Gulf of Peking to Western Tartary. It has been estimated that this monstrous monument of human labour contains material sufficient to surround the whole globe, on one of its largest circles, with a wall several feet in height. Another act of the same emperor entitled him to a different species of fame. He ordered that all the books of the learned, including the writings of Confucius, should be cast into the flames: many of course escaped this sentence, through the zeal of those who cultivated learning; but it is said that upwards of 400 persons, who attempted to evade or oppose the order, were burned with the books they wished to save. It is not easy to explain the fantastic wickedness of such an act on any common principles; but one reason alleged for it is, the jealousy that this foolish emperor entertained

of the fame of his progenitors, and the wish he indulged that posterity should hear of none before himself.

About the year 201 B.C. the race of Hân succeeded to the sovereignty, and commenced one of the most celebrated periods of Chinese history. It was now that the Tartars by their predatory warfare became the source of endless disquiet to the more polished and peaceful Chinese, by whom they were in vain propitiated with alliances and tribute. They were the *Hing-kuo* (erratic nations), against whom the first emperor had vainly built the wall; and under the name of Heung-noo (Huns) they constantly appear in the histories or fictions of that period. The first emperors of this race endeavoured to make friends of the Tartar chiefs by giving them their daughters in marriage. "The disgrace," says a historian of that period, "could not be exceeded—from this time China lost her honour." In the reign of Yuen-ty, the ninth emperor, the Tartars having been provoked by the punishment of two of their leaders, who had transgressed the boundaries of the Great Wall in hunting, the empire was again invaded, and a princess demanded and yielded in marriage. This forms the subject of one of the hundred plays of Yuen, an English version of which was printed by the Oriental Translation Committee in 1829, under the name of the 'Sorrows of Hân.' The impolitic system of buying off the babarians, which commenced so early, terminated many centuries afterwards in the overthrow of the empire.

The seventeenth emperor of Hân, by name *Ho-ty*, is said to have had considerable intercourse with the west. It is even recorded that one of his envoys reached *Tatsin*, or Arabia. It is certain that eunuchs, those fertile sources of trouble to his successors, were introduced during his reign, and it may be inferred that he borrowed them from

we tern Asia about A.D. 95. The reigns of the last two emperors of Hán were disturbed by the machinations of the eunuchs, and by the wars with the rebels called Hoangkin, or Yellow Caps. At this time so little was left of the sovereign authority, that the emperors are frequently designated by the mere term *Choo* or lord.

The period of the *Sankuo*, or "Three States," into which the country was divided towards the close of Han, about A.D. 181, is a favourite subject of the historical plays and romances of the Chinese. A work designated particularly by the above name, is much prized and very popular among them, and a manuscript translation of it in Latin, by one of the Catholic missionaries, exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Extracts from it might be made interesting but the whole is perhaps too voluminous to bear an English translation in print. It is, however, as little stuffed with extravagancies as could be expected from an oriental history, and except that it is in prose, bears a resemblance in some of its features to the Iliad, especially in what Lord Chesterfield calls "the porter-like language" of the heroes. The heroes excel all moderns in strength and prowess, and make exchanges after the fashion of Glaucus and Diomed, Hector and Ajax. One shows his liberality in horses, another in a weight of silver, or *iron*—

"And steel well temper'd and refulgent gold."

Society seems to have been in much the same state, split into something like feudal principalities, hanging loosely together under the questionable authority of one head. That great step in civilization, the invention of printing (which arose in China about the tenth century of our era), had not yet taken place, and even the manufacture of paper had not long been introduced.

The leader of *Wei*, one of the three states, having at length obtained the sovereignty, established the capital in his own country, Honân, and commenced the dynasty called *Tsin*, A.D. 260. Having taken warning from the distractions arising from the interference of eunuchs and women in affairs of government during the period of the Three States, a kind of Salic law was passed, that "Queens should not reign, nor assist in public matters"—a good law, adds the historian, and worthy of being an example. It was, however, soon afterwards abrogated in practice. Some have concluded, not without probability, that the name China, Sina, or Tsina, was taken from the dynasty of Tsin. The first emperor, or founder, is said to have had political transactions with Fergana, a province of Sogdiana, and to have received a Roman embassy.

On the conclusion of this race of sovereigns, in A.D. 416, China became divided into two principal kingdoms, Nanking being the capital of the southern one, and Honân of the northern. For about 200 years afterwards, five successive races (*woo-tae*) rapidly followed each other; and the salutary rule of hereditary succession being constantly violated by the strongest, the whole history of the period is a mere record of contests and crimes. At length, in A.D. 585, the north and south were united for the first time into one empire, of which the capital was fixed at Honân. The last of the five contending races was soon after deposed by *Ly-yuen*, who founded, in A.D. 622, the dynasty of *Tâng*.

Tae-tsoong, the second emperor of this race, was one of the most celebrated in China; his maxims are constantly quoted in books, and his temperance and love of justice considered as patterns. There is reason to believe that certain Christians of the Nestorian Church first came to China in his reign, about A.D. 640. It is recorded

that foreigners arrived, having fair hair and blue eyes According to the Jesuits, whom Du Halde has quoted, a stone monument was found at *Sy-gan foo* in Shensy, A D 1625, with the cross, an abstract of the Christian law, and the names of 72 preachers in Syriac characters bearing the forementioned date It has been urged that this discovery might have been a pious fraud on the part of the holy fathers, but it is not easy to assign any adequate motive for such a forgery, and the evidence seems upon the whole in its favour

One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Tang is the extraordinary power which the eunuchs of the palace arrogated to themselves The third emperor was so besotted by one of his wives that he left her invested with sovereign power at his death contrary to the enactment before made and provided. She reigned for about 20 years absolutely leaving her son emperor, and this vicious and troubled period is another example, quoted by the Chinese of the mischiefs which result to public affairs from the management of women During her reign the eunuchs gathered fresh force, and for a considerable time had the choice of the emperors, and the control of their actions. The influence of such singular rulers must of course be referred to the operations of intrigue The uncontrolled access which their condition gave them to all parts of the palace and to the company of both sexes, was greatly calculated to facilitate their projects, and projects of mischief and disorder were the most likely ones to be formed by those who were cut off from the ties of kindred, and sufficiently disposed to regard the rest of mankind as their enemies The awe of state was not long felt by such as were the immediate attendants, and perhaps the companions, of the sovereign, in his private haunts, and that barrier

once passed, the approaches of insolence and usurpation might advance unchecked. The power of the eunuchs was at length destroyed by the last emperor of the race, who in great measure extirpated them, through the assistance of a powerful leader whose aid he requested. This person fulfilled his commission, but subsequently killed the emperor and his heir, and, after a course of atrocious cruelties, put an end to the dynasty of Tâng, A.D. 897.

The whole country was once more thrown into a state of war and confusion, with several aspirants to the sovereignty. This period, which lasted about fifty-three years, is called in Chinese histories the *How Woo-tae*, or "*latter five successions.*" The Tartar people of the region now called Leaou-tung, at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, encouraged by the unsettled and divided condition of the empire, gave much trouble by their incursions.

These turbulent portions of the Chinese annals, which were now soon to give way to a settled oriental despotism, bear many features of a feudal cast about them. We think we can perceive in the book of Mengtse, or Mencius (as his name has been Latinized by the Jesuits), that the original government of China approached in some degree to that description. "The Sovereign, the Koong, the How, the Pĕ, and the Nân, constituted five ranks. The Sovereign had the immediate government of 100 ly; the Koong and How each of 100 ly; the Pĕ 70; and the Nân 50 ly."—(*Heameng.* ch. x.) We read in their histories of grants of land to certain officers of state, and of government and military lands, in which may be perceived a resemblance to the feudal fiefs or benefices. Whatever may have been the tenure in former times, the emperor is now, as in most oriental

countries, regarded as the ultimate owner of *all* land, from which he receives a tax of about 10 per cent

After a succession of civil wars, Tae-tsoo, the first emperor of the *Soong* dynasty, was raised to the throne by the military leaders in consequence of the minority of the real heir, who was only seven years of age, A D 950 Being about to engage the Eastern Tartars they did not wish to be ruled by a child, who could not appreciate their services They accordingly fixed on a servant of the deceased emperor, and immediately despatched messengers who found him overcome with wine, and in that state communicated their message The history adds that, "before he had time to reply, the yellow robe was already applied to his person Substitute purple for yellow, and this might be taken for the translation of some passage in Tacitus or Suetonius

The art of printing having been invented just previous to this dynasty about five hundred years before it was known to us the multiplication of books the instruments of learning was a principal cause of the literary character of the age of Soong, to the same cause may be attributed the increased fulness of the records of this period, from whence the really interesting thread of Chinese history commences Our lights now multiply fast, and the Tartars begin to take a considerable share in the national transactions In fact, the whole history of this polished but unwarlike race is a series of disgraceful acts of compromise with the Eastern Tartars called *Kin* (the origin of the Manchows, or present reigning family), until the Mongols, or Western Tartars, took possession of the empire under Koblai Khan

In the reign of Chin-tsoong, the third emperor of Soong the Eastern Tartars, having laid siege to a town near Peking, were forced to treat, but still obtained

advantageous terms, with a large annual donative of money and silk. The pacific disposition of Jin-tsoong, the fourth emperor, gave them further encouragement, and a disgraceful treaty was the consequence. Ten districts to the south of the wall being claimed by them, they received an annual quit-rent of 200,000 taëls and a quantity of silk. To complete his disgrace, the emperor called himself a *tributary*, making use of the term *Nă-koong*.

Shin-tsoong, the sixth emperor, is described as having hastened the fall of his race, by attending to the absurd suggestions of a minister who was for reverting to the antiquated maxims of *Yaou* and *Shun*, names which may almost be said to belong rather to the mythology than the history of the empire. At length Wei-tsoong, the eighth sovereign in succession, enslaved himself to the eunuchs, and soon experienced the consequences of his weakness and imbecility. The Eastern Tartars advanced apace, took possession of a part of northern China, and threatened the whole country; they were destined, however, to be checked, not by the Chinese, but the Mongols. These inhabited the countries which extend from the north-western provinces of China to Thibet and Samarcand. They had already conquered India, and being now called in against the *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, they soon subdued both them and the enervated Chinese, whom they had been invited to protect.

The Mongols might be said to be masters of the northern half of modern China from the year 1234. The *Kin*, who until then had occupied a part of the provinces bordering on the wall, were attacked on one side by the Chinese, and on the other by the Mongols, under the command of the famous Pĕ-yen (*hundred eyes*, or Argus, on account of his vigilance), who is mentioned by

Marco Polo, and the correctness of whose name is of itself a sufficient proof of the genuineness of that early traveller's narrative Their principal city was taken, and the death of their prince put an end for the present to the Eastern Tartars, but the remnant became the stock from whence grew the Manchows, who afterwards conquered China, and who hold it to this day in subjection

When Koblai Khan had possessed himself of the northern part of the empire, he took occasion of the infancy of the reigning Chinese emperor to use an argument convenient to his purpose "Your family," said he, "owes its rise to the minority of the last emperor of the preceding house, it is therefore just that the remains of Soong should give place to another family" The famous Pĕ-yen pursued the Chinese army first to Fokien, and afterwards to Hoey chow in Canton province Great cruelty was exercised on the vanquished and it is recorded that "the blood of the people flowed in sounding torrents" The remains of the Chinese court betook themselves to the sea near Canton, and perished, A D 1281

On the accession of Koblai Khan, the first of the *Yuen* dynasty, the favourite religion of the Mongols being that of Budh or Fŏ, of which the grand Lama of Thibet is the head an order was promulged to burn all the books of the Taou sect An exception was suggested in favour of the Taou tĕ-king, as the only really inspired writing of that religion, but the order was made peremptory to burn them all The historian, a Confucian, observes that his majesty, who favoured Budhism, and those of his predecessors who had encouraged the other persuasion were equally erroneous and partial, both doctrines should have been extinguished Budhism, in

fact, has never flourished as it did under the Mongol Tartar race, because it was their native religion.

Koblai fixed the seat of government at Peking, or Kambalu, as it is styled by Marco Polo after the Tartars. As the most effectual remedy for the sterility of the plain in which that capital is situated, he constructed the vast *canal*, extending south a distance of about 300 leagues into the most fertile provinces, and serving as an easy conveyance for their products, independently of a sea navigation. This great work, which is more particularly described in its proper place, was a benefit to China, by itself sufficient to redeem in some measure the injustice and violence by which the Mongol possessed himself of the empire.

The northern portion of China was now known by the name Kathai, or Cathay, the appellation invariably given to it by the Venetian traveller. The southern was styled Manjee, which is evidently a corruption of *Mantsze*, originally applied to the barbarians of the south. There is a portion of Ava bordering on China at this day called Manchegee, which probably has the same derivation. Notwithstanding the great qualities of Koblai, which were calculated to lay the foundations of a permanent dominion, the degeneracy of his successors was such as to cause the empire to pass out of the hands of the Mongol race in a little more than eighty years' time. There is scarcely anything worthy of notice in their annals, save the rapid and excessive degeneracy of these Tartar princes. Koblai had wisely adopted the political institutions of China; but those who followed him surpassed the Chinese themselves in their luxury and effeminacy. Enervated by the climate and vices of the south, they quickly lost the courage and hardihood which had put the country in possession of their ancestors; and

Shunty, the ninth emperor in succession, was compelled to resign the empire to a Chinese

It it is worthy of remark, that, of the score of dynasties which have followed each other, all established themselves on the vices, luxuries, or indolence of their immediate forerunners The present Manchow race has already shown no unequivocal symptoms of degeneracy The two greatest princes by whom it has been distinguished, Kang hy and Kien loong, sedulously maintained the ancient habits of their Tartar subjects by frequent hunting excursions beyond the wall in which they individually bore no small share of the fatigue and danger The late emperor Keaking and his two successors, have, on the other hand been remarkable for their comparative indolence, and the reigns of all have exhibited a mere succession of revolts and troubles The following is part of an edict issued by the Emperor Taou kuang in 1824 —"With reference to the autumnal hunt of the present year, I ought to follow the established custom of my predecessors, but, at the same time, it is necessary to be guided by the circumstances of the times, and to act in conformity to them The expedition to Je ho (Zhehol) is also ordered to be put off for this year It is an involuntary source of vexation to me I should not think of adopting this measure from a love of ease and indulgence" Since that date, however, the same course has been repeated under various pretexts The Manchow rule has already lasted much longer than the Mongol, and from all present appearances, a bold and well conducted Chinese rebellion might perhaps succeed in overthrowing it

The first emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, which expelled the Mongols in 1366, had been servant to a monastery of bonzes, or priests of Budh Having joined a numerous

body of revolters, he soon became their leader, and, after making himself master of some provinces in the south, at length defeated a part of the emperor's troops in a great battle. The Chinese now flocked to him from all parts, and, having crossed the Yellow River, he forced *Shunty* to fly northwards, where he died soon after, leaving the empire in possession of the successful Chinese, who assumed the sovereignty, with the title of *Tae-tsoo*, "great ancestor, or founder."

The new emperor endeavoured to establish his capital at Foongyang-foo, his native city, but was obliged, from its local disadvantages, to give it up, and adopt Nanking instead, erecting Peking into a principality for one of his younger sons, Yoong-lŏ. When this prince succeeded as third emperor of his family, the capital was transferred in 1408 to Peking; a principal reason perhaps being the necessity of keeping the Eastern Tartars in check. Nanking was still occupied by the *heir*, with a distinct set of tribunals, and this shows more confidence than is commonly displayed under Asiatic despotisms. It was in the same reign that Timour, or Tamerlane, died on his way to the conquest of China, in the year 1405.

During the reign of Hoong-hy, the fourth emperor of the Ming family, a great conflagration of the palace melted together a mixture of valuable metals, and from this compound were constructed numbers of vases, which are highly valued at the present day. In this the reader may perceive an origin somewhat similar to that of the famous Corinthian brass. Some of the Chinese vases, so highly esteemed, were seen by the British embassy near Nanking in 1816. It is a common practice, however, at present, to put the name of the above emperor on vases which have no pretensions whatever to this antique value.

It was in the same dynasty that the Portuguese, as we

have already seen, came to China, and obtained, about the middle of the sixteenth century, their imperfect tenure of Macao, and it was also under the *Ming* race that the Jesuits established themselves in China. The zeal and address with which these intelligent and adventurous men opened a way for themselves and their mission is deserving of high praise, and the knowledge which some of them obtained of the language, manners, and institutions of the country has never perhaps been surpassed by any other Europeans. Had it not been for the narrow-minded bigotry and intolerance with which some of the popes, and the monks whom they deputed to China, frustrated the labours of the more sober minded Jesuits, Europeans and their religion might at this day enjoy a very different footing in the empire.

In the year 1618, Wanlie, the thirteenth emperor of the Chinese dynasty, being on the throne, a war commenced with the Eastern Tartars, who now called their country (the present Mougden) Manchow, which means "the full region." We have before seen that, just previous to the Mongol conquest, and during the latter end of the Soong dynasty, these Eastern Tartars, under the name of *Kin*, or the "golden" race, had subdued some portion of the north of China, but were driven out by the Mongols. When the last of the Mongols, descendants of Koblai Khan, were expelled from China by the founder of the *Ming*, or Chinese race, they [illegible] the Eastern Tartars, and [illegible] the natives sprung [illegible] princes, who were [illegible]. It [illegible] thus manner that the [illegible] dynasty derive their [illegible].

It was Tien-ming, the [illegible] reigning who in the time of [illegible]

containing seven subjects of grievance, on the ground of which he formally attacked China, with the view of doing himself justice. He entered the province of Peking at the head of 50,000 men, and was preparing to besiege the capital, when he was repulsed, and compelled to retire for a while to Leaoutung, north of the Great Wall. His title, *Tien-ming*, literally means "Heaven's decree." The contest was subsequently resumed, and lasted with various success until the last emperor of Ming succeeded in 1627. This prince seemed insensible to the danger which threatened him, and, instead of repelling the Tartars, estranged his own subjects by his ill conduct, driving at length a portion of them to revolt. The leader of the rebels subdued the provinces Honân and Shen-sy, and murdered the principal mandarins; but in order to gain their assistance, he freed the people from all taxes and contributions. The success of this policy soon enabled him to invest Peking with a very large army. The emperor, preferring death to being taken by the rebels, retired with his only daughter, whom he first stabbed, and then put an end to his own existence with a cord, A.D. 1643. Thus perished the last Chinese emperor; and the spot where he died was pointed out to the late Sir George Staunton in 1793.* The way in which a comparatively small nation of Tartars possessed themselves of China will now appear.

On the death of the emperor the usurper met with universal submission, both at Peking and in the provinces, with the exception of the General Woosankwei, who commanded an army near Eastern Tartary. The latter fortified himself in a city which he commanded, and was presently besieged by the successful rebel, who showed him his father in chains, threatening to put him to death

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 121.

if the town was not surrendered. The father exhorted his son to hold out, and submitted to his fate: upon which Woosankwei, to revenge his death, as well as that of the emperor, made peace with the Manchows, and called them in to his assistance against the rebels. The usurper was in this manner soon defeated; but the Tartar king, proceeding to the capital, was so well received there, and conducted matters with such dexterity, that he at length found no difficulty in taking upon himself the sovereignty. Being seized with a mortal sickness, he had time to appoint his son Shun-chy, then a boy, as his successor, A.D. 1644, and thus commenced the Manchow Tartar dynasty, of which the eighth emperor is now reigning.

Several cities of the south still held out against this foreign government, and particularly the maritime province of Fokien, which was not subdued until some years afterwards. The conquered Chinese were now compelled to shave the thick hair which their nation had been accustomed to wear from the most ancient times as a cherished ornament, and to betake themselves to the Tartar fashion of a long plaited tress, or tail. In other respects, too, they were commanded to adopt the Tartar habit on pain of death; and many are said to have died in preference to submission. Their new rulers must, indeed, have felt themselves sufficiently strong before they issued such an order. Many are the changes which may be made in despotic countries, without the notice, or even knowledge, of the larger portion of the community; but an entire alteration in the national costume affects every individual equally, from the highest to the lowest, and is perhaps, of all others, the most open and degrading mark of conquest. It can never be submitted to, except by a people who are thoroughly subdued; nor ever imposed,

except by a government that feels itself able to carry a measure which is perhaps resorted to principally for the purpose of trying, or of breaking, the spirit of the conquered. The ancient Chinese costume is now very exactly represented on the stage of their theatre, to which it has been exclusively confined; but a return to it is being tried by the insurgents at Nanking.

Such was the repugnance of the Chinese to the Tartar rule, that during the eighteen years of the first emperor's reign a portion of the south remained unsubdued, and a very formidable opponent to the new dynasty existed on the sea. This was Ching-she-loong, father to the maritime leader Koshinga, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the person who took Formosa from the Dutch. According to the policy always adopted, of effecting by compromise what cannot be accomplished by force, Shun-chy offered him honours and rewards at Peking, on condition that he would submit. The father accepted the invitation, leaving his fleet with his son, and was well received; but Koshinga remained true to the Chinese cause, and subsequently co-operated with the adherents to the late dynasty on shore, committing great ravages with his fleet along the coast. Kang-hy, the second Tartar emperor, adopted the vigorous measure of compelling his subjects in the six maritime provinces to retire thirty Chinese *ly*, or three leagues, inwards from the coast, on pain of death. Thus, at the expense of destruction to a number of towns and villages, and of loss to the inhabitants, the power and resources of Koshinga were reduced, and his grandson was at length prevailed on to give up Formosa to the emperor, and accept the gift of a title for himself, A.D. 1683.

The final establishment of the Manchow Tartars in China is doubtless attributable, in no small measure, to

the personal character of Kang hy, who is perhaps the greatest monarch that ever ruled the country, and who had the singular fortune to reign for sixty years. By his hunting excursions beyond the Great Wall, when he really proceeded at the head of a large army, he kept up the military character of the Tartars; while at the same time his vigilant care was not wanting in the south. During the year 1689 he proceeded along the Grand Canal to Nanking, and thence to the famous city of Soochow. At that opulent and luxurious place, it is said that, carpets and silk stuffs being laid along the streets by the inhabitants, the emperor dismounted, and made his train do the same, proceeding thus to the palace on foot, in order that the people's property might not be injured.

His liberal and enlightened policy was strikingly displayed on two occasions of foreign intercourse. First, in the boundary and commercial treaty with Russia, of which Pere Gerbillon has given an account, and which was consequent on a dispute that occurred at the frontier station of Yacsa. Gerbillon was sent by Kang hy (whose numerous favours to the Romish mission have already been noticed) to assist the negotiation as translator, and his detail of the expedition is given in the fourth volume of Du Halde. The mission proceeded in 1688, but circumstances prevented its completion until the following year, for the Eleuths or Kalmucs being then at war with the Kalka Tartars, and the route of the expedition lying along the country of the latter, it was thought prudent at first to return. The second instance is that embassy in 1713 to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then settled on the north bank of the Caspian, of which a translation has been given by the present Sir George Staunton from the original Chinese. This is the most remote expedition that has ever been undertaken from China in modern

times; and the details of the journey, with the emperor's own instructions for the conduct of his ambassador, are especially curious. Kang-hy subsequently gained considerable glory by the conquest of the above-mentioned Eleuths, who had long given great trouble in the regions about Thibet; and the exploits and triumphs of the emperor's army having been portrayed by a French missionary in a series of skilful drawings, these were sent by the desire of Kang-hy to Paris, and there engraved on copper-plates. They contain a very faithful representation of Chinese and Tartar costumes and court ceremonies, and are by far the best things of the kind in existence.

Yoong-ching, the immediate successor of this great emperor, was remarkable for little else than for his violent persecution of the Romish priests, who had certainly rendered themselves sufficiently obnoxious, by their imprudent conduct, to the rulers of China. Kien-loong, who succeeded in 1736, and who, like his great predecessor, Kang-hy, had the unusual fortune to reign for sixty years, was no unworthy inheritor of the fame and dominion of his grandfather. He encouraged the Chinese learning by cultivating it in his own person, and some of his poetical compositions are considered to possess intrinsic merit, independently of their being the productions of an emperor. The principal military transaction of his reign, remarkable, upon the whole, for its peaceful and prosperous course, was an expedition against the *Meaou-tse*, the race of mountaineers already described on the borders of Kuei-chow, and not far removed from the Canton province. The emperor boasted that they were subdued; but there is reason to believe that this hardy people, intrenched in the natural fortifications of their rude and precipitous mountains, lost little of the real

independence which they had enjoyed for ages, and that they were *triumphati magis quam victi* They have never submitted to the Tartar tonsure, the most conclusive mark of conquest, and their renewed acts of hostility, as late as the year 1832, gave serious alarm and trouble to the Peking government

The first British embassy ever sent to China was received by Kien loong in 1793 and the liberal conduct of that monarch in dispensing with the performance of the prostration on the part of Lord Macartney contrasts strongly with the petty species of trickery by which that Tartar act of homage, called the Ko-tow, was sought to be extorted from Lord Amherst in 1816, by his successor Kea king, or rather by the ministers for the emperor subsequently disavowed his knowledge of their proceedings It may be reasonably supposed that Kien loong at the end of a long and prosperous reign felt sufficiently assured of his own power and greatness to dispense with such a ceremony and that the authority of his son having been shaken by frequent insurrections, and even by some attempts against his life, this circumstance rendered him, or at least his court, more tenacious of external forms It has been ascertained, however, that the agency of the provincial government of Canton was powerfully exerted against the latter embassy

When the reign of Kien loong, like that of his grandfather, had in 1795 reached the unusual term of sixty years, which just completes a revolution of the Chinese cycle, he resigned the throne to his son, with the title of emperor, while he reserved to himself that of the *Supreme Emperor*, though he retired altogether from state affairs and lived but a short time afterwards Kea king was ill-calculated to maintain the imperial dignity after such a monarch as his father Serra, a Romish missionary,

many years employed at Peking, obtained a very particular account of his habits, which were extremely profligate, and may account for the risks to which his life was exposed from assassins. After the early *morning* audience from which no emperor can excuse himself, and when he had despatched the business submitted to him, he generally retired to the company of players, and afterwards drank to excess. He would frequently proceed with players to the interior of the palace, and it was remarked that his *two younger sons bore no resemblance to himself*, or to each other. He went so far as to carry the comedians with him when he proceeded to sacrifice at the temples of Heaven and Earth. This, with other circumstances, was noticed in a memorial by the famous *Soong-keun*, or Soong-ta-jin, one of the censors, and the conductor and friend of Lord Macartney while in China. When summoned by the emperor, and asked what punishment he deserved, he answered, "A slow and ignominious death." When told to choose another, he said, "beheading;" and on the third occasion he chose "strangling." * He was ordered to retire, and on the following day the court appointed him governor of the Chinese Siberia, the region of Tartary to which criminals are exiled: thus (as Serra observes) acknowledging his rectitude, though unable to bear his censure.

When the reign of Kea-king, unmarked by any events except the suppression of some formidable revolts and conspiracies, had reached the twenty-fourth year, the occurrence of the sixtieth anniversary of the emperor's age was celebrated by a universal jubilee throughout the empire. Even with private individuals, the attainment of the sixtieth year (a revolution of the cycle) is marked by a particular celebration. In 1819 the national jubilee

* *The three gradations of capital punishment.*

was observed, as usual, by a remission of all arrears of land tax, by a general pardon or mitigation of punishment to criminals, and by the admission of double the usual number of candidates to degrees at the public examinations. The celebration of one man's age by two or three *hundred millions* of people is rather an imposing festival, and could happen to none but the Emperor of China. Kea-king, however, only survived it by a single year, and his death, in 1820, was the occasion of some curious information being obtained relative to the mode of succession, and other particulars.

The emperor's *will*, a very singular document, was published to the people. In it was this passage:—"The Yellow River has, from the remotest ages, been *China's sorrow*. Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand banks, it has higher up its course, created alarm by overflowing the country. On such occasions I have not spared the imperial treasury to embank the river, and restore the waters to their former channel. Since a former repair of the river was completed, six or seven years of tranquillity had elapsed, when last year, in the autumn, the excessive rains caused an unusual [illegible] of the water, and in Honân the river burst its [illegible] several points, both on the south and north [illegible] stream Woochy forced a passage to the [illegible] mischief done was immense. During the [illegible] year, just as those who conducted the [illegible] had reported that the work was [illegible] bank at Ie-fong again gave way." [illegible] subject in the emperor's will is a [illegible] importance. If the science of [illegible] put an effectual stop to the [illegible] important physical bene[illegible] empire; but the jealousy of [illegible]

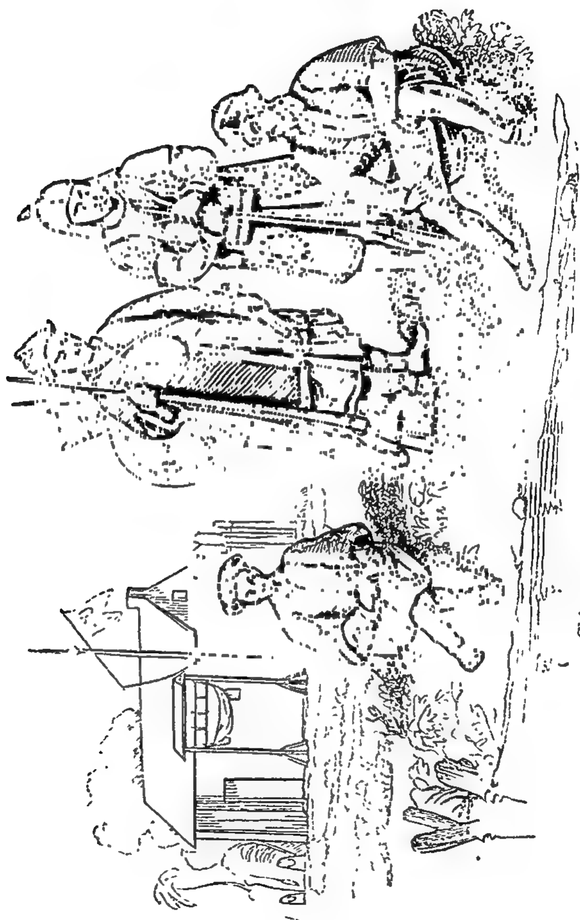
[illegible]

time of the first emperor of the Manchow dynasty. Subsequent to the termination of the troubles with the independent mountaineers north-west of Canton, already mentioned in another chapter, a very singular paper was written by a Chinese, stating the submission of the enemy to be a mere imposition on the emperor by his officers, and a public disgrace He said that the imperial commissioners had expended 500,000 taels of silver for a sham surrender and the appearance of victory, and wondered at their audacity in receiving the rewards of peacocks' feathers, and other marks of favour. The money was represented to have been thrown away, for the mountaineers had disowned the authority of those who accepted it, and remained as independent as ever.

There must be a good deal of truth in this, or a Chinese would hardly have exposed himself to the risk of being the author; and it is a singular picture of the existing state of the empire Many have been led by the events of recent years to surmise that the end of the Tartar dominion in China is at hand. Its establishment and continuance is certainly a fact not much less extraordinary (when the disproportion of the conquerors to the conquered is considered) than the British dominion in India; and the Mongol race were driven out by the Chinese after a much shorter possession than the Manchows have already enjoyed. These have had the prudence and wisdom to leave the Chinese in possession of their own forms and institutions in most instances, and to mould those of the Tartars to them; but distinctions sufficiently broad are still maintained to prevent the amalgamation of the original people with their masters. A symptom of weakness in the government has long been its extreme dread of numerous associations among the people; one of which, the Triad Society, has for its known

object the expulsion of the Manchows. The rebellion now raging may perhaps eventually overturn the government.

An insurrection broke out in the island of Formosa



Chinese Military Station, with Soldiers.

towards the close of 1832, accompanied by the death of a large portion of the troops, and of the greater number of mandarins on the spot, and the origin of it was attributed to the oppression of the emperor's

government. A Tartar general, after the lapse of a few months, was despatched in all haste from Peking, with power to take troops from the different provinces at his need; and in a short time it was heard that the insurrection was over, and the troops countermanded. This sudden restoration of tranquillity was hardly less surprising, after violence had proceeded to such lengths, than the speedy submission of the mountaineers; but it was never clearly ascertained whether it was effected by force or by the divisions of the inhabitants; or whether money had been used, as in the case of the mountaineers, to supply the place of arms.

The last emperor but one, Kea-king, showed a very determined aversion and hostility to the Romish religion, and numerous persecutions took place in his reign. The next monarch, by all appearances, inherited the same disposition from his father. He had not succeeded many weeks to the throne when one of his high officers evinced his zeal by an accusation against certain Chinese, who had been detected in the practice of what is called the "religion of the western ocean." A still more unequivocal proof existed in the expulsion from Peking of the very last of those European missionaries who for their astronomical knowledge had been attached in succession, for about 200 years, to that tribunal or board whose business it is to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies, and to construct the imperial calendar. It is probable that the Chinese astronomers have acquired sufficient practical knowledge for the rough calculation of eclipses, and other routine matters of the same kind; but in the course of time another generation may perhaps require a fresh inoculation of science from Europe, and it will then befit Protestant missionaries to imitate the learning and enterprise of their Romish predecessors,—

but to avoid their want of moderation, and their disputes with each other about trifles.

The reign of Taou-kuâng proved disastrous to his country by the success of our war, and closed with his death in 1850. That of his son and successor, Hien-foong, is likely to prove still more disastrous by a civil war, which has divided the empire for some years, and threatened the downfall of the Manchow dynasty. Some hopes have arisen for the Tartars from divisions in the insurgents' camp at Nanking, their head-quarters.

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.

Chinese government parental — Practice at Canton exceptional — Influence of public opinion — Motives to education — Love of peace — Reverence for age — Influence of wealth — No hereditary aristocracy — The emperor — Ministers — Machinery of government — Provincial magistrates — Civil officers superior to military — The army — Implements of war — Penal code — Its arrangement — Punishments — Privileges and exemptions — Crimes — Testimonies in favour of the code — Sanctions superior to will of emperor.

MONTESQUIEU has somewhere the following remark — "*Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire est ennuyeuse*," and if this be the characteristic of Chinese history, if we find the even current of its annals for a long time past (before the late rebellion) less troubled by disorder and anarchy than can be stated of most other countries, we must look for the causes *in the fundamental principles of its government*, and in the maxims by which this is administered. It is well known that *parental authority* is the model or type of political rule in China—that natural restraint to which almost every man finds himself subject at the earliest dawn of his perceptions. Influenced, perhaps, by a consideration of the lasting force of early impressions on the human mind, the legislators of the country have thought that they should best provide for the stability of their fabric, by basing it on that principle which is the most natural and familiar to every one from infancy, and the least likely ever to be called in question.

Whether or not this was the design with which the

patriarchal form has been so long perpetuated in China, it seems certain that, being at once the most obvious and the simplest, it has for that reason been the *first* that has existed among the various societies of mankind. The North American tribes call all rulers "fathers." However well calculated to promote the union and welfare of small tribes or nations, the example of China, perhaps, in some respects demonstrates that in large empires, where the supreme authority must be exercised almost entirely by distant delegation, it is liable to degenerate into a mere fiction, excellently calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the hand of despotism, but retaining little of the paternal character beyond its absolute authority. It is the policy of the Chinese government to grant to fathers over their children the *patria potestas* in full force, as the example and the sanction of its own power.

There is nothing more remarkable in their ritual, and in their criminal code, than the exact parallel which is studiously kept up between the relations in which every person stands to his own parents and to the emperor. For similar offences against both he suffers similar punishments; at the death of both he mourns the same time, and goes the same period unshaven; and both possess nearly the same power over his person. Thus he is bred up to civil obedience, *tenero ab ungui*, with every chance of proving a *quiet* subject at least. Such institutions certainly do not denote the existence of much liberty; but if peaceful obedience and universal order be the sole objects in view, they argue, on the part of the governors, some knowledge of human nature, and an adaptation of the means to the end.

In the book of Sacred Instructions, addressed to the people, founded on their ancient writings, and read publicly by the principal magistrates on the days that corre-

spond to the new and full moon, the sixteen discourses of which it consists are *headed* by that which teaches the duties of children to parents, of juniors to elders, and, thence, of the people to the government The principle is extended thus in a quotation from the sacred books — "In our general conduct, not to be orderly is to fail in filial duty, in serving our sovereign, not to be faithful is to fail in filial duty in acting as a magistrate, not to be careful is to fail in filial duty, in the intercourse of friends, not to be sincere is to fail in filial duty, in arms and in war, not to be brave is to fail in filial duty" The claims of elders are enforced thus — 'The duty to parents and the duty to elders are indeed similar in obligation, for he who can be a pious son will also prove an obedient younger brother and he who is *both* will, while at home, prove an honest and orderly subject, and in active service, from home, a courageous and faithful soldier May you all, O soldiers and people, conform to these our instructions, evincing your good dispositions by your conduct and actions, each fulfilling his duty as a son and a junior, according to the example which is left you by the wise and holy men of former times The wisdom of the ancient emperors, Yaou and Shun, had its foundation in the essential ties of human society Mencius has said, 'Were all men to honour their kindred and respect their elders, the world* would be at peace'

But the government does not confine itself to preaching, domestic rebellion is treated in nearly all respects as treason, being, in fact, *petit treason* A special edict of the last emperor went beyond the established law in a case which occurred in one of the central provinces A man and his wife had beaten and otherwise severely

* Meaning China.

ill-used the mother of the former. This being reported by the viceroy to Peking, it was determined to enforce in a signal manner the fundamental principle of the empire. The very place where it occurred was anathematized, as it were, and made accursed. The principal offenders were put to death; the mother of the wife was bambooed, branded, and exiled for her daughter's crime; the scholars of the district for three years were not permitted to attend the public examination, and their promotion thereby stopped; the magistrates were deprived of their offices and banished. The house in which the offenders dwelt was dug up from the foundations. "Let the viceroy," the edict adds, "make known this proclamation, and let it be dispersed through the whole empire, that the people may all learn it. And if there be any rebellious children who oppose, beat, or degrade their parents, they shall be punished in like manner. If ye people indeed know the renovating principle, then fear and obey the imperial will, nor look on this as empty declamation. For now, according to this case of *Teng-chen*, wherever there are the like I resolve to condemn them, and from my heart strictly charge you to beware. I instruct the magistrates of every province severely to warn the heads of families and elders of villages; and on the 2nd and 16th of every month to read the Sacred Instructions, in order to show the importance of the relations of life, that persons may not rebel against their parents—*for I intend to render the empire filial.*" This was addressed to a population estimated commonly at 300,000,000.

"The vital and universally operating principle of the Chinese government," says Sir George Staunton, "is the duty of submission to parental authority, whether vested in the parents themselves, or in their representatives, and which, although usually described under the pleasing

appellation of filial piety, is much more properly to be considered as a general rule of action than as the expression of any particular sentiment of affection It may easily be traced even in the earliest of their records, it is inculcated with the greatest force in the writings of the first of their philosophers and legislators, it has survived each successive dynasty, and all the various changes and revolutions which the state has undergone, and it continues to this day powerfully enforced both by positive laws and by public opinion

"A government constituted upon the basis of parental authority, thus highly estimated and extensively applied, has certainly the advantage of being directly sanctioned by the immutable and ever operating laws of nature, and must thereby acquire a degree of firmness and durability to which governments founded on the fortuitous superiority of particular individuals, either in strength or abilities and continued only through the hereditary influence of particular families, can never be expected to attain. Parental authority and prerogative seem to be, obviously the most respectable of title, and parental regard and affection the most amiable of characters, with which sovereign and magisterial power can be invested, and are those under which it is natural to suppose it may most easily be perpetuated By such principles the Chinese have been distinguished ever since their first existence as a nation, by such ties the vast and increasing population of China is still united as *one people subject to* one supreme government, and uniform in its habits, manners, and language In this state, in spite of every internal and external convulsion, it may possibly very long continue "

It is the business of the first of the 'Four Books' of *Confucius* to inculcate, that from the knowledge and

government of *oneself* must proceed the proper economy and government of a family; from the government of a family, that of a province and of a kingdom. The emperor is called the father of the empire; the viceroy, of the province over which he presides; and the mandarin, of the city which he governs; and the father of every family is the absolute and responsible ruler of his own household. Social peace and order being deemed the one thing needful, this object is very steadily and consistently pursued. The system derives some of its efficacy from the *habitual* and universal inculcation of obedience and deference, in unbroken series, from one end of society to the other; beginning in the relation of children to their parents, continuing through that of the young to the aged, of the uneducated to the educated, and terminating in that of the people to their rulers.

The great wealth of the empire, the cheerful and indefatigable industry of the people, and their unconquerable attachment to their country, are all of them circumstances which prove, that, if the government is jealous in guarding its rights, it is not altogether ignorant or unmindful of its duties. We are no unqualified admirers of the Chinese system, but would willingly explain, if possible, some of the causes which tend to the production of results whose existence nobody pretends to deny. In practice there is of course a great deal of inevitable abuse, but upon the whole, and with relation to ultimate effects, the machine works well; and we repeat that the surest proofs of this are apparent on the very face of the most cheerfully industrious and (until lately) orderly, and the most wealthy, nation of Asia. It may be observed that great account is made of the circumstance of *cheerful* industry; because this characteristic, which is the first to strike all visitors of China, is the best proof in

the world that the people possess their full share of the result of their own labour Men do not toil either willingly or effectively for hard masters

It would be a very rash conclusion to form any estimate of the insecurity of property *generally* from what has been formerly observed at Canton among those connected with the *foreign trade* and especially the Hong merchant These persons were instruments in the hands of a cautious government, which, not wishing to come into immediate collision with foreigners, used them in the manner of a sponge, that after being allowed to absorb the gains of a licensed monopoly, was made regularly to yield up its contents, by what was very correctly termed "squeezing" The rulers of China consider foreigners fair game, they have no sympathy with them, and what is more, they diligently and systematically labour to destroy all sympathy on the part of their subjects, by representing the strangers to them in every light that is the most contemptible and odious There used to be an annual edict or proclamation displayed at Canton at the commencement of the commercial season, accusing the foreigners of the most horrible practices, and desiring the people to have as little to say to them as possible We have already seen that the professed rule was to govern them "like beasts," and not as the subjects of the empire With perfect consistency, therefore, they were denied the equal benefits and protection of the known laws of the country, condemned to death for accidental homicide, and executed without the emperor's warrant These were their real subjects of complaint in China, and previous to the late war afforded righteous and equitable grounds of quarrel, in addition to the insults and outrages heaped on the national representative

But to return to the merchants and other natives at

Canton: there is in fact a set of laws existing under this jealous Tartar government, which makes all transactions of Chinese with foreigners, without an express licence, *traitorous*—that is the word—and it forms a terrible engine of extortion; for the construction of the terms of the licence, as well as of the particular regulations from time to time enacted, opens a wide field for injustice under the forms of law. This is the only solution of the anomaly, that at Canton, in a country where there is a written code with numerous provisions against extortion and oppression, and with severe denunciations against the abuse of power, there should have been so much of the evil apparently existing. But it was the foreigner who paid, after all; the Hong merchants were the *véritables vaches à lait*, the real milch-cows, while the foreign trade was the pasture in which they ranged. One of the ablest of their body many years ago obtained the express authority of the local government for the Consoo or body of Hong merchants to levy charges at its own discretion on the foreign trade, for the avowed purpose of paying the demands of the mandarins. Other annual charges were levied to defray debts of individual merchants to foreigners, and, the debts being liquidated, the charges were *continued*. But for these abuses, the fair trade of Canton would have been much more profitable. The treaty of 1842 has got rid of the Hong merchants, and with them of much that was evil.

The same system could not by any means be practised where *natives only* were concerned; and, if it could, the country would present a very different appearance. Extraordinary wealth is of course exposed to danger,—*feriuntque summos fulmina montes*, or, as the Chinese express it, "the elephant is killed on account of his ivory." But they have another saying, that "happiness consists

in a level or medium state of; and it is certain that the bulk of the native population enjoys the results of its industry with a very fair degree of security, or it would not be so industrious.

There are some curious practical anomalies, which one is not prepared to find under a despotism. The people sometimes hold public meetings by advertisement, for the express purpose of addressing the magistrate, and this without being punished. The influence of public opinion seems indicated by this practice; together with that frequent custom of placarding and lampooning (though of course anonymously) obnoxious officers. Honours are rendered to a just magistrate, and addresses presented to him on his departure by the people; testimonies which are highly valued. These must be ranked with the exceptions to the *theories* of governments, of which Hume treats when he mentions, among other instances, the impressment of seamen in England; which was a departure from liberty, as the cases above mentioned are from despotism.* It may be added that there is no established censorship of the press in China, nor any limitations but those which the interests of social peace and order seem to render necessary. If these are endangered, the process of the government is of course as summary than even an information filed by the attorney-general.

It is deserving of remark, that the general prosperity and peace of China have been very much promoted by the diffusion of intelligence and education through the lower classes. Among the countless millions that constitute the empire, almost every man can read and write sufficiently for the ordinary purposes of life, and a re-

* Impressment seems now virtually abrogated, and during the late Russian war the navy was entirely manned by volunteers.

and bad men have nothing to gain." They have been, in short, a *nation of steady conservatives.* At the same time, that only check of Asiatic despotism—the endurance of the people—appears from their history to have exercised a salutary influence. The first emperor of the Ming family observed, "The bowstring drawn violently will break; the people pressed hard will rebel." Another sovereign observed to his heir, "You see that the boat in which we sit is supported by the water, which at the same time is able, if roused, to overwhelm it: remember that the water represents the people, and the emperor only the boat." Amidst all the internal revolutions of China it is deserving of remark that no single instance has ever occurred of an attempt to change the *form* of that pure monarchy which is founded in, or derived from, patriarchal authority. The only object has been, in most cases, the destruction of a tyrant; or, when the country was divided into several states, the acquisition of universal power by the head of one of them. The present rise against the Tartar government can be clearly traced to changes produced by our war.

This people has, perhaps, derived some advantage from the habit of reserving its respect exclusively for those objects which may be considered as the original and legitimate sources of that feeling. There is much truth in the observations of Mr. Rogers, in a note to one of his poems:—"Age was anciently synonymous with power; and we may always observe that the old are held in more or less honour as men are more or less virtuous. Among us, and wherever birth and possession give rank and authority, the young and the profligate are seen continually above the old and the worthy; there age can never find its due respect: but among many of the ancient nations it was otherwise; and they reaped the

benefit of it. "Rien ne [illegible] extreme subordination des [illegible] Les uns et les autres seront contents [illegible] respect qu'ils auront pour les vieillards [illegible] respect qu'ils auront pour eux-mêmes." *[illegible]* We have before mentioned that the Chinese [illegible] this antiquated [illegible] but their regard for [illegible] secondary to their respect for [illegible] "In [illegible]" says their maxim, "age and youth [illegible] best informed take the precedence." [illegible] of rank and consideration in China is [illegible] talent and [illegible] of the [illegible] on whom it is [illegible] mate, and [illegible] respect, than the [illegible] or the accidental [illegible]

Wealth alone, though it has of course some [illegible] influence, is looked upon with less respect, comparatively, than perhaps in any other country, and [illegible] all distinction and rank arises almost [illegible] from educated talent. The choice of [illegible] the real aristocracy of the country [illegible] few exceptions [illegible] the country [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible]

people. We are bound to admit that some evil results from this: superfluous wealth, in the hands of the vulgar possessors of it, is driven to find a vent occasionally in the gratifications of private sensuality.

Superfluous wealth, however, is no very common occurrence in China. A man's sons divide his property between them, or rather live upon it in common; and the only right of primogeniture seems to consist in the eldest being a sort of steward or trustee for the estate. The temptations to immoderate accumulation are not so great as with us, nor the opportunity for it so frequent, where the ordinary channels of commerce are liable neither to such spring tides, nor to such violent ebbs. We must repeat that the fortunes made by Hoppos and Hong merchants at Canton were no examples whatever of the usual state of things in the empire, in cases where natives only are concerned. The real aristocracy of the country being official, and not hereditary, there are no families to be perpetuated by a system of entails; and, if a man were willing to transmit his possessions in the shape of endless settlements, the law will not let him.

It is an observation of Hume, that "the absence of any hereditary aristocracy may secure the intestine tranquillity of the state, by making it impossible for faction or rebellion to find any powerful heads." This, we fancy, is exactly the principle on which the Chinese government is so jealous of any undue perpetuation of greatness in families.* There are certain hereditary titles, descending one step in rank through five generations, and the privilege of wearing the yellow and red girdles, which serve to distinguish the numerous descendants of the imperial

* There is a law in their penal code denouncing death not only to him who recommends the elevation of a civil officer to an hereditary title, but to him in whose favour the recommendation is made.

family; but these, though they are certainly a class of titular nobility, are far from being the real aristocracy of the country, and, without personal merit, they are little considered.* The Chinese have a saying, that, "by learning, the sons of the common people become great; without learning, the sons of the great become mingled with the mass of the people."

All real rank of consequence being determined by talent, the test of this is afforded at the public examinations. These are open to the poorest persons, and only some classes, as menial servants, comedians, and the lowest agents of the police, are excluded. The government seems to consider that its own stability is best secured by placing the greatest talent, if not always the purest virtue, in offices of trust. With a view to promoting the efficiency of their standing army, the Manchow Tartar emperors have established a military examination, in which the relative merit of mandarins in martial exercises is distinguished by similar grades.†

It is time, however, that we proceed to consider the actual machinery of government, commencing with its supreme head, the emperor. His titles are the "Son of Heaven," the "Ten Thousand Years." He is worshipped with divine honours, and with the attribute of ubiquity throughout the empire. The following is from an eye-witness to the celebration of the emperor's birthday at Peking,‡ and the ceremony is universal and simultaneous through the chief cities of China. "The first day was

* Du Halde observes, "They have no lands, and as the emperor cannot give them all pensions, some live in great poverty."

† The Chinese may perhaps boast that, having preceded us in the use of the compass, printing, gunpowder, tea, porcelain, silk, &c., they have at last found us their followers in the institution of public examinations for civil and military employment.

‡ Staunton, vol. ii. p. 255.

consecrated to the purpose of rendering a solemn, sacred and devout homage to the supreme majesty of the emperor. The princes, tributaries, ambassadors, great officers of state, and principal mandarins, were assembled in a vast hall, and upon particular notice were introduced into an inner building, bearing at least the semblance of a temple. It was chiefly furnished with great instruments of music, among which were sets of cylindrical bells, suspended in a line from ornamented frames of wood, and gradually diminishing in size from one extremity to the other, and also triangular pieces of metal, arranged in the same order as the bells. To the sound of these instruments, a slow and solemn hymn was sung by eunuchs, who had such a command over their voices as to resemble the effect of the musical glasses at a distance. The performers were directed in gliding from one tone to another by the striking of a shrill and sonorous cymbal; and the judges of music among the gentlemen of the embassy were much pleased with their execution. The whole had indeed a grand effect. During the performance, and at particular signals, nine times repeated, all the persons present prostrated themselves nine times, except the ambassador and his suite, who made a profound obeisance. But he whom it was meant to honour continued, as if it were in imitation of the Deity, invisible the whole time. The awful impression made upon the minds of men by this apparent worship of a fellow-mortal was not to be effaced by any immediate scenes of sport or gaiety, which were postponed to the following day."

The emperor worships Heaven, and the people worship the emperor. It is remarkable that with all this the sovereign, in styling himself, uses occasionally such a term of affected humility as "the imperfect man;" which presents a contrast to the inflated and self-laudatory

expressions of most oriental monarchs. Every device of state, however, is used to keep up by habit the impression of awe. No person whatever can pass before the outer gate of the palace in any vehicle, or on horseback. The vacant throne, or a screen of yellow silk, is equally worshipped with his actual presence. An imperial despatch is received in the provinces with offerings of incense and prostration, looking towards Peking. There is a paved walk to the principal audience-hall, on which none can tread but the emperor. At the same time, as if his transcendant majesty could derive no increase from personal decorations, he is distinguished from his court, unlike most Asiatic sovereigns, by being more plainly clad than those by whom he is surrounded. In Lord Macartney's mission, while the crowd of mandarins was covered with embroidery and splendour, the emperor appeared in a dress of plain brown silk, and a black velvet cap with a single pearl in front. Yellow as the imperial colour would seem at present rather to distinguish things pertaining to his use, or connected with him in other wa[illegible] than to constitute a part of his actual garments, ex[illegible] perhaps on very great occasions. The sovereign of [illegible] has the absolute disposal of the succession, and [illegible] pleases, can name his heir out of his own fam[illegible] has descended from time immemorial, and [illegible] monarchs Yaou and Shun are famous exam[illegible] a mode of selection. The imperial [illegible] to all public acts is conveyed by the [illegible] some inches square, and composed of pre[illegible] white stone, called by the Chinese Yu [illegible] directions or remarks by the emperor [illegible] in red, commonly [illegible] imperial edicts of a special nature, after being [illegible] to the proper tribunal [illegible]

in the Peking Gazette, which contains nothing but what relates to the supreme government; that is, either reports to the emperor, or mandates from him. It is death to falsify any paper therein contained: but it must be observed that these special edicts of the sovereign, as applicable to the exigencies of particular cases, either in aggravation or mitigation of punishment, are not allowed to be applied as precedents in penal jurisdiction.* There is more wisdom in this rule than in that which gave to the rescripts of the Roman emperors, in individual cases, the force of perpetual laws—a system which has very properly been called "arguing from particulars to generals."

As Pontifex Maximus, or high-priest of the empire, the "Son of Heaven" alone, with his immediate representatives, sacrifices in the government temples, with victims and incense. These rites, preceded as they are by fasting and purification, bear a perfect resemblance to the offerings with which we are familiar in the history of antiquity. No hierarchy is maintained at the public expense, nor any priesthood attached to the Confucian or government religion, as the sovereign and his great officers perform that part. The two religious orders of Fŏ and Taou, which have been only *tolerated*, and not maintained, by the government, derive support entirely from their own funds, or from voluntary private contributions. This remark must of course be confined to China; for in Mongol Tartary the emperor finds it expedient to show more favour to the Lamas of the Budhist hierarchy, on account of their influence over the people of those extensive regions. It is a striking circumstance that the Confucian persuasion should have

* Penal Code, sect. 415.

continued supreme in China, though the conquerors of the country were not Confucians

The emperor s principal ministers form the Nuy kŏ, or "interior council-chamber, and the chief councillors are four in number, two Tartars and two Chine e, the former always taking precedence they all bear the titles of Choong t hang and Ko lnou, written by the Jesuits Colao Below these are a number of as essors who together with them, form the great council of state The body whence these chief ministers are generally selected is the Imperial College, or National Institute of the Han lin If there is anything which can be called a hierarchy of the state religion (which we have already stated the government does not maintain in a special shape) it is this Han lin In his 'Memoirs of Napoleon Bourrienne relates a very characteristic trait in the classification of his private library, the emperor arranged the Bible under the head of political works Just in the same spirit the •Chinese government makes religion an engine or rather a part of political rule The sovereign is high priest, and his ministers the members of the hierarchy, and the sacred books of Confucius are studied and expounded by the Han lin college which in this respect is a species of Sorbonne Besides the supreme council of the emperor already mentioned, there is the Keun ke-ta-chin, a body of privy councillors for occasions when secresy and de patch may be particularly required The person called Duke Ho, in Lord Amherst s embassy, was one of the e

The Lew poo, or Six Boards, for the conduct of government business in detail, are, 1 The Board of Official Appointments which takes cognizance of the conduct of all civil officers, 2 The Board of Revenue, which regulates all fiscal matters, 3 The Board of Rites and Ceremonies, 4 The Military Board, 5 The Supreme Court

N 2

of Criminal Jurisdiction; 6. The Board of Public Works. These have all subordinate offices under them; for instance, the Astronomical Board is attached to the third, the ritual being regulated by the calendar.

The Lyfân-yuen may be literally rendered by the "office for foreign affairs." As its name imports, it has charge of the external relations of the empire. One of the presidents was deputed to receive the British embassy in 1816, and they consist always of Manchow or Mongol Tartars, no Chinese ever being employed. A very peculiar feature of the government is next observable in the Toochă-yuen, or office of censors, of which the members are generally styled Yu-she. There are two presidents, a Tartar and a Chinese, and the members consist in all of about forty or fifty, of whom several are sent to various parts of the empire, as imperial inspectors, or perhaps, more properly speaking, spies. By the ancient custom of the empire they are privileged to present any advice or remonstrance to the sovereign without danger of losing their lives; but they are frequently degraded or punished when their addresses are unpalatable. An example of the office, and the fate of one of these, occurs at the commencement of the romance of the 'Fortunate Union,' published by the Oriental Translation Committee. A lately living example, however, was conspicuous in Soong-ta-jin, the conductor of Lord Macartney's embassy, who, at a very advanced age, remained in a state of what may be styled respectable disgrace, for the boldness and honesty with which he had always spoken out.

The foregoing are the principal organs of the imperial government at Peking. The provinces are placed under the principal charge, either singly of a Fooyuen or Governor, or two provinces together are made subject to a Tsoong-tŏ, or "General Governor," who has Fooyuens

under him for each single province; Canton and Kuang-sy, adjoining, are together subject to the Tsoong-tŏ, commonly called the Viceroy of Canton. In each of these governments there is a chief criminal judge and a treasurer, the latter having usually cognizance of civil suits, but his especial business being the charge of the territorial revenue. The salt department is sufficiently important to be under the particular management of the Yen-yun-sse, or "salt mandarin," as he is called at Canton, the Chinese government, like so many others, having reserved to itself the monopoly of this necessary of life.

The separate cities and districts of each province in the three ranks of Foo, Chow, and Hien, are under the charge of their respective magistrates, who take their rank from the cities they govern. The total number of civil magistrates throughout China is estimated at 14,000. The importance of the European trade at Canton gave rise to the special appointment there of the Hackuan or commissioner of the customs, called by Europeans Hoppo, *a corruption of Hoo-poo, the Board of Revenue at Peking*. He was generally some Tartar favourite of the emperor, sent down to make his fortune by the foreign trade, and he generally contrived to do this rapidly, by squeezing the Hong merchants, over whom he had entire control.

A red book (being literally one with a red cover) in six small volumes, is printed quarterly by authority, containing the name, birthplace, and other particulars relating to every official person in the empire. No individual can *hold a magistracy in his own province*, and each public officer is changed periodically, to prevent growing connexions and liaisons with those under his government. A son, a brother, or any other very near relation, cannot

hold office under a corresponding relative. Once in three years the viceroy of each province forwards, to the Board of Civil Appointments, the name of every officer under his government down to a Hien's deputy, with remarks on their conduct and character, which have all been received from the immediate superiors of each;—a plan not unlike that which has lately been adopted in the civil government of British India. According to this report, every officer is raised or degraded so many degrees. Each magistrate is obliged to state, in the catalogue of his titles, the number of steps that he has been either raised or degraded. The offences of great officers are tried by imperial commissioners, specially appointed. Disturbances or rebellions in a province are never forgiven to a governor or viceroy. The governor of Canton, who only one year before had obtained signal marks of the emperor's favour, was ruined in 1832 by the rebellion or irruption of the mountaineers in the northwest, though he was quite innocent of any blame on the occasion.

The relative degrees of civil and military officers are partly distinguished by the colour of the ball which they wear at the apex or point of their conical caps. These are red, light blue, dark blue, crystal, white stone, and gold; and, with some modifications, serve to distinguish what are called the "nine ranks." Each ball is accompanied by its corresponding badge, which is a piece of silk embroidery, about a foot square, with the representation of a bird, or other device, on both the breast and back of the ceremonial habit, together with a necklace of very large "court beads" descending to the waist.

These mere outward decorations, however, are not infallible signs of the real rank of the wearer, for the bare permission to assume the dress, without any of the powers

or privileges, of an officer of government, may be purchased for a large sum of money. The only benefit derived is this, that, in case of a breach of the law, the individual cannot be punished *on the spot*, nor until he has been formally deprived of his ball or button, a process which is not long in performing. Any Hong merchant at Canton who should have purchased leave to wear the blue ball on his cap might be cited to appear by a magistrate of the lowest grade, who wears only a gold or rather a gilt one, and, if really criminal, he might be deprived of his finery and punished with the bamboo like any unprivileged person.



Mandarin seated in a Sedan

It may be considered as one proof of social advancement on the part of the Chinese, that the civil authority is generally superior to the military, and that letters always rank above arms, in spite even of the manner in which the Tartars obtained the empire. In this respect China may be said to have subdued her conquerors. A military mandarin of the highest grade may be often seen on foot, when a civil officer of middling rank would be considered as degraded except in a chair with four bearers; the others are not allowed chairs, but may ride. The present dynasty, as an encouragement to its army, established examinations, or rather trials, in the military

art (as in riding and shooting with the bow), at which the candidates are ranked for promotion in three degrees like the civilians, though of course they can never come in competition with each other. The value which they attach to personal strength and dexterity in a commander, and the rank which the bow and arrow hold in their estimation, seem to prove clearly that the military art is not beyond its infancy among the Chinese.

All the military of the empire are under the management of their proper tribunal or board at Peking, the power of which, however, is jealously checked by a dependence on some of the others; as the Board of Revenue must supply the funds, and the Board of Public Works the *matériel* of the army. The trusty Tartar troops are ranged under the eight standards; viz. the yellow, white, red, and blue, together with each of these colours bordered by one of the others. The green flag distinguishes the Chinese troops. Each of the Tartar standards is said to consist of 10,000 men, making a standing army of 80,000. There is, besides, the local militia spread through the provinces; but this, from all that has been observed of it, is such a ragged and undisciplined rout as to be fit for little more than the purposes of a police.

Including this militia, the whole number receiving pay throughout the empire has been estimated at 700,000, of which by far the largest portion are fixed to their native districts, cultivating the land, or following some other private pursuit. This circumstance in a peaceful country makes the profession of a militiaman an object of solicitation, as it provides something over and above a man's ordinary means. How ill-calculated it must be to produce efficient soldiers need scarcely be argued. The reasons adduced by Adam Smith, in his third volume, to

prove the superiority of the militia of a barbarous nation over that of a civilized one are quite conclusive on the subject and best illustrated by the conquest of this very country by the Manchows, a mere handful of a nation

The missionaries themselves, quoted by Du Halde, who were much more accustomed to magnify than diminish the merit of anything Chinese, seemed to be aware of the inferiority of these troops as soldiers "They are not comparable it is observed, "to our troops in Europe for either courage or discipline, and they are easily disordered and put to the rout. Besides that the Chinese are naturally effeminate and the Tartars are almost become Chinese, the profound peace they have enjoyed does not give them occasion to become warlike Several circumstances conduce to prevent China from deriving such advantages as she might to her military power, from the actual amount of her opulence and population First, that pride and conceit, which is a bar to all improvement in the arts and among the rest, the art of war Secondly, that jealousy of the Chinese population which prevents the Tartar government from making of it such efficient troops as it might. Thirdly, that overwhelming superiority which the empire possesses over the petty and barbarous states on its frontiers, and which, in having prevented aggressions on it, has precluded the practice and experience so necessary to make good soldiers

The long and successful resistance of the Meaou tse a race of barbarians in the mountainous parts of the interior of China itself, and their independence at the present *time, attest the weakness of Chinese military resources* and the very moderate efficiency of troops which are seldom employed in anything more formidable than the suppression of a revolt in some starving province, and

thus engaged, as it were, in fighting with shadows. The Canton troops in 1832 were defeated by the mountaineers on the borders, and in fact proved utterly worthless, from the general use of opium, and the absence of practice and discipline. This on land: but their navy is even worse. The long and successful career of the Ladrones, or pirates, in the vicinity of Canton, who were, after all, subdued only by the *honours* conferred on their chief as the price of his submission, is sufficient evidence on this point. They have been as bad as ever since our war.

The abuses and malversation, on the part of military officers intrusted with funds for the provision of soldiers, appear to be frequent; and there is reason to suppose that some of the assumed militia of China are little better than men of straw, whose allotted funds are misapplied, if not after the example, yet in the manner, of that eminent commander Sir John Falstaff. It must have been to some such system that our embassy in 1816 was indebted for the ludicrous scenes exhibited in its progress. The emperor's edicts ordained that the troops should wear "an imposing aspect;" but, on approaching a town or station, numbers of fellows might be seen scouring along the banks of the river, laden with jackets and accoutrements, which were clapped on the backs of those who had been pressed for the occasion, and who betrayed, from under their assumed habiliments, the primitive dirt and rags of their condition.

Very few mounted soldiers were seen by either of our embassies, and, whatever may be their actual amount, they are said to be nearly all Tartars. A great difference seems to exist between the pay of Tartars and Chinese. One of the former, being a foot-soldier, is allowed two taëls per month, or about fivepence a day, with an allowance of rice; one of the latter, only one

tael and six-tenths, without the rice. The reasons for this difference may be the following:—First, that the Tartar in China belongs to a standing army, at a distance from his home, and dependent solely on his profession; while the other is commonly, if not always, a militiaman, carrying on his own occupations when off duty. Secondly, some allowance may be made for the national partiality of the governing power, and the necessity of attaching its confidential servants by liberality.

The most common uniform of the military is a jacket of blue turned up with red, or red bordered with white, over a long petticoat of blue. The cap is either of rattan or strips of bamboo painted, being in a conical shape, and well suited to ward off a blow; though on some occasions they wear a cap of cloth and silk, similar to that of the mandarins, without the ball or button at the top. Some few are defended by a clumsy-looking quilted armour, of cloth studded with metal buttons, which descends in a long petticoat, and gives the wearer the appearance of one who could neither fight nor fly. The helmet is of iron, in the shape of an inverted funnel, having a point at the top, to which is attached a bunch of silk or horsehair.

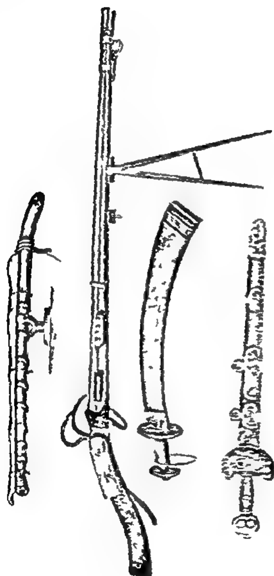
The principal arms of the cavalry are bows and arrows, the bow being of elastic wood and horn combined, with a string of silk strongly twisted and wrought. The strength of their bows is estimated by the dead weight required to bend them, varying from about eighty pounds to a hundredweight. The string, in shooting, is held behind an agate or stone ring on the right thumb, the first joint of which is bent forward and confined by the middle joint of the fore-finger being pressed upon it. Their swords are generally ill made, and their matchlocks considered by them as inferior weapons to the bow and arrow, which they may perhaps be, considering their appearance and

make. Some are provided with shields, constructed of rattan turned spirally round a centre.



Chinese Shield.—From an original drawing in the India House

With regard to the use of artillery, Du Halde observes, with apparent reason, that, "though the knowledge of gunpowder is very ancient in China, artillery is but modern." It is clear that, as late as 1621, the city of Macao was invited to send three guns to Peking, with men to manage them, against the Tartars; and equally certain that under the last emperor of the Chinese dynasty, about the year 1636, when the empire was threatened by the Manchows, the Jesuits at Peking were desired by the emperor to instruct his people in casting some cannon. But the most successful operator in this way was the famous Ferdinand Verbiest, under whose inspection some hundred pieces of artillery were con-



Instruments of War

structed for the Tartar Emperor Kâng-hy, towards the end of the seventeenth century. This was made a subject of accusation against the Jesuits at Rome; but they defended themselves by arguing that it promoted the cause of Christianity, by making their services necessary to the Chinese government. It is certain that, during the course of three centuries, no mission has ever succeeded for a time so well as theirs, but that at present there are not a dozen European missionaries in the interior, among a population estimated at more than 300,000,000 of souls.

The highest military rank is that of a Tseang-keun, or Tartar General, one of whom has charge of the regular troops in Canton province. This post can never be filled by a Chinese, but secondary commands may. Below these are subordinate officers, promoted in regular order from the lowest grade, according to their physical strength, and their skill in shooting with the bow, combined with the activity and zeal which they may occasionally display in cases of civil commotion or revolt. One very singular feature we must not forget to notice in regard to the military officers of China. They are all subject to corporal punishment, and very often experience it, together with the punishment of the Cangue, or movable pillory, consisting of a heavy frame of wood, sometimes upwards of a hundred pounds in weight, with holes for the head and hands. This parental allotment of a certain quantum of flagellation, and personal exposure, is occasionally the fate of the highest officers, and, upon the whole, must be regarded as a very odd way of improving their military character. It may be observed, however, that enterprising courage is not considered as a merit in Chinese tactics. They have a maxim, that "rash and arrogant soldiers must be de-

feated,' which may be allowed to contain some truth, and the chief virtue of their strategy is extreme caution and love of craft, not without a large share of perfidy and falsehood, so that to treat with a Chinese general, and expect him to fulfil his engagements, would be altogether a miscalculation *

We may now turn our attention to that very efficient engine for the control of its vast and densely thronged population, the penal code of China, and this deserves the more particular notice as affording the best data for correctly estimating the character of the people to whom it has been adapted. The most perfect code of laws in the abstract is unavailing and useless, if not congenial to the dispositions and habits of those for whom it is formed, and, without keeping this in view, we might be apt to deny to the criminal laws of China the share of praise to which they are justly entitled, after making due abatement for their plain and undeniable defects. The following testimony in their favour, from a very able critique † on Sir George Staunton's version of the Leu lee, must be considered as praise of a high kind —"The most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness and consistency, the business-like brevity and directness of the various provisions and the plainness and moderation of the language in which they are expressed. There is nothing here of the monstrous *verbiage* of most other Asiatic productions, none of the superstitious deliration, the miserable incoherence, the tremendous *non-sequiturs* and eternal repetitions of those oracular performances, nothing even of the turgid adulation, the accumulated epithets, and fatiguing self praise of other

* The whole of the above account of the Chinese military was singularly confirmed by our experience in the war

† Edinburgh Review August, 1810 By Sir James Mackintosh.

Eastern despotisms; but a clear, concise, and distinct series of enactments, savouring throughout of practical judgment and European good sense, and, if not always conformable to our improved notions of expediency in this country, in general approaching to them more nearly than the codes of most other nations."

After this fair tribute, the evident defects of the system, being in some measure those of the state of society in which it originated, may be pointed out. There is, in the first place, a constant meddling with, and anxiety to compel the performance of, those relative duties which are better left to the operation of any other sanctions than positive laws. The evil of this perpetual interference of the law to enforce the practice of virtues, which in great measure cease to be such on being made compulsory, is to diminish their beneficial influence on the mind; and it is on the same principle that compulsory charity, even, has been condemned (though without sufficient reason), as it exists among us in the instance of the poor-laws. The Chinese carry their care beyond this life; for any person who is convicted of neglecting his occasional visits to the *tombs of his ancestors* is subject to punishment. A second defect which we may notice is that minute attention to trifles, and that excessive care to provide for every possible shade of difference that may arise between one case and another, which is so opposed to the European maxim, "*de minimis non curat lex.*" The Chinese, however, still stop short of the Hindoo institutes of Menu, which provide for some rare and singular contingencies. For instance, the inheritance of a son being a whole, and that of a daughter a half, there is a peculiar sagacity and foresight in directing that the portion of a *hermaphrodite* shall be half of the one, and half of the other, or three-fourths! A third defect is the occasional manifestation

of a jealous fear, on the part of the government, lest in the execution of its enactments the judge should ever find himself impeded or hampered by too great clearness of definition, or the subject derive too much protection from the distinct statement of crime and punishment Hence these vague generalities by which the benefits of a written code are in a great measure annulled The following enactment is a specimen — 'Whoever is guilty of *improper conduct*, and such as is contrary to the *spirit* of the laws, though not a breach of any specific article, shall be punished at the least with forty blows, and, when the *impropriety* is of a *serious nature*, with eighty blows" The Chinese may justly say that it is "difficult to escape from the net of the law," when its meshes are thus closed against the exit of the minutest of the fry

One feature of the criminal code, inseparable from the nature of the government from which it sprung, is the remorseless and unrelenting cruelty and injustice which mark all its provisions against the crime of treason Nothing perhaps could more strongly show the different tempers of despotism and freedom than the contrast between the Chinese law of high treason and our own. In China, every species of advantage and protection afforded to the criminal, in ordinary cases of a capital nature, is taken away from the traitor, in England, every possible safeguard is afforded him It is well known that, with us, the prisoner must be furnished, at least ten days before his trial, with a copy of his indictment, a list of witnesses, and a list of the panel, or those from whom the jury are to be chosen Then, again, he may challenge or object to as many as thirty five of the panel in making up the jury, he cannot be convicted with less than two legal witnesses, and he may employ counsel in his defence. Now, in China, not a single circumstance of indulgence or

safety to the criminal in capital cases, is ever stated throughout the whole code without this addition, "except in cases of high treason." The atrociousness of the prosecution is only to be paralleled by the barbarity of the punishment; and, as in other similar despotisms, the innocent family of the offender is consigned to destruction.* In 1803 an attempt was made on the life of the emperor by a single assassin. He was condemned to a lingering death, and his sons, "being of a tender age," to be strangled.† Going back to the patriarchal origin of the government, the Chinese derive a sanction for their law of treason from their sacred books. These enjoin it on a son to pursue the author of his father's death to extremity; and Confucius himself tells him "not to live under the same heaven with the slayer of his father." The extension of this rule to the sovereign is, in the mind of every Chinese, a matter of course.

The arrangement of the penal code is extremely methodical and lucid. The first head is composed principally of general definitions and explanations in reference to the whole code; and the six following, which constitute the body of the work, correspond exactly to the six supreme boards or tribunals at Peking, being in fact the best illustrations of the respective duties and functions of those councils. In that light they may be briefly presented to the reader.

I. The division concerning the *Administration of civil*

* Amongst the Persians and Macedonians, not only the criminals convicted of treason, but all their relations and friends, were put to death. The posterity of Marius's family were disqualified by a law of Sylla from elevating themselves by their own merit to honours and offices.—*Yorke's Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture.*

† This explains the wholesale massacres of so-called rebels at Canton, who have been slaughtered by Governor Yeh at the rate of some thousands in a single week. He seems to have had his own private motives also. P. 273, note.

offices corresponds to the first of the Supreme Tribunals before noticed, whose title may be expressed by "the Board of Civil Appointments" Its two books treat, 1 Of the System of Government. 2. Of the Conduct of Officers

II The next comprehends *Fiscal and Statistical Laws*, and answers to the Board of Revenue at Peking. Its seven books comprise, 1. The Enrolment of the People. 2 Lands and Tenements 3 Marriage (in its statistical relations). 4 Public Property. 5. Duties and Customs. 6. Private Property. 7. Sales and Markets.

III. The third treats of the *Ritual Laws*, and comes of course under the Tribunals of Rites and Ceremonies. The two books of this division treat, 1. Of Sacred Rites. 2 Miscellaneous Observances.

IV The division concerning *Military Laws* belongs to the Tribunal of War, or Military Board, and contains five books 1 The Protection of the Palace. 2. The Regulation of the Army 3 The Protection of the Frontier 4 Military Horses and Cattle. 5. Expresses and Public Posts.

V The next comprehends *Criminal Laws*, and pertains to the "Tribunal of Punishments," being by far the most considerable portion, and comprising eleven books. The principal heads are, "Treason, Robbery and Theft, Murder and Homicide of various kinds, Criminal Intercourse, Disturbing Graves, Quarrelling and Fighting, and Incendiarism."

VI. The last division of the code, treating of *Public Works*, and coming under the appropriate Board at Peking, contains only two books. 1. Public Buildings. 2 Public Ways.

With regard to the punishments by which these laws are enforced, it is important to observe that very un-

founded notions have been prevalent as to the caprice or cruelty which can be exercised towards criminals. Some vulgar daubs, commonly sold at Canton, and representing



Punishment of Wooden Collar.—From Staunton

the punishment of the damned in the Budhist hell, have been absurdly styled "Chinese punishments," and confounded with the true ones. There is in the first division

of the code a very strict definition of all the legal pains and penalties to which the subject is liable, and even the application of torture in forcing evidence is strictly limited in its extent and application. History indeed relates the extraordinary contrivances of cruelty adopted by different tyrants previous to the formation of a distinct and written code, but this is common to nearly all countries.

The most general instrument of punishment is the bamboo, whose dimensions are exactly defined. The number of blows, attached *graduated* with such precision to every individual offence, answers the purpose of a scale or measurement of the degrees of crime, and this punishment being often commutable for fine or otherwise, the apparent quantity of flagellation is of course greater than the real. A small hollow cylinder, full of tallies or slips of wood, stands before the judge, and according to the nature of the offence he takes out a certain number, and throws them on the floor of the court. These are taken up by the attendants, and five blows nominally, but in reality only four, inflicted for each.* This diminution goes to the emperor's credit, being called 'imperial favour,' and it is in accordance with the Chinese maxim, that "in enacting laws rigour is necessary; in executing them, mercy." Although the emperors have of late generally [illegible] at least.

The next punishment is the *Kea* or *Cangue*, which has been called the wooden collar, being a species of walking pillory, in which the prisoner's [illegible] inserted. It is sometimes very [illegible] and, as the hands cannot be [illegible] must be fed by others. [illegible]

* [illegible]

place, temporary banishment, to a distance not exceeding fifty leagues from the prisoner's home; and then exile beyond the Chinese frontier, either temporary or for life. Tartars are punished by an equal number of blows with the whip instead of the bamboo, and, in ordinary cases, with the Cangue instead of banishment.

The three capital punishments are, First, strangulation; Secondly, for greater crimes, decollation; Thirdly, for the greatest crimes, as treason, parricide, sacrilege, &c., that mode of execution called *Ling-chy*, "a disgraceful and lingering death," which Europeans have somewhat incorrectly styled *cutting into ten thousand pieces*. The heads of robbers and murderers are publicly exposed in a cage suspended on a pole.

Chinese prisons are very severe, and, as there is no *Habeas Corpus* Act, the most frequent instruments of judicial injustice are prolonged imprisonments. Nothing tends more effectually to deter from crime than the prospect of incarceration in those miserable abodes, which the Chinese emphatically style Ty-yŏ, or *hell*, and the severity of which is increased by the confinement being solitary.* Women in ordinary cases enjoy the fortunate exemption of being placed, as criminals, in the custody of their nearest relations, who are answerable for them, and in this manner they escape the further contamination of vice in a prison. The legal mode of torture, in forcing evidence, is to squeeze the ankles or the fingers between three sticks, tied triangularly; the former being applied to male, and the latter to female prisoners. Oaths are never required, nor even admitted, in judicial proceed-

* We at home have lately gone into the other extreme, and encouraged crime by making prisons more comfortable than the abodes of honest labour. "None but fools and horses work," said a criminal lately on the Midland circuit.

ings; but very severe punishments are attached to falsehood in evidence.

Ten *privileged classes* are enumerated in the introductory division of the code, who cannot be tried and punished without a special reference to the emperor. The grounds of exemption (which, as usual, are denied in treason) consist generally in relationship to the imperial line, or in high character and station. Throughout cases where the crime is less than capital, any person under fifteen years of age, or above seventy, is allowed to redeem himself from punishment by a fine. A species of *king's evidence* is permitted in cases of thieving and robbery, with a view to the recovery of the lost goods; in fact, something more than mere pardon is offered, as the accomplice who informs is entitled to the reward attached to the discovery of the criminals. This, however, extends only to the *first offence*.

The law distinguishes, in most cases, between principals and accessaries *before* the fact, punishing the latter one degree less severely than the former; and in this respect it differs from our own system, by which accessaries *before* the fact are punished as principals, *after* the fact merely as concealers of what they ought to have revealed. In treason, however, as usual, the Chinese law punishes both principals and accessaries, and their innocent relations, with a sweeping severity. Where the safety of the emperor, or the stability of the government, is not involved, milder and more benevolent traits are frequently discernible in this code. With a view, for instance, to promote kindred and domestic ties, it is provided that relatives and servants, living under the same roof, shall in ordinary cases be held innocent, though they conceal the offences of their fellow inmates, or even assist in effecting their escape. This was probably enacted in conformity

with that precept of Confucius—"The father may conceal the offences of his son, and the son those of his father —uprightness consists with this."—(*Hea-Lun*, ch. 13.)

The desire entertained and professed by the Chinese government, that its subjects should be generally *acquainted* with the laws of the empire, has given rise to something not unlike our now disused benefit of clergy. It is enacted that all those private individuals who are found capable of explaining the nature, or comprehending the objects of the laws, shall receive pardon for all offences resulting from accident (and not malice), or imputable to them only in consequence of the guilt of others, provided it be the *first offence*, and not implicated with any act of treason or rebellion. A considerable portion of the sixth division of the code is devoted to providing for justice in the administration of legal punishments, and establishing safeguards for the subject. Severe penalties are denounced against officers of government for unjust imprisonment, delay of justice, cruelty, &c. A species of bail is allowed to minor offenders in case of sickness, and they are exempted, or released from imprisonment, on sufficient security being given for their return. Torture is forbidden to be exercised on persons above seventy, or under fifteen, as well as on those labouring under permanent disease. Women can never be imprisoned except for capital offences, or for adultery. Torture and death cannot be inflicted on a pregnant woman until one hundred days after her confinement, in consideration, we presume, of the infant.

The condition of slavery in China is broadly marked by the absence of rights and immunities pertaining to those who are subjects without being slaves. The law regards slaves with less care, and affords less protection to them than to their masters. Every offence is aggra-

vated or diminished in its penalty, according as it is committed by a slave towards a freeman, or *vice versâ* The crime of a slave who kills his master is punished with lingering death, as petit treason, while the converse of the case is not even capital We find the same distinctions existing in the early history of Europe, in respect to the comparative personal rights of freemen and slaves But besides domestic slavery, it seems that for some infractions of the laws a whole family is sometimes condemned to public servitude, as appears from Section CXL of the penal code. Personal service, too is frequently levied by the government as a species of taxation on the lowest class, or that which has nothing but its labour to contribute. The comparative uncertainty of this notwithstanding sundry enactments against its abuse is a great evil and both our embassies had reason to regret that they were the innocent occasions of much oppression and ill usage to the poor people who were pressed by the mandarins to track their boats

Robbery with the concerted use of offensive weapon is punished with death, however small may be the amount taken, and if a burglar be killed by him whose house he invades, it is deemed an act of justifiable homicide. An intimation conveyed to the local magistrate of Macao that the English were aware of this part of the law, and prepared to take advantage of it, had the good effect of preventing night robberies which until then had been frequent. Simple stealing is punished only with the bamboo and with exile on a scale proportioned to the amount, and there is reason to believe [illegible] inflicted whatever may be the [illegible] Theft among near relations is punished [illegible] than ordinary stealing, and Sir George [illegible] this as being the [illegible]

exclusive, since the thief, according to the Chinese system of clubbing in families, being part owner of the thing stolen, infringes only that *qualified* interest which each individual has in his share of the family property. Consistently enough with this principle, we may add that the thief seems to be more severely punished in proportion as the relationship becomes more distant, as having a smaller share of the property, and therefore violating a more exclusive right. But then it must be remarked that the rule does not apply to servants stealing from their masters, a crime which in China is also punished less severely than ordinary theft. The case is quite different among us in England, and with apparent reason, on the principle of its being a violation of necessary confidence, in addition to the violation of property.

The Chinese law of *homicide* derives additional interest from the circumstance of British subjects having, on several occasions, formerly become obnoxious to it at Canton; though the war, and consequent treaty, have since made them amenable to their own authorities exclusively. With its characteristic love of order and horror of tumults, the national code treats affrays with unusual severity. Killing in an affray, and killing with a regular weapon, without reference to any intent either expressed or implied, are punished with strangling. Killing by pure accident, that is, not in an affray, nor with a weapon, and where there was no previous knowledge of probable consequences, is redeemable by a fine of about 4*l*. to the relations of the deceased.

With regard to affrays, it must, however, be observed, that a limit is allowed to the period of responsibility in all cases where the homicide was evidently not preconcerted. When a person is wounded with only the hands, or a stick, twenty days constitute the term of respon-

sibility, after which the death of the sufferer does not make the offence capital. With a sharp instrument, fire, or scalding water, the term is extended to thirty days. In case of gunshot wounds, to forty days; of broken bones or very violent wounds fifty days. As the translator of the Leu lee observes, the judicious application of the knowledge of this particular law once contributed to extricate the Company's servants in China from very serious difficulties in the case of a native killed by a sailor.

Fathers have virtually the power of life and death over their children, for even if they kill them designedly, they are subject to only the chastisement of the bamboo and a year's banishment; if struck by them, to no punishment at all. The penalty for striking parents or for cursing them is death, as among the Hebrews (Exod. xxi.). In practice it does not appear that this absolute power bestowed on fathers is productive of evil, the natural feeling being, upon the whole, a sufficient security against its abuse.

The law of China is so tenacious of order, and so anxious to prevent the chance of homicide from quarrels, that some punishment is attached to the mere act of striking another with the hand or foot,—not as a private, but as a public offence. Though of course this cannot, in the generality of cases, be acted upon, it may account partly for the common spectacle of two Chinese jumping about and vociferating their mutual reproaches for an incredible time, without coming to blows. This noisy gesticulation seems to answer the purpose of a moral safety valve, and is certainly more harmless than actual hostilities, though perhaps more disagreeable to the neighbours, inasmuch as it lasts longer. The responsible elder of the village or district (divided always into

tithings and hundreds) often interposes on these occasions, and restores quiet. The law also provides some punishment for opprobrious language, on the ground of its having "a tendency to produce quarrels and affrays;" or, as assumed by the English law in the criminal prosecution for libel, tending to a breach of the *King's peace.*

That portion of the Chinese code which relates to fiscal or statistical matters, to the tenure of lands, and to inheritance, will be noticed elsewhere; but we may mention the subject of *debts* in this place. A period is allowed by law, *on the expiration* of which the debtor becomes liable to the bamboo if his obligations are not discharged. A creditor sometimes quarters himself and his family on his debtor, and, provided that is done without violence and tumult, the civil authority does not interfere. One of the insolvent Hong merchants formerly had in this manner to entertain some of his Chinese creditors, until the representations to the government of those Europeans who had claims against him occasioned his banishment into Tartary: it being a much greater offence to owe money to a foreigner than to a native. The true reason of this was the anxiety of that cautious government to prevent the recurrence of the trouble which it has in former times experienced from the embarrassing claims and demands of strangers, and no real sense of justice towards them.

The able critique on the code, which we have already quoted, proceeds to say, "When we turn from the ravings of the Zendavesta, or the Puranas, to the tone of sense and of business of this Chinese collection, we seem to be passing from darkness to light—from the drivellings of dotage to the exercise of an improved understanding; and redundant and minute as these laws are in many

particulars, we scarcely know any European code that is at once so copious and so consistent, or that is nearly so free from intricacy, bigotry, and fiction. In everything relating to political freedom, or individual independence, it is, indeed, wofully defective; but for the repression of disorder, and the gentle coercion of a vast population, it appears to us to be, in general, equally mild and efficacious." The defects are, of course, inherent in all *despotisms*, under which the legislator is not embarrassed by those considerations which in free states render every new law a problem, involving the greatest quantity of good to the public at the least expense of liberty to the individual; and which, in countries where there is more liberty than moral instruction, or where men are better acquainted with their *rights* than with their *duties*, must always render the business of government a difficult task.

It has been reasonably proposed by Sir George Staunton to estimate the Chinese legislation by its results, "to judge of the tree by its fruits, some of which (he observes) we shall find to be wholly inconsistent with the hypothesis of a very bad government, or a very vicious state of society." On this subject he quotes his colleague* in the commission of the second British embassy, "whose extensive acquaintance with Persia and India rendered him a peculiarly competent judge of comparative merit in this case. He pronounces China superior to the other countries of Asia, both in the arts of government and the general aspect of society; and adds, that the laws are more generally known, and more equally administered; that those examples of oppression, accompanied with infliction of barbarous punishment, which offend the eye

* Sir Henry Ellis, ambassador to Persia, with whom the writer of this travelled through China, and always heard him express the same sentiments.

and distress the feelings of the most hurried traveller in other Asiatic countries, are scarcely to be met with in China; that the proportion which the middling orders bear to the other classes of the community appeared considerable; that, compared with Turkey, Persia, and parts of India, an impression was produced highly favourable to the comparative situation of the lower orders."

"These statements," adds Sir George, "proceeding from a writer whose general opinions are certainly not very favourable to the government or people of China, have the greater weight. I should be disposed to add my own testimony to the same facts, and in the same spirit. *In the course of our journey through the Chinese empire, on the occasion of that embassy, I can recall to my recollection (the seaport of Canton of course excepted) but very few instances of beggary or abject misery among the lower classes, or of splendid extravagance among the higher; and I conceived myself enabled to trace almost universally throughout China the unequivocal signs of an industrious, thriving, and contented people.*"

Chinese law, with all its faults, is comparative perfection when opposed to that of Japan, as described by Kœmpfer. "I have often wondered," says he, "at the brief and laconic style of those tablets which are hung up on the roads to notify the emperor's pleasure. There is no reason given how it came about that such a law was made; no mention of the lawgiver's view and intention; nor any graduated penalty put upon the violation thereof. The bare transgression of the law is capital, without any regard to the degree or heinousness of the crime, or the favourable circumstances the offender's case may be attended with." Some such comparison, perhaps, suggested the complacent reflections of *Tienkeeshĕ*, a Chinese, who

thus wrote —"I felicitate myself that I was born in China! It constantly occurs to me, what if I had been born beyond the sea, in some remote part of the earth, where the cold freezes, or the heat scorches, where the people are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, lie in holes of the earth, are far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and are ignorant of the domestic relations; though born as one of the generation of men, I should not have been different from a beast. But how happily I have been born in China! I have a house to live in, have drink and food, and commodious furniture. I have clothing, and caps, and infinite blessings. Truly the highest felicity is mine."*

The country cannot, upon the whole, be very ill governed whose subjects write in this style. But it is a still more remarkable fact that the following should be a popular maxim of the Chinese, and one frequently quoted by them —'To violate THE LAW is the same crime in the emperor as in a subject.' This plainly intimates that there are certain sanctions which the people in general look upon as superior to the will of the sovereign himself. These are contained in their sacred books, [illegible] literally, *salus populi suprema lex* [illegible] when we come to consider them [illegible] much this principle may at times be [illegible] pressure of a foreign Tartar dominion [illegible] has continued to be recognised [illegible] exercised more or less influence [illegible] government.

* C[illegible]

CHAPTER IX.

NATIONAL CHARACTER AND INSTITUTIONS.

Worst specimens of Chinese at Canton — Instance of gratitude — Good and bad traits — Pride and ignorance — Respect for age — Regard to kindred and birthplace — Infanticide — Physical characteristics — Earliest inhabitants — Personal appearance — Caprices of national taste — Primitive features — Imperial kindred — Importance of talent and learning — Descendants of Confucius — Absence of ostentation — Condition of women — Marriage ceremonies — Desire of male progeny — Education — Funeral rites — Primogeniture.

MOST of the good and bad traits of the Chinese character may, as usual, be traced to the advantages or faults of their social system. If those principles of government and those laws, of which we have given a slight sketch, have the effect of imbuing them with some of the vices connected with timidity of character, which are particularly disesteemed in Europe, it is only fair to give them credit, on the other hand, for the valuable qualities which they do really possess. The Chinese have, upon the whole, been under-estimated on the score of their moral attributes. The reason of this has probably been, the extremely unfavourable aspect in which they have appeared to the generality of observers at Canton: just as if any one should attempt to form an estimate of *our* national character in England from that peculiar phase under which it may present itself at some commercial seaport.*

* This has received signal confirmation from our experience to the northward since the war. The Cantonese are the very worst specimens of their countrymen.

It is in fact a matter of astonishment that the people at Canton should be no worse than we have found them. They are well acquainted with that maxim of their government by which it openly professes to "rule barbarians by misrule, like *beasts* and not like native subjects;" and they have been perpetually supplied by the local authorities with every motive to behave towards strangers as if they were really a degraded order of beings. The natural consequence is, that their conduct to Europeans is very different from their conduct among themselves. Except when under the influence of either interest or of fear, they are often haughty and insolent to strangers, as well as fraudulent; and such is the effect of opinion among them, that, even in cases where interest may persuade them to servility, this will not be exhibited in the presence of a countryman. A beggar has often been seen who, though he would bend his knee very readily to European passengers when unobserved, refrained altogether from it while Chinese were passing by. It was some time before the very coolies, the lowest class of servants, would condescend to carry a lantern before a European at night; and still longer before they could be induced, by any wages, to convey him in a sedan, even at Macao, where it was permitted. Is it surprising, then, that they should reconcile it, without much difficulty, to their feelings to overreach and ill-use, occasionally, the creatures of an inferior rank, who, as their government phrases it, come to benefit by "the transforming influence of Chinese civilization;" or, rather, is it *not* very surprising that so general a course of honesty and good faith, and so many instances of kindness and generosity, even, should have been experienced in their intercourse with us? If we deny to the Chinese their fair advantages, on a view somewhat more extended than the precincts of

Canton afford, and if we condemn them ignorantly, it is the precise fault which we have most to censure on their part. We in fact become as illiberal as themselves.

The following anecdote, from a miscellaneous volume* by Sir George Staunton, is a favourable specimen of Chinese character, as it has appeared even at Canton. A considerable merchant had some dealings with an American trader, who attempted to quit the port without discharging his debt, and would have succeeded but for the spirit and activity of a young officer of one of the Company's ships. He boarded the American vessel when upon the point of sailing, and, by his remonstrances or otherwise, prevailed on the American to make a satisfactory arrangement with his creditor. In acknowledgment for this service, the Chinese merchant purchased from the young officer, in his several successive voyages to China, on very favourable terms, the whole of his commercial adventure. He might thus have been considered to have fulfilled any ordinary claim upon his gratitude; but he went further than this. After some years he expressed his surprise to the officer that he had not yet obtained the command of a ship. The other replied that it was a lucrative post which could be obtained only by purchase, and at an expense of some thousand pounds, a sum wholly out of his power to raise. The Chinese merchant said he would remove that difficulty, and immediately gave him a draft for the amount, to be repaid at his convenience. The officer died on his voyage home, and the draft was never presented; but it was drawn on a house of great respectability, and would have been duly honoured.

The late Dr. Morrison formed a very fair estimate of a people with whom he was better acquainted than most Europeans. "In China," he observes, "there is much to

* Notices of China, part ii.

blame, but something to learn Education is there made as general as possible, and moral instruction is ranked above physical The consequence is, that industry, tranquillity, and content are unusually prevalent in the bulk of the population The exceptions to this, in the tumults which arise from local distress in limited districts, are in some measure the consequence of the very means taken to prevent them. The Chinese are bad political economists the government, instead of allowing the trade in grain to take its natural course, erects its own granaries, in which there is much inevitable abuse, and prohibits the business of the great corn factor, who, in consulting his own interests, would much better relieve the dearth of one season by the redundancy of another The people, who are taught to look to the public granaries for relief, and have been led by their patriarchal theory of government to refer the good which they enjoy to the emperor and his delegates, very naturally attribute the evil which they suffer to the same quarters, and the government, aware of the danger, is proportionately anxious to guard against it. If it fails, in the pursuit of an erroneous system, there is no room for surprise

Notwithstanding that his power is absolute, the emperor himself on all occasions endeavours to prove that his conduct is based on reason, and originates in benevolence—the truth of the argument being of course a distinct affair From the habits in which they are brought up, as well as from the operation of certain positive laws already noticed, the people are more ready to reason with each other than to resort to the *ultima ratio* of force. The advantageous features of their character, as mildness, docility, industry, peaceableness, subordination, and respect for the aged, are accompanied by the vices of specious insincerity and falsehood, with mutual distrust and jealousy Lying

deceit, being generally the refuge of the weak and timid, have been held in Europe to be the most disgraceful vices, ever since the influence of those feudal institutions under which strength and courage were the things most valued. The Chinese at any time do not attach the same degree of disgrace to deceit; and least of all did they discountenance it towards Europeans at Canton. A true calculation of their own interest made most of the merchants of that place sufficiently scrupulous in their commercial engagements, but on all other points "the foreign devil," as they call him, was fair game. Many a Chinese of Canton, in his intercourse with a stranger, would seem occasionally to have an abstract love of falsehood and trickery, independently of anything that he can gain by it; and he will appear sometimes to volunteer a lie, when it would be just the same to him to tell the truth. Mr. Barrow has attributed their national insincerity to a motive which no doubt operates with the *higher* classes, as much as an ignorant contempt and a mischievous malignity do with the rabble. "As a direct refusal," he observes, "to any request would betray a want of good breeding, every proposal finds their immediate acquiescence: they promise without hesitation, but generally disappoint by the invention of some slight pretence or plausible objection: they have no proper sense of the obligations of truth." This renders all negotiations with them on public matters almost entirely fruitless without material guarantees, as no reliance whatever can be placed on them for the fulfilment of engagements. They dispense with faith towards foreigners in a manner truly Machiavellian.

The traveller above quoted remarked also the cheerful character and willing industry of the Chinese. This is in fact a most invaluable trait, and, like most other virtues,

[illegible] The [illegible] the Chinese [illegible] and [illegible] must be [illegible] their [illegible] and [illegible] the influence of [illegible] Their government [illegible] education [illegible] every Chinese [illegible] Their [illegible] is all on the side of [illegible] order and [illegible] industry.

The important [illegible] which they [illegible] more especially in [illegible] with the adjoining countries, have inspired the Chinese with the inordinate national pride so offensive to Europeans. These illusions of self love, fostered by [illegible], have inspired them with notions of their country [illegible] the rest of the earth, quite analogous to those entertained by the old astronomers of the earth [illegible] to the universe. They think it the centre of a system, and call it *chung-kwŏ*, the central nation; nor is it a small increase of foreign intercourse and knowledge that will be [illegible] to set them right. The natural disposition of the people to despise strangers has been artfully promoted by the mandarins. A timid and miserable policy has led them to consider their interest to increase the mutual dislike and distrust. Hence the slanderous proclamations formerly [illegible] by them against foreigners at Canton, and the penalties attached to a "traitorous intercourse" with Europeans. The most dangerous accusation against a native is that of being subject to foreign influence in *any* way.

There is a positive law against the use of things not sanctioned by custom; partly therefore from fear, partly from conceit, they are very little inclined to adopt foreign modes, or purchase foreign manufactures.* [illegible]

* It is remarkable that, while our imports of

or the *materials* of manufactures, find a better market among them; but the most marketable commodity of all are *dollars*. Indisputably superior as Europe is in science, and in the productions of science, yet to a Chinese, who sees few things brought from thence that really suit his peculiar and conventional wants, or that are in conformity with the usages enjoined by the ritual,—and who, until lately, heard little of the different states into which Europe is divided, but the indistinct rumour of their endless wars,—it is not surprising if no very elevated picture presented itself, in comparison with his own immense and wealthy country, its hundreds of millions of industrious and intelligent people, and an uninterrupted peace (until our war) of nearly 200 years, even if we go no farther than the Tartar invasion. Whatever there is of extreme poverty and destitution in the country arises solely from the unusual degree in which the population is made to press against the means of subsistence, by causes which we shall notice hereafter; and not from any fault in the *distribution* of wealth, which is perhaps far more equal here than in any other country. There is much less inequality in the fortunes than in the ranks and conditions of men. The comparatively low estimation in which *mere* wealth is held is a considerable moral advantage on the side of the Chinese; for—

the exports of British manufactures to China have not increased since I stated as follows before a committee of the House of Commons twenty-seven years ago:—"The institutions of the country are built on the maxims of their great philosopher Confucius, and it was a leading precept of his to avoid intercourse with foreigners—'to despise foreign commodities'—those are his words. The sacred books of the Chinese are different from the sacred books of most other countries; they are not so much religious books as treatises on ethics and on government; and as long as the Chinese venerate those books, so long will the institutions built upon those books remain more or less unchanged."—*First Report*, 1830.

"Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati."

Poverty is no reproach among them. The two things which they most respect are station derived from personal merit, and the claims of venerable old age. The last was signally honoured by Kang hy, the second emperor of the reigning family. An inferior officer of more than a hundred years of age having come to an audience to do homage, the emperor rose from his seat and met him, desiring the old man to stand up without ceremony, and telling him he paid this respect to his great age. According to that connexion which exists between the languages and the usages of nations, the ordinary address of civility and respect in China is *La li yay*, "Old, or venerable father," which, as a mere form of speech, is often addressed to a person half the age of the speaker.

The peaceful and prudential character of the people may be traced to the influence and authority of age. In consequence of the individuals of succeeding generations living entirely under the power and control of the oldest surviving heads of families, the ignorant and inexperienced are guided by the more mature judgment of the elders, and the sallies of rashness and folly easily restrained. The effects of example and of early habit are equally visible in their conversation. The Chinese frequently get the better of Europeans in a discussion by imperturbable coolness and gravity. It is part of their policy to gain the advantage by letting their opponent work himself into a passion, and place himself in the wrong: hence the more than ordinary necessity of carefully preserving the temper with them. Gravity of demeanour is much affected, particularly by magistrates and persons of rank: it is styled *choong*, literally heavy, or *grave* (which in its origin means the same), in contradistinction to *king*, light,

or *levity.* As this is, in some degree, promoted by a heavy, lumbering figure, it may be the origin of their partiality for bulkiness in men; while in women they admire such an opposite quality. Any undersized individual, who does not fill his chair well, they jocularly style "short measure."

It is the discipline to which they are subject from earliest childhood, and the habit of controlling their ruder passions, that render crimes of violence so unfrequent among them. Robbery is very seldom accompanied by murder. Under real or supposed injury, however, they are sometimes found to be very revengeful, and on such occasions not at all scrupulous as to how they accomplish their purpose. Women will sometimes hang or drown themselves, merely to bring those with whom they have quarrelled into trouble. The people, quiet and submissive as they are, will, when once roused by intolerable oppression, rise *en masse* against a magistrate, and destroy him if they can. In such a case, should the obnoxious governor escape the vengeance of the populace, he seldom meets with any mercy at Peking, where revolts prove serious occurrences to those under whom they take place.

To the system of clubbing together in families—we might almost say in clans—is to be attributed that sacred regard to kindred which operates better than a public provision for the relief of the poor, and serves as one of the best means for the *distribution* of wealth; a valuable science, in which they perhaps beat our economists, though they do not equal them in the rules for its *creation.* Hence, too, that regard for the place of his birth which always clings to a Chinese through life, often making him apply for leave to quit the honours and emoluments of office, and retire to his native village.

The same feeling makes the colonists, who venture abroad in search of gain, return home as soon as they have acquired something like a competency, though at the risk of being oppressed under the forms of law for having left China. They have a popular saying, "If he who attains to honours or wealth never returns to his native place, he is like a finely-dressed person walking in the dark: it is all thrown away."

We have now touched briefly upon the leading features of the Chinese character, which will be viewed and appreciated according to the peculiar tastes and opinions of readers, but which by most persons must be allowed to contain an admixture, at least, of what is good and valuable. It remains to notice one important circumstance which has very naturally rendered this people obnoxious to severe censure—the infanticide* of female children. The presumed extent of this practice has been brought as an argument against the prevalence of parental feeling in China; but we believe that the amount of it has by most writers, been overrated. No doubt but, in occasional instances of female births, infanticide does exist; but these cases certainly occur only in the chief cities, and the most crowded population, where the difficulty of subsistence takes away all hope from the poorest persons of being able to rear their offspring. The Chinese are in general peculiarly fond of their children, and the attachment seems to be mutual. The instances at Canton (a very crowded and populous place) of the bodies of infants being seen floating are not frequent, and may reasonably, in some cases, be attributed to accident, when such multitudes are brought up from their birth in small boats. There never was a more absurd blunder than to charge to infanticide those instances in which the

* This subject is not mentioned in the penal code.

infants are found floating with a hollow gourd about their persons, as if the gourd were a part of the system of exposure! Why, the very object of attaching these gourds to the children living in boats is to save them from the risk of being drowned, and to float them until they can be pulled out of the water. That children should sometimes be found drowned, in spite of this precaution, is possible enough; but to consider the gourds as part and parcel of their fate is about as reasonable and correct as if somebody should attribute all the deaths in England from drowning to the *exertions of the Humane Society*.*

The Romish missionaries, with all their complete and intimate knowledge of China, had a trick of giving their own colouring to such matters as bore in any way upon the honour and glory of the mission. We have seen that they dealt now and then in *miracles*: the mere overstatement, therefore, of the practice of infanticide was natural enough, when connected with the object; and Du Halde gives a pompous account of the fruits of the missionary exertions. The merit, however, was peculiar, and of an equivocal kind: for, instead of attempting on most occasions to save the lives of the children doomed to be drowned, they or their proselytes walked about to the houses, baptizing the new-born infants previous to death—a cheap, rapid, and easy work of charity.

—— "*Licebit*,
Injecto ter pulvere, curras."

In their physical characteristics the Chinese are gene-

* Mons. de Guignes is quite right on this point. "Quant à ce que l'on dit qu'elles attachent une calabasse sur le dos des enfans pour les faire flotter plus long-tems, afin de donner le tems à quelque personne charitable de leur sauver la vie, elles ne le font que pour avoir ellesmêmes le moyen de les secourir dans le cas où ils tomberoient à la rivière."

rally as superior to the nations which border on them as in other points. It has often been remarked that a finer-shaped and more powerful race of men exists nowhere than the coolies or porters of Canton, and the weights which they carry with ease on a bamboo between two of them would break down most other Asiatics. The freedom of their dress gives a development to their limbs that renders many of the Chinese models for a statuary. As sailors they have been found always much stronger and more efficient than Lascars on board of English ships, though the obstacles which existed to their entering into foreign service prevented their being frequently engaged. During the war, the difficulty of manning the Company's ships with English seamen was the occasion of great numbers being employed, though at a very heavy expense.

The superior physical character of the Chinese in comparison with many other Asiatics, must in great measure be attributed to the lower average temperature and the general healthiness of their climate, notwithstanding the existence of very considerable, as well as rapid, vicissitudes of heat and cold. The extent to which cultivation and drainage have been carried in all the lower levels throughout the country, must, no doubt, have its share in the effect; and the general prevalence of active as well as sober habits in the bulk of the population is another important circumstance. It may be observed here, that, if that terrible scourge the *cholera* could be proved to have existed in China* during the period in which it occasioned such frightful ravages in other parts of the world, its extent and effects have been so comparatively inconsiderable as not to deserve serious notice. The idea which has prevailed in France, relative to the

* The European shipping at Whampoa not included.

use of tea being a means of avoiding the disease, might seem to derive some corroboration from this general immunity in the country where tea is more extensively consumed than elsewhere; but it is probably a mere idea.

When the cranium, or skull, of a Chinese is compared with those of a European and a negro, it is observable that what is called the *facial angle*, in the case of the first, is something of a medium* between the other two; in other words, the forehead and upper part of the face in the Chinese retire, or incline backward, rather more than in the European, but much less than in the African. The same remark holds slightly in respect to the oblique insertion of the incisors or front teeth. In the thickness of the lips the Chinese approaches, but by no means equals, the negro; nor is that feature at all so prominent as in the latter, whose physiognomy might, in some individual cases, where the chin almost disappears, be designated by the term "muzzle." The nose is flattened and the nostrils expanded in the Chinese, but not to the same extent as in the Æthiopian. In some points of physiology the people whom we describe bear a considerable resemblance to the North American Indians. There is the same lank, black, and shining hair; the same obliquity of the eyes and eyebrows turned upwards at the outer extremities; and a corresponding thinness and tufty growth of beard. The Chinese, too, is distinguished by a nearly total absence of hair from the surface of the body. In the smallness of the hands and feet, and of the bones of the body, compared with Europeans, he resembles the generality of Asiatics. We may remark here that the Esquimaux, as represented in the plates to Captain Lyon's voyage, bear a very striking similarity to

* This expression must be understood with reserve, as the departure from the European standard is but trifling.

the *Tan kea*, or "boat-people," of the coast of China, who are treated by the government as a different race from those on shore, and not allowed to intermarry with them. Whether the miserable inhabitants of the cold regions to the north have thus migrated southward, along the east coast at some former periods, in search of a more genial climate, must be a mere matter of conjecture in the absence of positive proof.

Though the Chinese are allied to the Mongols in the general cast of their features, the harsher points of the Tartar are softened down in the former considerably. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to explain, on any certain grounds, the mode in which China first became peopled. The only thing like testimony that we possess out of China, relating to this subject, is in the Institutes of Menu, as quoted by Sir William Jones. It is there written, that "many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda and the company of Brahmans, lived in a state of degradation, as the *Chinas* and some other nations." A native historian certainly states that, at a period corresponding to 1200 years before Christ, "the Chinese nation was small and feeble, the Eastern foreigners (people between them and the east coast) numerous and strong," and that the former "gradually obtained a settlement in the middle of the country." This, as far as it goes, might be construed into a proof that China, according to the opinion of Sir William Jones, was originally peopled in part from India.

But, however that may be, the position hazarded by De Guignes, that the Chinese were a colony from Egypt, seems hardly capable of sufficient support from testimony, either direct or circumstantial. Such a distant emigration could not have taken place without the knowledge and

notice of the nations inhabiting the vast countries that intervene: besides which, there exists not the slightest shadow of resemblance between the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the Chinese characters. This point was first satisfactorily proved in a letter from Père Amiot at Peking to the Royal Society of London, which had applied to him for information. In one respect, indeed, we are ready to admit that there is a resemblance; but that is only in the *use* of the respective characters. The researches of Dr. Young first proved that the pictorial emblems of the sacred language of Egypt had been used in the Rosetta inscription, as symbols of *sound* in the expression of foreign names. Now this is precisely what the Chinese do, from obvious necessity, in similar cases. Their monosyllabic characters are used to represent the sounds of foreigners' names, and either connected by a line along the side, or otherwise distinguished by a small mark; for the same reason that the Egyptians enclosed theirs in an oval ring, or cartouche.

But to return to our immediate subject. People in Europe have been strangely misled, in their notions of Chinese physiognomy and appearance, by the figures represented on those specimens of manufacture which proceed from Canton, and which are commonly in a style of broad caricature. A Chinese at Peking might as well form an idea of us from some of the performances of Cruikshank, or the vagaries of Punch. The consequence has been, that a character of silly levity and farce has been associated, in the minds of many persons, with the most steady, considerate, and matter-of-fact people in the world, who in grave matters of business are often a match for the best of Europeans. Their features have perhaps less of the harsh angularity of the Tartar countenance in the south than at Peking. Among those who are not ex-

posed to the climate, the complexion is fully as fair as that of Spaniards and Portuguese, but the sun has a powerful effect on their skins, and that upper portion of a man's person habitually exposed in the summer is often so different from the remainder, that, when stripped, he looks like the lower half of a European joined on to the upper moiety of an Asiatic. Up to the age of twenty they are often very good looking, but soon after that period the prominent cheek bones generally give a harshness to the features, as the roundness of youth wears off. With the progress of age the old men become in most cases extremely ugly, and the old women can only be described by Juvenal —

> —— "Tales aspice rugas
> Quales umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus
> In vetula scalpit jam mater simia bucca.
>
> —— "Such wrinkles as
> As in an Indian forest's thick'ning shade
> Some old ape scrubs amidst her numerous brood.

A conjecture has already been offered in explanation of the very opposite characters of figure admired in the two sexes. A woman should be extremely slender and fragile in appearance, a man very stout—not in those proportions that denote muscular strength, and what we call *condition*—but corpulent, obese, aldermanlike. It is fashionable in both men and women to allow the nails of the left hand to grow to an inordinate length, until they assume an appearance very like the claws of the bradypus, as represented in Sir Charles Bell's work on the 'Hand.' An English gentleman in China reasonably prohibited one of his servants from indulging in this piece of foppery, on the ground that fingers provided with such [illegible] could not possibly perform any work. The [illegible] of the nail rendering it liable to break [illegible]

known sometimes to protect it, when very long, by means of thin slips of bamboo.

But the most unaccountable species of taste is that mutilation of the women's feet for which the Chinese are



Small feet of a Chinese lady.

so remarkable. Of the origin of this custom there is no very distinct account, except that it took place about the close of the Tâng dynasty, or the end of the ninth century of our era. The Tartars have had the good sense *not to adopt this artificial deformity*, and their ladies wear a shoe like that of the men, except that it has a white sole of still greater thickness. As it would seem next to impossible to refer to any notions of physical beauty, however arbitrary, such shocking mutilation as that produced by the cramping of the foot in early childhood, it may partly be ascribed to the principle which dictates the fashion of long nails. The idea conveyed by these is *exemption from labour*, and, as the small feet make cripples of the women, it is fair to conclude that the idea of gentility which they convey arises from a similar association. That appearance of helplessness which is induced by the mutilation, they admire ex-

tremely, notwithstanding its very usual concomitant of sickliness, and the tottering gait of the poor women, as they hobble along upon the heel of the foot, they compare to the waving of a willow agitated by the breeze. We may add that this odious custom extends lower down in the scale of society than might have been expected from its disabling effect upon those who have to labour for their subsistence. If the custom was first imposed by the tyranny of the men, the women are fully revenged in the diminution of their charms and domestic usefulness.

In no instances have the folly and childishness of a large portion of mankind been more strikingly displayed than in those various and occasionally very opposite modes in which they have departed from the standard of nature, and sought distinction even in deformity. Thus, while one race of people crushes the feet of its children, another flattens their heads between two boards; and, while we in Europe admire the natural whiteness of the teeth, the Malays file off the enamel and dye them black, for the all-sufficient reason that dogs' teeth are white! A New Zealand chief has his distinctive coat of arms emblazoned on the skin of his face as well as on his limbs; and an Esquimaux is nothing if he have not bits of stone stuffed through a hole in each cheek. Quite as absurd, and still more mischievous, is the infatuation which, among some Europeans, attaches beauty to that modification of the human figure which resembles the wasp, and compresses the waist until the very ribs have been distorted, and the functions of the vital organs irreparably disordered.

It is an interesting question to investigate how the Chinese are to be ranked with other nations in the comparative scale of civil society. We have already endeavoured to show in part, and have still to show, the

considerable moral and political advantages which they actually possess, and which Sir George Staunton has, with his usual knowledge and ability, summoned up as attributable "to the regard paid to the ties of kindred; to the sobriety, industry, and intelligence of the lower classes: to the nearly total absence of feudal rights and privileges; to the equal distribution of landed property; to the indisposition of government to engage in schemes of foreign warfare and ambition; and to a system of penal laws the most clearly defined, comprehensive, and business-like of any, at least among Asiatics." It would be idle, on the other hand, to deny that they possess vices and defects peculiar to their own political and social condition.

It has been reasonably argued, by the authority above quoted, that "a people whose written language is founded on the most ancient of principles, and the frame of whose government is essentially conformable to the patriarchal system of the first ages, must have segregated themselves from the rest of mankind before the period at which the symbolic was superseded by the alphabetic character, and the patriarchal by other forms of government." The same circumstances of government and language, which denote the *antiquity* of the Chinese institutions, may, we think, account for their *durability*. The theory of government combining the *pater atque princeps*, which has always been the first to present itself to men's minds, if not the best in practice, may be the most plausible in principle; and the system of written characters, which cannot be altered with the readiness of our syllabic words (notoriously the subjects of caprice in most languages), may have given a considerable fixedness to the intellect of China, through the medium of its literature. Any one who like the author has [illegible] habit of translating

into Chinese, knows the difficulty of conveying foreign ideas in an intelligible shape.

There is another primitive characteristic to be noticed in the classification of the four ranks, or orders, into which the community of China is divided. These are, in the first place, the learned; secondly, husbandmen; thirdly, manufacturers; and fourthly, merchants. This arrangement seems sufficiently correct and philosophical, considered with a reference merely to the successive rise of those four orders in the progress of society. In the earliest ages, superior wisdom and knowledge, the result of old age and experience, constitute the principal claim to respect and distinction. As society advances and as nomadic tribes become fixed to particular spots, they turn their attention to the cultivation of land. With the gradual increase of raw produce, the rise of towns, and the adoption of exchanges between town and country, follow manufactures; and lastly, with the growth of capital and the increase of manufactures, comes commerce, domestic and foreign.

But by the time that a country has reached a certain point of advancement this pristine arrangement (with the exception of the first class) must be considered as merely nominal, and perhaps, in some communities, rather as the inverse order in which the several classes will really stand in relation to each other. The influence of wealth—the consequence arising from superior possessions—will have its sway; and as manufactures may become a more fertile source of wealth than tillage, and commerce than manufactures, so the former may impart greater [illegible] to those who pursue them respectively. Accordingly we find, in China, that the poor cultivator of one or two small patches to which the subdivision of [illegible] tends to reduce the lands, derive [illegible]

from the estimation in which his calling is affected to be held; even though the emperor himself once a year guides the plough. On the other hand, the opulent merchant contrives to obtain the services of those whom he can benefit by his wealth—even the acquaintance and good offices of persons in power—however low the nominal rank assigned to him in the theoretical institutions of the country. At the same time the class of the *learned* retain their supremacy far above all, and fill the ranks of government.

Hereditary rank, without merit, is of little value to the possessor, as we have before noticed. The descendants of the Manchow family are ranked in *five* degrees, which, for that reason only, were distinguished by the Jesuits with the titles of the five orders of European nobility. These imperial descendants wear the yellow girdle, and, without any power whatever, have certain small revenues allotted to them for a subsistence. Of course, as they multiply, some of the remoter branches become reduced to a very indigent condition, when unaided by personal exertion and merit. At the fall of the last Chinese dynasty, a vast number of the ejected family dropped the yellow girdle, and sought for safety in a private condition. It is said that many of the representatives of the *Ming* race still remain; one of them was servant to several of the Jesuits: and whenever it shall happen that rebellion substantially succeeds against the Tartars, some of the number may perhaps be forthcoming.

The imperial relatives of the Tartar line, being numerous, and withal brought up to a life of idleness, are, in many cases, ignorant, worthless, and dissipated; and it is possibly from some feeling of jealousy, as well as on account of their disorderly character, that they are kept under very strict control. The last British embassy had

a specimen of their conduct and manners at Yuen-ming yuen, as well as of the little ceremony with which they are occasionally treated. When they crowded, with a childish and uncivil curiosity upon the English party, the principal person among the mandarins seized a whip, and, not satisfied with using that alone, actually *kicked* out the mob of yellow girdles. In the previous mission of Lord Macartney, Mr. Barrow has related an instance of the meanness of one of these princes of the blood—no less a person than a grandson of the emperor—who sent him a paltry present, with a broad hint that his gold watch would be acceptable in return.

There are two lines of the imperial house of China, the first descended from the great conqueror himself, and the second from his collaterals, or his brothers and uncles. The first are called Tsoong-shě, ancestral house, and distinguished by a yellow girdle, and a bridle of the same colour. The second are styled Keolo (a Tartar word), and marked by a red sash and bridle. Everything about their dress and equipage is subject to minute regulation. *Some are decorated with the peacock's feather, and others* allowed the privilege of the green sedan. There are rules concerning their establishments and retinue, and the number of eunuchs which each may employ. The greatest number of these allowed to any individual is eleven, the chief of whom wears a white ball or button on his cap. For the government of all the members of the imperial kindred there is a court, called the "office of the ancestral tribe."* This is wholly distinct from the Chinese courts, and has its own laws and usages, and a Wang (called by the Jesuits *regulus*, or little King) is *president of it.*

The principal use of these imperial descendants seems

* Tsung-jin Foo.

to be the formation of a courtly *apanage*, to swell the emperor's state. They are obliged, at the new and full moon, to attend the court, and arrange themselves in order, some within the audience-hall, and some without, at, or rather *before*, daybreak. When the emperor makes his appearance, they all fall prostrate, and perform their adoration; and it was the party collected for this purpose at daybreak on the 29th August, 1816, which so greatly annoyed the English embassy by their importunate curiosity and uncourtly rudeness. It is their idle and useless life, and the absence of any motives for exertion, which makes these persons frequently both ignorant and vicious, and extremely troublesome to the emperor. Many have been ordered away from Peking, and sent to Manchow Tartary, to be placed under the charge of the native chiefs, while others have been sentenced to perpetual solitary confinement. In 1819 one of the imperial clan, wearing a red girdle, found his way to Canton, where he had a relation by affinity officiating as the provincial judge. His plea for quitting the capital was extreme poverty, but the judge did not venture to house him. He was delivered in custody to the local authorities, and packed off again under military escort to Peking, where it is said he was shut up for the remainder of his life. These observations have received a very remarkable corroboration in the conduct of the imperial relatives Yih-shan and Yih-hing, during the war with us. The estimable Keying was related to the emperor by affinity only, and not by blood.

These persons are strongly contrasted, in point of intelligence, learning, and every other claim to respect, with the *official rulers* of China—its real aristocracy. The impartial distribution (with few exceptions) of state offices and magistracies to *all* who give evidence of

superior learning or talent, without regard to birth or possessions, lay probably at the bottom of the long-continued greatness and prosperity of the empire, now deservedly on the decline from the notorious decay of the salutary practice. Nothing can be more true than the observations on this subject of the late Dr Milne, an excellent Chinese scholar. "This principle has always been maintained, although, as may naturally be supposed, it has often in practice been departed from. Yet the existence of the principle, and its being acted on to a considerable extent, gives every person in China (with the exception of menial servants, the lowest agents of the police, and comedians) a solid reason to be satisfied with the system. They are the ambitious who generally overturn governments; but in China there is a road open to the ambition without the dreadful alternative of revolutionizing the country. All that is required of a man is the very reasonable thing that he should give some proof of the possession of superior talents.

"The government affords him every three years, and occasionally oftener, an opportunity of displaying his attainments in a stipulated way; and if it cannot give offices to all, it gives honours, and declares the successful candidate eligible to a situation either civil or military; and, finally, to the highest offices of the state, if his merits shall entitle him thereto. The present dynasty has frequently sold commissions both in the civil service and in the army, in order to supply its pecuniary wants, which circumstance gives much dissatisfaction to those who depend on their learning and knowledge for promotion; and this conduct is generally deemed disreputable. Those of the community who are raised above manual labour, or the drudgery of daily business, are occupied with what gratifies either their laudable emulation, or

their vanity and ambition; and from amongst these, when the state wants men, it selects the best talents of the whole country. I submit it, whether the principle and the system which I have thus slightly exhibited be not the great secret of the Chinese aggrandisement."

The superior honours paid to letters over arms must tend to make Chinese ambition run in a peaceful channel. At the annual meetings of the mandarins in the provincial capitals, to perform adoration before the emperor's shrine on his birthday, this difference is shown by the civil officers taking their places to the east (the higher station), and the others to the west. The civil mandarins look upon Confucius as their peculiar patron, and are in fact the high priesthood, whose sole privilege it is to sacrifice at his temples.

The lineal descendants of Confucius also have some hereditary honours. The head of this race is always distinguished by the title of Koong, the highest of the five degrees before mentioned. He repairs to Peking once a year from Keŏ-fow Hien, in Shantung province, the birthplace of the great philosopher and statesman, and receives certain marks of distinction from the emperor. Père Bouvet, in 1693, found the governor of a *Chow*, or city of the second order, in one of the southern provinces, bearing the same surname, and deriving his descent from the deified teacher of China, but he had earned his office by his learning, and not by his descent. Another was treasurer of Canton province, and wrote me in 1846 an official despatch concerning one of the instalments of the war indemnity; but as it was objectionably worded I was obliged to return it through Keying, with a remonstrance. The great limitation in the privileges of the various species of hereditary rank, and the continual subdivision of property among a man's numerous descendants, are

the causes which prevent any individual becoming dangerous by his influence or wealth. The true aristocracy of China, its official rulers, are of course a constantly fluctuating body. The gentry of every province, below these, consist of the mandarins retired from employment, and all who have attained any of the three literary degrees or the nine ranks distinguished by the ball on the cap. The merit of a son often elevates his parents, and posthumous titles of dignity are occasionally conferred on the ancestors for several generations.

Among the various causes which conduce to give to the upper classes in China their unostentatious character, and to prevent expensiveness being a *fashion* among them, we may observe that a sufficient reason exists for the absence of magnificence from the establishments of official persons independently of its being their *policy* to affect simplicity. As none can exercise office in his birthplace or patrimonial abode, he can have no motive to expend money on his official residence, from which he is liable at the shortest notice to be removed elsewhere, the longest period being generally three years. Hence official persons are commonly very shabby in everything but their personal habiliments, their followers even being often dirty and ragged. The pride of external pomp and retinue is not allowed, on ordinary occasions, to any except the official aristocracy, and with these it consists rather in the *number* than in the *condition* of their attendants.

The intercourse of social life in all cases where women are confined to their homes, or to the company of their own sex, must of course suffer, and accordingly we find that in China it is cold, formal, and encumbered with the ponderous system of ceremonies which have been transmitted from time immemorial. These, however, are

occasionally cast off in those scenes of convivial excess into which exclusively male society is so apt to degenerate; when the recoil is sometimes as great on the side of licence, as the previous restraint has been strict. I have seen a Chinese host carried off and put to bed by his European guests. It must be observed, however, in justice to the better class of Chinese, that these scenes are held in deserved disrepute, and prove always more or less injurious to a man's character.

Notwithstanding the general disadvantages on the side of the weaker sex here, in common with other Asiatic countries, its respectability is in some degree preserved by a certain extent of authority allowed to widows over their sons, and by the homage which these are obliged to pay to their mothers. The emperor himself performs the ceremonies of the *Kotow* before his own mother, who receives them seated on a throne. They have a maxim, that "a woman is thrice dependent: before marriage on her father; after marriage, on her husband; when a widow, on her son;" but this seems to mean principally with reference to support and subsistence.

The ladies of the better class are instructed in embroidery, as well as painting on silk, and music is, of course, a favourite accomplishment. They are not often very deeply versed in letters, but celebrated instances are sometimes quoted of those who have been skilled in composing verses.* The modesty of manner which is deemed so essential to the female character is heightened by their dress, frequently of magnificent materials, and in fashion extremely becoming. They reckon it indecorous in women of birth and breeding to show even their hands, and in touching or moving anything these are generally

* The novel of *Les deux Cousines*, translated by Abel-Rémusat, turns on this point.

covered by the long sleeve. The Chinese look upon the dresses of European ladies (as sometimes represented in drawings or paintings) with surprise, and they certainly present a considerable contrast to their own. Perhaps in both instances the just medium may be in some measure departed from, although in contrary directions.

There is no point on which greater misconception has prevailed than respecting the existence of universal polygamy in China. We will state the case exactly, from the preface to the translation* of the 'Fortunate Union,' which is therein declared to be "a more faithful picture of Chinese manners, inasmuch as the hero espouses but *one wife*. It is not strictly true that their laws sanction *polygamy*, though they permit *concubinage*. A Chinese can have but one Tsy, or wife properly so called, who is distinguished by a title, espoused with ceremonies, and chosen from a rank of life totally different from his Tsië, or handmaids, of whom he may have as many or as few as he pleases; and though the offspring of the latter possess many of the rights of legitimacy (ranking, however, after the children of the wife), this circumstance makes little difference as to the truth of the position. Even in the present romance, the profligate rival aims at effecting his union with the heroine only by setting aside his previous marriage with her cousin as informal. Any Chinese fiction, therefore (and of these there are many) which describes a man espousing two wives, is, in this respect, no truer a picture of existing manners than in respect to any other silly or amusing extravagance which it may happen to contain. In fact, the wife is of equal rank with her husband by birth, and espoused with regular marriage ceremonies, possessing, moreover, certain legal rights, such as they are; the handmaid is bought for

* 2 vols. Murray, 1829.

money, and received into the house nearly like any other domestic. The principle on which Chinese law and custom admit the offspring of concubinage to legitimate rights is obvious—the importance which attaches in that country to the securing of male descendants. It is plain that the Tsy and the Tsiĕ stand to each other in very much the same relation as the Sarah and the Hagar of the Old Testament, and therefore the common expression *first* and *second wife*, which the translator himself has used on former occasions, in imitation of his predecessors, is hardly correct."

If a person has *sons* by his wife (for daughters never enter into the account), it is considered derogatory to take a handmaid at all; but if he has not, it is of course allowable. Still, for every additional repetition, he sinks in personal respectability, and none, in any case, but the rich can afford it. But the strongest dissuasives to a prudent person, on these occasions, are the domestic jealousies that inevitably fill the household with confusion, and sometimes with crime. The Chinese have a maxim, that "nine women in ten are jealous," and they speak feelingly.

Without doubt it is a double calamity to a Chinese wife to be childless, and the sentiment of Creusa in the Greek play must be universal:

> *Καὶ τῶνδ' ἁπάντων ἔσκατον πείσει κακὸν*
> ———————— *ἐκ δούλης τινὸς*
> *Γυναικὸς, εις σὸν δῶμα δεσπότην ἄγειν.*
>
> *Eurip.* (Ιων. 836.)

The feeling is very strongly portrayed in the drama* called 'An Heir in Old Age,' translated from the Chinese into English, and from the English version into

* 1 vol. 12mo. Murray. 1816. This was edited by the late Sir John Barrow, in the author's absence from England.

French. Here the spouse of an old man, who has only one daughter, in concert with her own child and the young man to whom the latter is married, drives from the house a handmaid who, being pregnant, is an object of unconquerable jealousy to all parties, except the old man himself, who is anxiously expecting an heir. Both the woman and child are concealed for three years, after which the jealous feeling of the wife is overcome, only by the consideration that, without a male heir, they shall have nobody to sacrifice to their manes after death. This regard to the *sepulchral rites*, by the way, is another feeling not peculiar to China, but one powerfully developed in several of the Greek plays, as the 'Ajax' of Sophocles, and the 'Choephoræ' of Æschylus.

The women whom a rich Chinese takes in the event of his wife proving barren are generally purchased for a sum of money. They are, of course, from the lowest ranks, entering the family as domestic slaves; and the prevalence of this condition may be traced to the difficulty of subsistence in so thickly peopled a country, which leads many to sell their children, sometimes their wives, and even themselves. Men of high spirit and principle have been known to object to their daughters being handmaids even to the emperor himself, though, of course, this is an exception to the general rule. When the sovereign has espoused an empress with the usual ceremonies, he is supplied with handmaids from among the daughters of *Tartars* principally, selected on account of their beauty. On the death of an emperor, all these women are shut up in a secluded part of the palace, and debarred from marriage with any one. Marco Polo, with his usual fidelity, describes the process of selecting the Tartar ladies for the emperor, in the way that appears exactly to be followed at the present day.

Marriage among the Chinese, with every circumstance relating to it, is so fully described in the 'Fortunate Union,' that the curious reader may be referred for details to that specimen of Chinese literature and manners. It may be as well, in this place, to remark on the principal legal conditions of the married state, and then to describe the ceremonies attendant on the espousals. Their maxim is, that "a married woman can commit no crime; the responsibility rests with her husband." Throughout the Chinese law, obligations and penalties seem to be pretty fairly adjusted; excepting always in cases of *treason*. A child, a wife, or a dependent, being very much at the disposal of the father, husband, or master, are proportionately exempt from punishment when acting under their authority. A woman on marriage assumes her husband's surname. Marriage between all persons of the *same surname* being unlawful, this rule must, of course, include all descendants of the male branch for ever; and as, in so vast a population, there are not a great many more than one hundred surnames throughout the empire, the embarrassments that arise from so strict a law must be considerable. There is likewise a prohibition of wedlock between some of the nearest relations by affinity; and any marriage of an officer of government with an *actress* is void, the parties being, besides, punishable with sixty blows.

There are seven grounds of divorce, and some of them are amusing. The first, barrenness, would seem to be superfluous, as there is a remedy provided in legal concubinage; but the truth is, that either resource, or perhaps both, are in a man's power, at his option. The other causes of separation are, adultery, disobedience to the husband's parents, *talkativeness*, *thieving*, ill-temper, and inveterate infirmities. Any of these, however, may be set

aside by three circumstances the wife having mourned for her husband's parents, the family having acquired wealth since the marriage, and the wife being without parents to receive her back It is in all cases disreputable, and in some (as those of a particular rank) illegal, for a widow to marry again Whenever a widow is herself unwilling, the law protects her, and should she act by the compulsion of parents, or other relations, these are severely punishable Widows, indeed, have a very powerful dissuasive from second wedlock, in being absolute mistresses of themselves and children so long as they remain in their existing condition

From the Budhists, who say that "those connected in a previous existence become united in this,' the Chinese have borrowed the notion that marriage goes by destiny A certain deity, whom they style *Yue laou*, "the old man of the moon,' unites with a silken cord (they relate) all predestined couples, after which nothing can prevent their ultimate union Early marriages are promoted by every motive that can influence humanity, and we shall have to notice these particulars in treating of the excessive population of the country Their maxim is " there are three great acts of disregard to parents, and to die without a progeny is the *chief* ' The most essential circumstance in a respectable family alliance is that there should be equality of rank and station on either side, or that "the gates * should correspond, as the Chinese express it The marriage is preceded by a negotiation called *ping*, conducted by agents or go betweens selected by the parents. The aid of judicial astrology is now called in, and the horoscopes of the two parties compared, under the title of " eight characters, ' which express the year, month, day, and hour of the nativities of the in-

* Mun hoo teng tuy

tended couple. This being settled, presents are sent by the bridegroom in ratification of the union; but the bride in ordinary cases brings neither presents nor dower to her husband. The choice of a lucky day is considered of such importance, that if the Kalendar (in which all these matters are noted with the science of a Partridge, Moore, or Sidrophel himself) should be unfavourable in its auguries, the ceremony is postponed for months. These superstitions are common to all times and countries. In the 'Iphigenia at Aulis,' one of the plays of Euripides, we have an exact case in point. Clytemnestra says to her husband, who is deceiving her about their daughter, "On what day shall our child wed?"—to which he replies, "When the orb of a fortunate moon shall arrive."

The most appropriate and felicitous time for marriage is considered to be in spring, and the first moon of the Chinese year (February) is preferred. It is in this month that the peach-tree blossoms in China, and hence there are constant allusions to it in connexion with marriage. These verses, from the elegant pen of Sir William Jones, are the paraphrase of a literal translation which that indefatigable scholar obtained of a passage in the Chinese 'Book of Odes:'—

"Sweet child of spring, the garden's queen,
Yon peach-tree charms the roving sight;
Its fragrant leaves how richly green,
Its blossoms how divinely bright!

"So softly shines the beauteous bride,
By love and conscious virtue led,
O'er her new mansion to preside,
And placid joys around her spread."

Some time previous to the day fixed, the bridegroom is invested ceremoniously with a dress cap or bonnet, and takes an additional name. The bride, at the same time, whose hair had until this hung down in long tresses, has

it turned up in the manner of married women, and fastened with bodkins. When the wedding day arrives, the friends of the bridegroom send him presents in the morning with their congratulations. Among the presents are live geese, which are emblematical of the concord of the married state (not of the state itself, as an unthinking European improperly remarked), and some of these birds are always carried in the procession. The bride's relations likewise send her gifts, consisting chiefly of female finery; and her young sisters and friends of her own sex come and *weep with her until it is time to leave the house of* her parents. At length, when the evening arrives,* and the stars just begin to be visible, the bridegroom comes with an ornamented sedan and a cavalcade of lanterns, music, &c., to fetch home his spouse. On their reaching his residence, the bride is carried into the house in the arms of the matrons who act as her friends, and lifted over a pan of charcoal at the door, the meaning of which ceremony is not clear, but which may have reference to the commencement of her household duties. She soon after issues from the bridal chamber with her attendants into the great hall, bearing the prepared areca or betel nut, and invites the guests there assembled to partake of it. Having gone through some ceremonies in company with the bridegroom, she is led back to her chamber, where she is unveiled by her future husband. A table is then spread, and the cup of alliance is drunk together by the young couple. Some fortunate matron, the mother of many children, then enters and pronounces a benediction, as well as going through the form of laying the nuptial bed. Meanwhile the party of friends in the hall make merry, and when the bridegroom joins them they either

* In accordance with an epithalamium in one of their ancient books, in which is this line, "The three stars shine on the gate."

ply him with wine or not, according to the character and grade of the company. When the hour of retirement arrives, they escort him to the door of the chamber in a body and then disperse.

On the following day the new couple come forth to the great hall, where they adore the household gods, and pay their respects to their parents and nearest relations. They then return to their chamber, where they receive the visits of their young friends; and the whole of the first month is devoted in like manner to leisure and amusement. On the third day after the wedding the bride proceeds in an ornamented sedan to visit her parents: and at length, when the month is expired, the bride's friends send her a particular head-dress; an entertainment is partaken of by the relations of both parties, and the marriage ceremonies thereby concluded. On some occasions the bride is espoused at the house of her own parents, with some little difference in the forms. Both these modes are detailed in the novel of the 'Fortunate Union.'

It may be remarked that, as so many parties are concerned in the conduct of the negotiations previous to marriage, and as the two persons principally interested never see each other the whole time, there is a door open to fraud and trickery, as well as to misunderstandings of all kinds. It cannot be supposed, however, nor indeed is it true in practice, that the bridegroom has *never* in any case *seen* his intended spouse previous to wedlock: though of course the separation of the sexes must prevent any intimate society between them. The law provides for most cases of dispute or detected imposture, some of which enter into the plot of the novel already referred to. Both parties are called upon explicitly to make known to each other the existence of any bodily or constitutional

defect, what the true age of each is, and whether they were born of a wife or a concubine, whether real offspring, or only adopted Should there be any suppression of what is true, or any allegation of what is false, the penalties are severe The Chinese law prohibits all marriages between subjects and foreigners, and even forbids any alliances between the unsubdued mountaineers, called Meaou tse, in the interior of the empire, and its own people in the neighbouring plains

When women prove childless, they pay adoration to the goddess Kuan yin, a principal image in Budhist temples, whose name means "heedful of prayers" *(ter vocata audit)*, and whose functions seem compounded of those of Venus genetrix and Lucina There is, however, the widest difference, in their estimation, between male and female offspring, the former are as eagerly desired as the latter are generally deprecated Sons are considered in this country, where the power over them is so absolute through life, as a sure support, as well as a probable source of wealth or dignities, should they succeed in learning but the grand object is the perpetuation of the race, to sacrifice at the family tombs. Without sons, a man lives without honour or satisfaction, and dies unhappy, and, as the only remedy, he is permitted to adopt the sons of his younger brothers Sometimes, however, the extreme desire of male offspring leads parents to suborn the midwives to purchase a boy of some poor person, and substitute it for the girl just born This is termed *tow loong ho in foong*—"stealing a dragon in exchange for a phœnix"

Their maxim is, that, as the emperor should have the care of a father for his people, a father should have the power of a sovereign over his family A man is even able to sell his children for slaves, as appears from

the constant practice. They do not subscribe to the precept of Rousseau—"*Quand chacun pourrait s'aliéner lui-même, il ne peut aliéner ses enfants.*" How completely the children of concubines pertain to the lawful wife is proved by this passage in the drama of 'An Heir in Old Age,' where, in addressing his wife, the old man says, "Seaou-mei is now pregnant; whether she produces a boy or a girl, the same will be your property; you may then hire out her services, or sell her, as it best pleases you." The handmaids are, in fact, only domestic slaves.

The birth of a son is, of course, an occasion of great rejoicing; the family or surname is first given, and then the "milk-name," which is generally some diminutive of endearment. A month after the event the relations and friends between them send the child a silver plate, on which are engraved the three words, "long-life, honours, felicity." The boy is lessoned in behaviour and in ceremonies from his earliest childhood, and at four or five he commences reading. The importance of general education was known so long since in China, that a work, written before the Christian era, speaks of the "*ancient* system of instruction," which required that every town and village, down to only a few families, should have a common school. The wealthy Chinese employ private teachers, and others send their sons to day-schools, which are so well attended, that the fees paid by each boy are extremely small. In large towns there are *evening* schools, of which those who are obliged to labour through the day avail themselves.

The sixteen discourses of the Emperor Yoong-ching, called the Sacred Edicts, commence with the domestic duties as the foundation of the political; and the eleventh treats of instructing the younger branches of a family.

Dr Morrison, in his dictionary, has given a selection from one hundred rules, or maxims, to be observed at a school, some of which are extremely good Among other points, the habit of *attention* is dwelt upon as of primary importance, and boys are warned against "repeating with the mouth while the heart (or mind) is thinking of something else" They are taught never to be satisfied with a confused or indistinct understanding of what they are learning, but to ask for explanations, and always to make a personal application to *themselves* of the precepts which they learn Scholars are not often subjected to corporal punishments The rule is to try the effects of rewards and of persuasion, until it is plain that these will not operate after which it is the custom to disgrace a boy by making him remain on his knees at his seat before the whole school, or sometimes at the door, while a stick of incense (a sort of slow match) burns to a certain point the last resort is to flog him

The object of the government, as Dr Morrison justly observed *in making education general, is not to extend* the bounds of knowledge, but to impart the knowledge already possessed to as large a portion as possible of the rising generation, and "to pluck out true talent" from the mass of the community for its own service. The advancement of learning, or discoveries in physical science, are not in its contemplation It prescribes the books to be studied, a departure from which is *heterodoxy*, and discountenances all innovations that do not originate with itself In this we may perceive one of the causes, not only of the stationary and unprogressive character of Chinese institutions, but likewise of their permanency and continuance

The process of early instruction in the language is this they first teach children a few of the principal

characters (as the names of the chief objects in nature or art), *exactly* as we do the letters, by rude pictures, having the characters attached. Then follows the Santse-king, or "trimetrical classic," being a summary of infant erudition, conveyed in chiming lines of three words or feet. They soon after proceed to the 'Four Books,' which contain the doctrines of Confucius, and which, with the 'Five Classics' subsequently added, are in fact the Chinese Scriptures. The 'Four Books' they learn by heart entirely, and the whole business of the literary class is afterwards to comment on them, or compose essays on their texts. Writing is taught by tracing the characters, with their hair pencil, on transparent paper placed over the copy, and they commence with very large characters in the first instance. Specimens of this species of caligraphy are contained in the Royal Asiatic Transactions. In lieu of slates, they generally use boards painted white to save paper, washing out the writing when finished. Instructors are of course very plentiful, on account of the numbers who enter the learned profession, and fail in attaining the higher degrees.

Every principal city is furnished with halls of examination, and the embassy of 1816 was lodged in one of these buildings, at Nânheung-foo, a town at the bottom of the pass which leads northward from Canton province. It consisted of a number of halls and courts, surrounded by separate cells for the candidates, who are admitted with nothing but blank paper and the implements of writing; a part of the system which corresponds with our college examinations. The students who succeed in their own district, at the annual examination, are ranked as *Sew-tsae*, or bachelors, and, according to their merits, are drafted for further advancement, until they become fitted for the triennial examination, held at the provincial

capital, by an officer expressly deputed from the Hân-lin college at Peking The papers consist of moral and political essays on texts selected from the sacred books, as well as of verses on given subjects. Pains are taken to prevent the examiners from knowing the authors of the essays and poems, but of course this cannot always be effectual in shutting out abuse

Those who succeed at the triennial examinations attain the rank of *Kiu jin*, which may be properly termed licentiate, as it qualifies for actual employment, and once in three years all these licentiates repair to Peking (their expenses being paid if necessary), to be examined for the *Tsin sse*, or doctor's degree, to which only thirty can be admitted at one time From these doctors are selected the members of the imperial college of Han-lin, after an examination held in the palace itself These fortunate and illustrious persons form the body from whom the ministers of the emperor are generally chosen

A man's sons may or may not be instrumental, by their literary success, in reflecting honour on their parents, or advancing them in worldly rank and prosperity, but the mere chance of this, joined to the heavy responsibility for their conduct, [redacted] a great inducement to fathers to bring them up with care, and may serve to account for the universal prevalence of a certain degree of education throughout the empire Such is the demand on every individual for exertion, in a country so thickly peopled, that the children of the very lowest classes, whom extreme indigence precludes from the hope or chance of rising by learning, are trained to labour and to the cares of life almost from the time they can first walk With a slight stick or pole, proportioned to their size, across their shoulders, young children are constantly seen trudging along with weights, sometimes much heavier than

they ought to carry, or busily engaged in other serious employments, as the assistants of their parents. In a country where the youngest cannot afford to be idle,



Chinese Bookseller.

and where, as their proverb strongly expresses it, "to stop the hand is the way to stop the mouth," there is an air of staid gravity about some of the children quite unsuited to their years

But it is not during his life only that a man looks for the services of his sons It is his consolation in declining years to think that they will continue the performance of the prescribed rites in the hall of ancestors, and at the family tombs, when he is no more, and it is the absence of this prospect that makes the childless doubly miserable The superstition derives influence from the importance attached by the government to this species of posthumous duty, a neglect of which is punishable, as we have seen, by the laws Indeed, of all the subjects of their care, there are none which the Chinese so religiously attend to as the tombs of their ancestors, conceiving that any neglect is sure to be followed by worldly misfortune It is almost the only thing that approaches to the character of a "religious sense" among them, for, throughout their idolatrous superstitions, there is a remarkable absence of reverence towards the idols and priests of the Budh and Taou sects The want of ceremony with which they treat their gods is not more surprising, however, than the apparently impious expressions which are occasionally used in the ancient classics of Europe towards the whole family of Olympus —

Tunc cum virguncula Juno!

When a parent or elder relation among the Chinese dies, the event is formally announced to all the branches of the family each side of the doors is distinguished by labels in white, which is the mourning colour The lineal descendants of the deceased, clothed in coarse white cloth, with bandages of the same round their heads, sit weeping near the corpse on the ground, the women keeping up a dismal howl after the manner of the Irish In the mean time, the friends of the deceased appear with white coverlids of linen or silk, which are placed on the body, the

eldest son, or next lineal male descendant, supported on each side by relations, and bearing in his hands a porcelain bowl containing two copper coins, now proceeds to the river, or the nearest well, or the wet ditch of the city, to "buy water," as it is termed. The ceremony must be performed by the *eldest son's son*, in preference to the second son, and entitles him to a double share of the property, which in other respects is divided equally among the sons. The form of washing the face and body with this water being completed, the deceased is dressed as in life, and laid in a coffin, of which the planks are from four to six inches in thickness, and the bottom strewed with quick-lime. On being closed, it is made air-tight by cement, being besides varnished on the inside and outside like a mummy-case. A tablet is then placed on it, bearing inscribed the name and titles of the deceased, as they are afterwards to be cut upon his tomb.

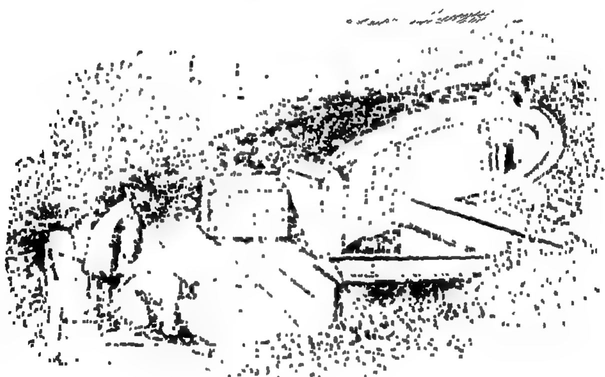
On the expiration of thrice seven or twenty-one days the funeral procession takes place, the tablet being conveyed in a gilded sedan or pavilion, with incense and offerings before it. It is accompanied by music closely resembling the Scottish bagpipe, with the continual repetition of three successive strokes on a sort of drum. The children and relations of both sexes follow in white, without much order or regularity, and upon reaching the grave the ceremonies and oblations commence. It being a part of their superstition that money and garments must be burned for the use of the deceased in the world of spirits, these are, with a wise economy, represented by *paper*. The form of the tomb, whether large or small, is exactly that of a Greek Ω, which, if taken in the sense of "the end," is an odd accidental coincidence. Those of the rich and great are sometimes very large, and contain a considerable quantity of masonry, with figures of animals

in stone The whole detail of sepulchral rites, with the sentiments of the Chinese concerning the dead, are contained in the drama of 'An Heir in Old Age'

After the interment the tablet of the deceased is brought back in procession, and if the family be rich it is placed in the hall of ancestors, if poor, in some part of the house, with incense before it Twice in every year, in the spring and autumn, are the periods fixed for performing the rites to the dead but the first is the principal period, and the only one commonly attended to Unlike the generality of Chinese festivals, which are regulated by the moon (and therefore moveable), this is determined by the sun, and occurs annually 105 days after the winter solstice, *i e* the 5th of April About that time (for a day or two before or after does not signify to them) the whole population of the town is seen trooping out in parties to the hills, to repair and sweep the tombs, and to make offerings, leaving behind them, on their return home, long streamers of red and white paper, to mark the fulfilment of the rites Whole ranges of hills, sprinkled with tombs, may at that season be seen covered with these testimonials of attention to the departed, fluttering in the wind and sunshine

Such are the harmless, if not meritorious forms of respect for the dead, which the Jesuits wisely tolerated in their converts, knowing the consequences of outraging their most cherished prejudices, but the crowds of ignorant monks who flocked to the breach which those scientific and able men had opened, jealous, perhaps, at their success brought this as a charge against them, until the point became one of serious controversy and reference to the pope His holiness, being determined to govern men's consciences at Peking, and supersede the emperor's authority over his own subjects, espoused the bigoted and unwiser part, which, of course, led to the expulsion of the

monks of all varieties, "black, white, and grey, with all *their trumpery*," and prevented those social and political mischiefs which have invariably attended their influence elsewhere. Such a strict persecution of the Romish converts followed, that, after the lapse of about three centuries, the number of them at the present day is as nothing in comparison with what it once was. The emperor said of their conduct, "This surely is as contradictory to reason and social order as the wild fury of a mad dog." With reference to one of their miracles (of which they were liberal), he adds, "It would appear to be a tale which their ingenuity has contrived; and upon this principle what is there we may not readily expect them to say or write?"



Chinese Sepulchre.

The body of a rich person is generally transported to his native province, however distant; but on the journey it is not permitted to pass through any walled town. We might take a lesson from their wholesome practice of allowing no interments within cities, and of confining them either to hills, or the most barren tracts unavailable for cultivation; thus consulting at once the health and the subsistence of the living. To perform "the rites at

the *hills* ' is synonymous with the *tombs* in Chinese To such sanatory regulations, and to the antiseptic effects attending the constant burning of incense, crackers, &c , in every house, we may principally attribute the remarkable healthiness of Canton and other towns, notwithstanding the drawbacks of a dense population hot climate, low site, indifferent drainage of houses &c Indeed, were it not for the comparative coldness of the climate in European cities where such abominations prevail, the gorging the earth with corpses until it refuses to cover them, and the filling of churches with dead bodies,* might work effects sufficiently evident to all, to expel prejudices which

Sans honorer les morts font mourir les vivants

No corpse is ever allowed to be carried up a landing-place, or to pass through a gateway which can in any way be construed as pertaining to the emperor, on account of the supposed ill omen, concerning which the Chinese are so particular as seldom even to mention death except by a circumlocution, as " to become *immortal*, — that is, in the modified sense of the Budhists

On the occasion of a deceased officer from a British ship being taken ashore for burial at Macao, the sailors were proceeding with the coffin up the steps leading to the Chinese custom house, when the inmates of the latter turned out with sticks and staves to prevent them The sailors being, as usual, quite ready to fight particularly on an occasion when they supposed some insult was intended to the dead, it is likely that mischief might have ensued, if a person on the spot, who understood the prejudice, and explained it satisfactorily, had not prevented the effects of the misunderstanding

The importance which the Chinese attach to the spot

* We in England have at last grown wiser 1857

in which a body should be buried is sometimes the occasion of extraordinary delay in the performance of the funeral ceremonies. A Hong merchant at Canton, who was the eldest son of the family, and had deferred for various superstitious reasons the interment of his father's body, was prosecuted at law by the next brother, and finally compelled to commit it to the tomb. The principal scruples on these occasions arise from circumstances relative to the situation and aspect of the sepulchre, a sort of geomantic science, in which the same cheats who profess astrology affect to be adepts. Their calling is a sufficiently secure one, since it is as difficult to prove the *negative* as the *affirmative* of those propositions in which they deal; and the dead make no complaints, being on such points, as the doctor in Molière says, "*Les plus honnêtes gents du monde.*" The choice of a lucky spot is supposed to have a considerable influence on the fortunes of the survivors, and they will sometimes, after the lapse of many years, dig up the bones with care, and remove them to a distant and more favourable site. All tombs are sacred to *How-too*, "queen earth," an expression which has a most singular parallel, not only in the words, but the occasion of their use, in a passage of the 'Electra' of Euripides, where Orestes, invoking the shade of his father at the tomb, adds,—

Καὶ Γῆ τ' ἄνασσα, χεῖρας ᾗ δίδωμ' ἐμὰς.*
"And thou, *queen earth*, to whom I stretch my hands."

The original and strict period of mourning (according to the ritual) is three years for a parent, but this is commonly reduced in practice to thrice nine, or twenty-seven months, during which an officer of the highest rank must retire to his house, unless under a particular dispensa-

* Electr. 678.

tion from the emperor The full period of three years must elapse before children can marry subsequent to the death of their parents The colour of mourning is white, and dull grey, or ash, with round buttons of crystal or glass, in lieu of gilt ones the ornamental ball denoting rank is taken from the cap, as well as the tuft of crimson silk which falls over the latter As the Chinese shave their heads, the neglect and desolation of mourning are indicated by letting the hair grow, for the same reason that some nations, who wore their hair long, have shaved it during that period On the death of the emperor, the same observances are kept, by his hundreds of millions of subjects, as on the death of the parent of each individual, the whole empire remains unshaven for the space of one hundred days, while the period of mourning apparel lasts longer, and all officers of government take the ball and crimson silk from their caps It is said that, on the death of Kang hy's empress, four of her maids desired to be buried with her, but that wise monarch would not permit the exercise of this piece of Scythian barbarity, the practice of which he abolished for ever in favour of the more humane and civilized customs of the Chinese

In regard to the succession to paternal property, the disposal of it by will is restricted except to the legal heirs, and we have seen that, to a very limited extent, there is a law of *primogeniture*, inasmuch as the eldest son, or he who " buys water " at the funeral rites, has a double portion. More correctly speaking, perhaps, the property may be said to descend to the eldest son * *in trust* for all the younger brothers, over whom he has a considerable authority, and who commonly live together and club their shares, by which means families in this over-peopled country are more easily subsisted than they would

* Leu lee sec 78

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* Electr. 678.

tion from the emperor The full period of three years must elapse before children can marry subsequent to the death of their parents The colour of mourning is white and dull grey, or ash, with round buttons of crystal or glass, in lieu of gilt ones the ornamental ball denoting rank is taken from the cap, as well as the tuft of crimson silk which falls over the latter As the Chinese shave their heads, the neglect and desolation of mourning are indicated by letting the hair grow, for the same reason that some nations, who wore their hair long, have shaved it during that period On the death of the emperor, the same observances are kept, by his hundreds of millions of subjects, as on the death of the parent of each individual, the whole empire remains unshaven for the space of one hundred days, while the period of mourning apparel lasts longer, and all officers of government take the ball and crimson silk from their caps It is said that on the death of Kâng hy's empress, four of her maids desired to be buried with her, but that wise monarch would not permit the exercise of this piece of Scythian barbarity, the practice of which he abolished for ever in favour of the more humane and civilized customs of the Chinese

In regard to the succession to paternal property, the disposal of it by will is restricted except to the legal heirs, and we have seen that, to a very limited extent, there is a law of *primogeniture*, inasmuch as the eldest son, or he who "buys water" at the funeral rites, has a double portion. More correctly speaking, perhaps, the property may be said to descend to the eldest son * *in trust* for all the younger brothers, over whom he has a considerable authority, and who commonly live together and club their shares, by which means families in this over-peopled country are more easily subsisted than they would

* Leu lee sec 78

otherwise be, and every man's income is made to go the farthest possible. To this usage, and the necessity for it, may be attributed the constant exhortations of the emperor, in the book of 'Sacred Edicts,' relative to the preservation of union and concord among kindred and their families.

CHAPTER X.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The new year — Presents — Feast of lanterns — Fireworks — Contrariety of customs to our own — Festivals — Meeting the spring — Encouragements to husbandry — Festival for the dead — Ceremonial usages — Feasts and entertainments — Description of a dinner — Asiatic politeness — Articles of food — Taverns and eating houses — Amusements — Gambling — Conviviality — Kite-flying — Imperial hunts — Skating.

THERE is, perhaps, no people in the world that keeps fewer holidays than the Chinese, among whose overflowing population the introduction of a Romish kalendar of saints would be altogether disastrous. Some of their festivals are regulated by the sun, and are therefore fixed, as the winter solstice, and the period for visiting the tombs; but the greater number, being dependent on the moon, become accordingly moveable. The principal, and almost the only *universal*, season of leisure and rejoicing is the new year, at which time indeed, the whole empire may be said to be almost beside itself. On the approach of the new moon which falls nearest to the point when the sun is in the 15° of Aquarius (the commencement of the Chinese civil year), all public offices are closed for some ten days in advance, and the mandarins lock up their seals until the 20th of the first moon. On the night of the last day of the old year everybody sits up, and at the moment of midnight commences an interminable *feu de joie* of crackers strung together. Indeed, the consumption of

this noisy species of firework is so enormous that the air becomes absolutely charged with nitre; and a governor of Canton once in vain endeavoured to suppress it, on the ground of the undue wastefulness of the practice, though it probably contributes to the healthiness of Chinese towns. From midnight until dawn everybody is engaged in the performance of sacred rites, or in preparing his house for the solemnities of the new year. Many go through the ceremony of washing and bathing in warm water, in which are infused the aromatic leaves of the Hoangpy, a fruit-tree. Every dwelling is swept and garnished, and the shrine of the household gods decorated with huge porcelain dishes or vases containing the fragrant gourd, the large citron, called by them "the hand of Budh" (or Fŏ), and the flowers of the narcissus. The bulbs of this last are placed in pots or vases filled with smooth rounded pebbles and water, just so long before the time as to be in full blossom exactly at the new year. Early in the morning of the first day of the first moon, crowds repair to the different temples in their best attire, kindred and acquaintance meet, and visits are paid universally to offer the compliments of the season. A man on this day hardly knows his own domestics, so finely are they attired; and on all sides along the streets may be seen the bowings and half-kneelings, with the affected efforts to prevent them, which constitute a part of Chinese ceremonies of courtesy.

The large red tickets of congratulation which they send to each other on this occasion have a woodcut representing the three principal felicities in Chinese estimation, namely, male offspring, official employment (or promotion), and long life. These are indicated by the figures of a child, a mandarin, and an aged figure accompanied by a stork, the emblem of longevity. For the

space of the first three days it would be reckoned unlucky, if not criminal, to perform any work beyond what is required by the daily exigencies of life, and many defer their occupations for about twenty days At every house the visitor is received with ready cups of tea, and with the betel, as used in India and the Eastern islands That nothing may interrupt the general festivity, the termination of the previous year is occupied in settling all outstanding money accounts, and the discredit is so great of not being able to pay up at that period, that many will borrow, at a ruinous rate, of Peter, in order to satisfy the demands of Paul It being the custom to kill great numbers of capons previous to the new year, an unhappy debtor, who cannot arrange with his creditors at that period, is said, in derision, to have "a capon s destiny"

The new year is the principal period for exchanging presents among friends These commonly consist of delicacies, as rare fruits, sweetmeats, fine tea, and occasionally of silk stuffs for dresses, and ornaments of various kinds These are accompanied by a list inscribed on a red ticket, which it is customary to return by the bearer, with this inscription, "Received with thanks" The compliment is immediately to be returned by presents of the same kind, and in the same manner, the servants who convey them always receiving a reward It is an unpardonable insult to send back a batch of these new-year's gifts, though, if they are deemed too liberal, a selection may be made, and the rest returned with this note beside them on the ticket, "The pearls are declined" The better kinds of fruits, tea, and other articles used on these occasions, are for the same reason styled "ceremonial, or present goods."

The first full moon of the new year is the Feast of Lanterns, being a display of ingenuity and taste in the

construction and mechanism of an infinite variety of lanterns made of silk, varnish, horn, paper, and glass, some of them supplied with moving figures of men galloping on horseback, fighting, or performing various feats, together with numerous representations of beasts, birds, and other living creatures, the whole in full motion. The moving principle in these is the same with that of the smoke-jack, being a horizontal wheel turned by the draft of air created by the heat of the lamp. The circular motion is communicated in various directions by fine threads connected with the moving figures. The general effect is extremely good. In point of real use, the Chinese



Chinese Lantern.

lamps afford rather the dusk [illegible] of a [illegible] but a poor light, which arises in part from the opacity of the materials, and the superfluity of ornament, but principally from the badness of the lamp itself, which is simply a rush or wick immersed in a cup of oil; and they have no way of increasing the light except by adding to the number of wicks. They seem to admire our Argand

lamps, but seldom use them, except in compliment to European guests and, even when received as presents, they may frequently be seen laid by in a dusty corner

The fireworks of the Chinese are sometimes ingenious and entertaining, rather, however, on account of the variety of moving figures which they exhibit, than the brilliancy or skill of the pyrotechny, which is inferior to our own Their best thing of the kind is what Europeans call a *drum*, from its being a cylindrical case, in which is contained a multitude of figures folded into a small space, and so contrived as to drop in succession on strings, and remain suspended in motion during the explosion of the various fireworks contained within the cylinder They likewise contrive to make paper figures of boats to float and move upon the water, by means of a stream of fire issuing from the stern Their rockets are bad, but blue lights they manufacture sufficiently well for the use of European ships.

In their diversions the Chinese have much of that childish character which distinguishes other Asiatics Science, as an amusement, may be said to be entirely wanting to them, and the intellect cannot be unbended from the pursuits of business by the rational conversation or occupations which distinguish the superior portions of European society The mind under a despotism has few of those calls for exertion, among the bulk of the people, which in free states give it manly strength and vigour Bearing no part in public transactions, and living in uninterrupted peace, the uniform insipidity of their existence is relieved by any, even the most frivolous and puerile, amusements This feature, as well as the very striking *contrariety* of Chinese customs, in comparison with our own, are given with sufficient correctness in the following passages from a little work printed at Macao,

which are inserted here, divested of some of the buffoonery of the original:—

"On inquiring of the boatman in which direction Macao lay, I was answered, in the west-north, the wind, as I was informed, being east-south. We do not say so in Europe, thought I; but imagine my surprise when, in explaining the utility of the compass, the boatman added, that the needle pointed to the south! Desirous to change the subject, I remarked that I concluded he was about to proceed to some high festival, or merrymaking, as his dress was completely white. He told me, with a look of much dejection, that his only brother had died the week before, and that he was in the deepest mourning for him. On my landing, the first object that attracted my attention was a military mandarin, who wore an embroidered petticoat, with a string of beads round his neck, and who besides carried a fan; and it was with some dismay I observed him mount on the right side of his horse. I was surrounded by natives, all of whom had the hair shaven from the fore part of the head, while a portion of them permitted it to grow on their faces. On my way to the house prepared for my reception, I saw two Chinese boys discussing with much earnestness who should be the possessor of an orange. They debated the point with a vast variety of gesture, and at length, without venturing to fight about it, sat down and divided the orange equally between them. . . . . . At that moment my attention was drawn by several old Chinese, some of whom had grey beards, and nearly all of them huge goggling spectacles. A few were chirruping and chuckling to singing-birds, which they carried in bamboo cages, or perched on a stick: others were catching flies to feed the birds: the remainder of the party seemed to be delightedly employed in flying paper kites, while a group of boys were

gravely looking on, and regarding these innocent occupations of their seniors with the most serious and gratified attention I was resolute in my determination to persevere, and the next morning found me provided with a Chinese master, who happily understood English I was fully prepared to be told that I was about to study a language without an alphabet, but was somewhat astonished, on his opening the Chinese volume, to find him begin at what I had all my life previously considered the end of the book He read the date of the publication—'The fifth year, tenth month, twenty-third day' —'We write our dates differently,' I observed, and begged that he would speak of their ceremonials He commenced by saying, 'When you receive a distinguished guest, do not fail to place him on your left hand, for that is the seat of honour, and be cautious not to uncover the head, as it would be an unbecoming act of familiarity' Hardly prepared for this blow to my established notions, I requested he would discourse of their philosophy He re opened the volume, and read with becoming gravity, 'The most learned men are decidedly of opinion that the seat of the human understanding is the stomach'* I seized the volume in despair, and rushed from the apartment."

A festival much honoured by the Chinese, and indicative of their ancient regard for agriculture, is that which takes place when the sun reaches the 15° of Aquarius The governor of every capital city issues in state towards the eastern gate, to "meet the spring," which is represented by a procession bearing a huge clay figure of the buffalo, called by the Chinese "water bullock" (from its propensity for muddy shallows), which is always used to drag their ploughs through the flooded

* They place it in the *heart*

rice-grounds. The train is attended by litters, on which are borne children fancifully dressed, and decorated with flowers, representing mythological personages; and the whole is accompanied by a band of musicians. When they have reached the governor's house, he delivers a discourse in his capacity of Priest of Spring, recommending the care of husbandry; and, after he has struck the clay buffalo thrice with a whip, the people fall upon it with stones, and break in pieces the image, whose hollow inside is filled with a multitude of smaller images in clay, for which they scramble. This ceremony bears some resemblance to the procession of the bull Apis in ancient Egypt, which was connected in like manner with the labours of agriculture, and the hopes of an abundant season.

The emperor himself, at about the same period of the year, honours the profession of husbandry by going through the ceremony of holding the plough. Accompanied by some princes of the blood, and a selection of the principal ministers, he proceeds to a field set apart for the purpose, in the enclosure which surrounds the Temple of the Earth, where everything has been duly prepared by regular husbandmen in attendance. After certain sacrifices, consisting of grain which has been preserved from the produce of the same field, the emperor ploughs a few furrows, after which he is followed by the princes and ministers in order. The "five sorts of grain" are then sown, and, when the emperor has viewed the completion of the work by the husbandmen present, the field is committed to the charge of an officer, whose business it is to collect and store the produce for sacrifices.

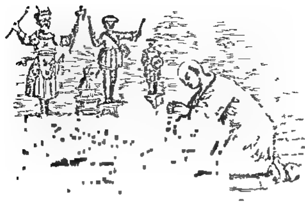
The same countenance and example which the emperor affords in person to the production of the principal materials of *food*, is given by the empress to the cultivation

of the mulberry and the rearing of silkworms, the sources whence they derive their chief substance for *clothing, and the care of which for the most part comes under the* female department. In the ninth moon the empress proceeds with her principal ladies to sacrifice at the altar of the inventor of the silk manufacture, and when that ceremony is concluded, they collect a quantity of the mulberry-leaves which *are devoted to the nourishment of the* imperial depôt of silkworms. Various other processes connected with the same business are gone through, as heating the cocoons in water, winding off the filament, &c, and so the ceremony concludes. Of the sixteen 'Sacred Edicts' addressed to the people, the fourth relates exclusively to the two foregoing subjects. "Attend (it is said) to your farms and mulberry-trees, that you may have sufficient food and clothing," and they are reminded that, although only four of the provinces (all of them cut by the 30th parallel of latitude) produce silk in perfection, yet there are the equally useful materials, elsewhere, of hemp and cotton. "Thus different are the sources whence clothing is procured, but the duty of preparing it, as exemplified in the cultivation of the mulberry-tree, is one and the same." One of the emperors of the present dynasty caused a work to be published expressly in illustration of the two great departments of native industry. *It is styled Keng Chě Too, 'Illustrations of Hus*bandry and Weaving,' and consists of numerous wood cuts, representing the various processes in the production of rice and silk, with letterpress descriptions. The great preference which the rulers of China give to such kinds of *industry over the pursuits of commerce, but especially foreign* commerce, would seem to be dictated by a sentiment analogous to that which is conveyed in four of Goldsmith's lines —

"That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away;
While self-dependent states can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

The principal public festivals of China remaining to be noticed are not numerous. The fifth day of the fifth moon, which usually occurs in June, is celebrated in a way which cannot fail to excite the attention of a visitor to the country. Very long narrow boats, built for the purpose, are manned by forty to sixty, and sometimes eighty men with paddles, who keep time to the beat of a gong, with which one of the crew stands up in the boat. These race against each other on the rivers with great heat and emulation, and accidents frequently occur from the upsetting or breaking of the "dragon-boats," as they are called from their great length. This constitutes one of the few athletic diversions of the Chinese.

On the first day of the seventh moon, or some time in the month of August, they have a festival for the benefit of their departed relatives in the world of spirits. It is not a domestic celebration, however, but a public one: large mat-houses are erected, ornamented with lanterns and chandeliers, in which are placed images of the infernal deities, including *Yen Wang*, the Chinese Pluto. Priests of the Budh sect are engaged to chant masses for the dead, offerings of food are presented, and large quantities of paper representing clothes are burned, in order that they may pass into the other world for the use of the departed. On these occasions may be seen representations of the future state of the Budhists, with the torments of the damned, and the various gradations of misery and happiness in the life to come. These celebrations, being calculated to bring large numbers together, appear to consist in a great measure of feasting and entertainment;



Oblations

and they are said to have arisen from some tradition of a young man who went down to the nether world to bring back, not his wife, but (what is much more suitable to Chinese sentiment) his mother. According to the story, this Asiatic Orpheus was more successful than the Thracian.

We proceed now to their ordinary usages in social intercourse. The importance which the Chinese attach to ceremonies might perhaps be supposed to produce in them a constrained stiffness and formality of manner; but, notwithstanding the apparent incumbrance of ceremony prescribed on solemn occasions, our embassies have proved that persons of high authority and station are distinguished generally in their address by a dignified simplicity and ease. This does not, however, prevent their laying a great stress on precedence, especially on public occasions, where the spectators are numerous; and in the case of foreign embassies they will always do their utmost to maintain (as *they* think) the superiority of their own court by placing themselves before their guests. The following extract from Sir George Staunton's [illegible]

journal of the last embassy is in point:—"A message had come from the legate to say that, as the passage of the next sluice on the canal was attended with some risk, the ambassador had better go on shore, and that he should be ready to receive his lordship in a tent on the following morning. To this was returned for answer, that, if it was proposed to meet on any particular business, the ambassador would attend; but that otherwise he begged to decline, having observed that the legate always assumed the highest seat, although in his visits to the ambassador the first place had invariably been given to him. Kuâng Tajin replied by saying that he did this merely because his situation obliged him: word was accordingly sent that his excellency would be glad to meet the Poo-ching-sse, or treasurer, whose station did not oblige him to assume the highest seat. In the morning, after breakfast, three chairs arrived for the ambassador and commissioners, and on their way they crossed the sluice, which was to be passed by their boats, over a temporary range of boards. Immediately on the other side stood the tent, a neat structure of coloured cloth in stripes, which we were requested by the attendants to enter, and take our seats. The legate, attended by the treasurer, soon came in, and, after conversing for a short time on their legs, the ambassador requested that Kuâng Tajin would sit down, saying he would waive all claims as a guest to the first place. The legate upon this proceeded to the first seat, and the treasurer, without the least ceremony, walked towards the *second*. On this the ambassador desired it might be intimated that, though he was ready to yield to the one, he would not consent to sit below the other; and the treasurer, rather than take the third place, marched out of the tent." All this is now changed.

Such incivility to Europeans was the more unpardon-

able, as among themselves it is the rule in general, during visits, to contend for the lowest seat, and they would be heartily ashamed of the opposite ill-breeding towards each other; but they viewed strangers as an inferior caste altogether. Their arm-chairs are always ranged in regular order, and, being very bulky and solid, like our old-fashioned seats of former times, they are not easily removed. In Chinese apartments there is placed a broad couch, in size approaching to a bed, called a *kang*. On the middle of this is planted a little table about a foot in height intended to rest the arms or place teacups upon. On either side of this little table [illegible] two principal persons [illegible] the ends of the [illegible] rows of arm-chairs for the other [illegible] the company according to their rank.

When any one [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] name and [illegible] sheet of red paper [illegible] is sometimes [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] ing to the [illegible] comes and [illegible] guest, and when they [illegible] deavours to [illegible] These matters are all [illegible] are bred up to them [illegible] ment [illegible] in the Chinese [illegible] among [illegible] is to join the [illegible] two or three times towards the [illegible] *tsing*, that [illegible] derived [illegible] the [illegible]

Soon after being seated, the attendants invariably enter with porcelain cups furnished with covers, in each of which, on removing the little saucer by which it is surmounted, appears a small quantity of fine tea-leaves, on which boiling water has been poured; and thus it is that they drink the infusion, without the addition of either sugar or milk. The delicate aroma of fine tea is no doubt more clearly distinguished in this mode of taking it, and a little habit leads many Europeans in China to relish the custom. Though the infusion is generally



Teacups on Stands.

made in the cup, they occasionally use teapots of antique and tasteful shapes, which are not unfrequently made of tutenague externally, covering earthenware on the inside. At visits, a circular japanned tray is geneally brought in, having numerous compartments radiating from the centre, in which are a variety of sweetmeats or dried fruits. These are taken up with a small two-pronged fork of silver. On the conclusion of a visit, the host conducts his guest, if he wishes to do him high honour, even to his sedan, and there remains until he is carried off; but on ordinary occasions it is deemed

sufficient to go as far as the top of the stone steps, if there are any, or merely to the door of the apartment.

Only mandarins, or official persons, can be carried by four bearers, or accompanied by a train of attendants, these are marshalled in two files before the chair. One pair of the myrmidons carry gongs, on which they strike at regular intervals, another pair utter, likewise at intervals, a long drawn shout, or rather yell, to denote the approach of the great man, a third pair carry chains, which they jingle in concert, being in fact gaolers or executioners, with high caps of iron wire, in which is stuck a grey feather. Then come two fellows with the usual bamboo, or bastinade, and the cortege is made up by the servants and other followers, some of whom carry red umbrellas of dignity, others large red boards, on which are inscribed in gilt characters the officer's titles. The populace who meet such a procession are not to denote their respect in any other way than by standing aside, with their arms hanging close to their sides, and their eyes on the ground. It is only when called or taken before a tribunal that they are obliged to kneel, and these are occasions which most Chinese are not very willing to seek.

English residents at Canton have occasionally had opportunities of taking a part in the formal dinners of the Chinese, but few have witnessed a solemn feast conferred by the emperor, which may be described from the author's journal of the last embassy: "The ambassador informed the gentlemen of his suite that he was going to perform the same salutation of respect, before the yellow screen, that he was accustomed to make to the vacant throne of his sovereign in the House of Lords. We were directed to keep our eyes on him, and do exactly as he did. A low solemn hymn of not un-

pleasing melody now commenced, and at the voice of a crier the two imperial legates fell prostrate three times, and each time thrice struck the floor with their foreheads; a cranio-verberative sound being audible amidst the deep silence which prevailed around. The ambassador and his suite, standing up in the mean while, made nine profound bows. Thus far we had got very well over the ground, without doing that which no representatives of *Chinese* majesty ever condescended to do to a foreigner until Genghis Khân first *made* them. They here conceded to us the point on which they broke off with Count Golovkin, the Russian ambassador, though they yielded it to Lord Macartney.

"When the ceremony was over, the feast was brought in, and the theatrical entertainments commenced. The legates sat to the left, on an elevation of one step; and the ambassador and two commissioners on the same elevation to the right. The other Chinese grandees sat on the left, a little below the legates; and the gentlemen of the embassy to the right, below his lordship and the commissioners. The two lines thus faced each other down the room. As no chairs can be used where the emperor is present, or supposed to be so, the whole party sat cross-legged on cushions, with sartorial precision; but the mandarins, being bred to the trade, of course had the advantage of us. The tables were low in proportion, and, when we were all seated, a number of attendants placed on each table, holding only two guests, a large tray which fitted it, and contained a complete course, of which four in all were served. The first consisted of a rich soup; the second of sixteen round and narrow dishes, containing salted meats and other relishes; the third of eight basins of birds'-nests, sharks'-fins, deer-sinews, and other viands supposed to be highly nourishing; the

fourth of twelve bowls of stews immersed in a rich soup The guests helped themselves with chopsticks, small spoons of porcelain, fashioned like a child's pap boat, and four-pronged forks of silver, small and straight, and, when they drank to each other, the warm wine was poured into little cups by the attendants, who at the same time bent one knee

"At the other end of the hall where we sat, so as to be viewed by each person from his place down the two ranges of tables, proceeded the stage performances. The music was infernal, and the occasional crash of gongs might have roused Satan and his legions from their sleep on the sulphureous lake Some pyrotechnic monsters, breathing fire and smoke, were among the dramatis personæ, but by far the best part of the scene was the tumbling —really superior in its kind The strength and activity of one man were particularly eminent Leaping from the ground, he performed a tumble in the air backwards, and, after the first effort, continued to revolve in this manner with such velocity, that his head and feet, the extremities of revolution, were scarcely discernible."

An invitation to a private feast is conveyed some days before by a crimson coloured ticket, on which is inscribed the time appointed, and the guest is entreated to bestow "the illumination of his presence." The arrangement of the tables is the same as at the imperial entertainment, but they are of the ordinary height, and the party are seated on chairs, two at each table so as to see the performances on the stage The substance of the dinner is much the same as before described, but previous to its commencement, the host, standing [illegible] to his guests, and then invites them to begin upon the dishes before them At a certain period of the entertainment towards the close, the whole party rise [illegible] and [illegible]

to their host. Before the dramatic performance begins, one of the actors presents to the principal guest a list of plays consisting perhaps of fifty or sixty different pieces; but they have these so well by heart that they are ready to perform any one he may select. There is no scenery, and, in this respect, a great deal is left to the imagination of the spectators. The dresses, however, are extremely splendid, especially in heroical pieces, consisting of representations of different portions of their ancient history. The most objectionable part is the terrible din kept up by the instruments of music and the gongs, during those portions of the play which represent battles and tragical scenes.

The females of the household, meanwhile, who cannot take a part in the festivities of the table, look on from behind a trellis-work at one of the sides of the stage, with such of their friends of the same sex as may be invited on the occasion. A particular description of the Chinese drama will be given in its proper place; but we may observe here that *dancing* is a thing almost entirely unknown to them, either on or off the stage. On one occasion, indeed, in the interval or space between the ranges of tables, we saw two children, showily dressed, go through a species of minuet, consisting of a regular figure to slow time, accompanied by a motion of the arms and head, not ungraceful in effect.

A formal dinner, which begins about six o'clock in the evening, is generally protracted to a great length, the succession of dishes, or rather bowls, which follow each other appearing sometimes to be interminable. So little, however, is eaten of each, that the guests often continue tasting the contents of one after another until the very end. There seems to be little regularity in the timing of the different viands, but after the birds'-nest soup (which is, in fact, a strong chicken broth, in which that substance

is introduced in long strips, after the manner of vermicelli) the peculiar delicacies which have already been mentioned, together with mutton, fish game, and poultry, follow indiscriminately The signal of the repast approaching its termination is the appearance of a bowl of rice for each person, and this is followed soon after by tea in lieu of the wine The whole is crowned by a course of fruits and sweetmeats, very much in the manner of our dessert

The greater portion of cups, bowls, and saucers (for they have no flat plates), which constitute the dinner service, consist of fine porcelain, but occasionally a few particular meats are served in silver or tutenague covers, under which is a spirit lamp to keep them hot The wine-cups, too, are sometimes of silver gilt, and of rather elegant vase-like shapes The extreme smallness of these cups, joined to the weakness of the wine, which is always drunk warm, enables them to take a great number without being in the least affected, or at all exceeding the bounds of sobriety On some occasions of peculiar ceremony the feast is closed by a great cup scooped from the horn of the rhinoceros, which animal is said to exist in the forests of Yunnân and Kuâng-sy We find in the works of Arabian writers that the same substance has often been used for the drinking cups of Asiatic potentates, being supposed to sweat on the approach of poison, and therefore to be a safeguard against it. When the Mongols conquered the empire, they probably introduced its use into China

The following description of a Chinese dinner, from the pen of Captain Laplace of the French navy, although rather a long extract, is given with so much of the characteristic vivacity of his countrymen, and so well conveys the *first impression* of a scene not often witnessed by

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The following description of a Chinese dinner, from the pen of Captain Laplace of the French navy, although rather a long extract, is given with so much of the characteristic vivacity of his countrymen, and so well conveys the *first impression* of a scene not often witnessed by

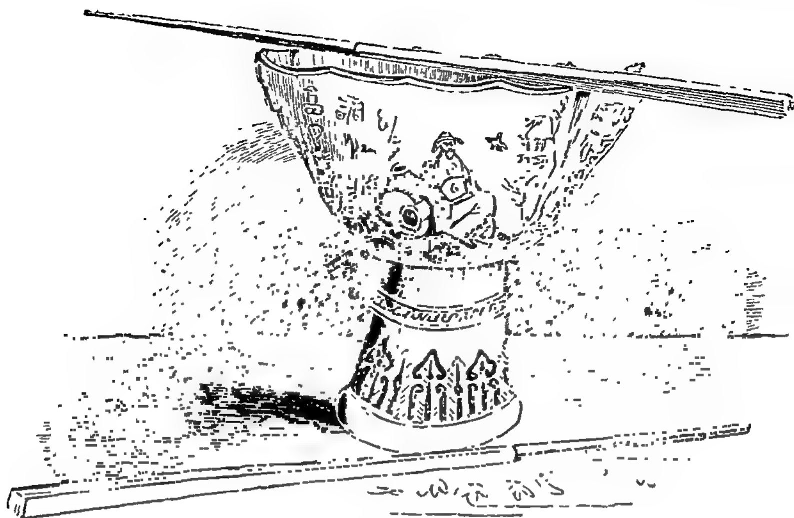
Europeans, that it is introduced without further apology. "The first course was laid out in a great number of saucers of painted porcelain, and consisted of various relishes in a cold state, as salted earth-worms, prepared and dried, but so cut up that I fortunately did not know what they were until I had swallowed them; salted or smoked fish and ham, both of them cut into extremely small slices; besides which, there was what they called Japan leather, a sort of darkish skin, hard and tough, with a strong and far from agreeable taste, and which seemed to have been macerated for some time in water. All these et-cæteras, including among the number a liquor which I recognised to be soy, made from a Japan bean, and long since adopted by the wine-drinkers of Europe to revive their faded appetites or tastes, were used as seasoning to a great number of stews which were contained in bowls, and succeeded each other uninterruptedly. All the dishes, without exception, swam in soup. On one side figured pigeons' eggs, cooked in gravy, together with ducks and fowls cut very small, and immersed in a dark-coloured sauce; on the other, little balls made of sharks'-fins, eggs prepared by heat, of which both the smell and taste seemed to us equally repulsive, immense grubs, a peculiar kind of sea-fish, crabs, and pounded shrimps.

"Seated at the right of our excellent Amphitryon, I was the object of his whole attention, but, nevertheless, found myself considerably at a loss how to use the two little ivory sticks, tipped with silver, which, together with a knife that had a long, narrow, and thin blade, formed the whole of my eating apparatus. I had great difficulty in seizing my prey in the midst of those several bowls filled with gravy: in vain I tried to hold, in imitation of my host, this substitute for a fork between the thumb and the two first fingers of the right hand; for the cursed

chopsticks slipped aside every moment, leaving behind them the unhappy little morsel which I coveted. It is true that the master of the house came to the relief of my inexperience (by which he was much entertained) with his two instruments, the extremities of which, a few moments before, had touched a mouth whence age, and the use of snuff and tobacco, had cruelly chased its good looks. I could very well have dispensed with such an auxiliary, for my stomach had already much ado to support the various ragouts, each one more surprising than another, which I had been obliged, *nolens volens*, to taste of. However, I contrived to eat with tolerable propriety a soup prepared with the famous birds' nests, in which the Chinese are such epicures. The substance thus served up is reduced into very thin filaments, transparent as isinglass, and resembling vermicelli, with little or no taste.* At first I was much puzzled to find out how, with our chopsticks, we should be able to taste of the various soups which composed the greater part of the dinner, and had already called to mind the fable of the fox and the stork, when our two Chinese entertainers, dipping at once into the bowls with the little saucer placed at the side of each guest, showed us how to get rid of the difficulty." We confess we were never witness to this slovenly manœuvre, as the Chinese tables are generally supplied with a species of spoon, of silver or porcelain, sufficiently convenient in shape.

"To the younger guests, naturally lively, such a crowd of novelties presented an inexhaustible fund of pleasantry, and, though unintelligible to the worthy Hong merchant and his brother, the jokes seemed to delight them not a bit the less. The wine in the mean while circulated

* It is generally accompanied with pigeons' eggs boiled hard and eaten with soy.



Rice-bowl and Chopsticks.

freely, and the toasts followed each other in rapid succession. The liquor, which to my taste was by no means agreeable, is always taken hot, and in this state it approaches pretty nearly to Madeira in colour, as well as a little in taste; but it is not easy to get tipsy with it, for, in spite of the necessity of frequently attending to the invitations of my host, this wine did not in the least affect my head. We drank it in little gilt cups, having the shape of an antique vase, with two handles of perfect workmanship, and kept constantly filled by attendants holding large silver vessels like coffee-pots. The Chinese mode of pledging is singular enough, but has at the same time some little resemblance to the English. The person who wishes to do this courtesy to one or more guests gives them notice by an attendant; then, taking the full cup with both hands, he lifts it to the level of his mouth, and, after making a comical sign with his head, he drinks off the contents: he waits until the other party has done the

same, and finally repeats the first nod of the head, holding the cup downwards before him, to show it is quite empty

"After all these good things, served one upon the other, and of which it gave me pleasure to see the last, succeeded the second course, which was preceded by a little ceremony, of which the object seemed to me to be a trial of the guests' appetites Upon the edges of four bowls, arranged in a square, three others were placed filled with stews, and surmounted by an eighth, which thus formed the summit of a pyramid, and the custom is to touch none of these although invited by the host On the refusal of the party, the whole disappeared, and the table was covered with articles in pastry and sugar, in the midst of which was a salad composed of the tender shoots of the bamboo, and some watery preparations, that exhaled a most disagreeable odour

"Up to this point the relishes, of which I first spoke, had been the sole accompaniments of all the successive ragouts, they still served to season the bowls of plain rice which the attendants now,* for the first time, placed before each of the guests I regarded with an air of considerable embarrassment the two little sticks, with which, notwithstanding the experience acquired since the commencement of the repast, it seemed very doubtful whether I should be able to eat my rice grain by grain, according to the belief of Europeans regarding the Chinese custom I therefore waited until my host should begin, to follow his example, foreseeing that, on this new occasion, some fresh discovery would serve to relieve us from the truly ludicrous embarrassment which we all displayed in a word, our two Chinese, cleverly joining the ends of their chopsticks, plunged them into the bowls of rice, held up

* It must be remembered that this was a formal dinner Rice forms a much more integral part of an every-day meal

to the mouth, which was opened to its full extent, and thus easily shovelled in the rice, not by grains, but by handfuls. Thus instructed, I might have followed their example; but I preferred making up with the other delicacies for the few attractions which, to my taste, had been displayed by the first course. The second lasted a much shorter time; the attendants cleared away everything. Presently the table was strewed with flowers, which vied with each other in brilliancy; pretty baskets, filled with the same, were mixed with plates which contained a vast variety of delicious sweetmeats as well as cakes, of which the forms were as ingenious as they were varied. This display of the productions of nature and of art was equally agreeable to the eyes and the tastes of the guests; by the side of the yellow plantain was seen the *Li-chi*, of which the strong, rough, and bright crimson skin defends a stone enveloped in a whitish pulp, which, for its fine aromatic taste, is superior to most of the tropical fruits. Indigenous to the provinces which border on the Chinese sea, the newly-gathered fruit presents to the inhabitants a wholesome and delicious food * during the summer, and forms, when dried, an excellent provision for the winter. With these fruits of the warm climates were mingled those of the temperate zone, brought at some expense from the northern provinces; as walnuts, chestnuts (small and inferior to those of France), apples, grapes, and Peking pears, which last, though their lively colour and pleasant smell attracted the attention, proved to be tasteless, and even retained all the harshness of wild fruits. The conversation, frequently interrupted during the commencement of the repast, in order to do honour to the numerous pledges of our host,

* This is a very heating fruit, and known to be dangerous if taken in large quantities.

and to all the wonders of the Chinese kitchen assembled before us, became now general, and sufficiently noisy My neighbour, especially, little accustomed to such lively mirth, was quite enchanted, and displayed his satisfaction by loud laughs, to which was perpetually joined the sonorous accompaniment of his somewhat overloaded stomach According to the received usages of Chinese fashion, I ought to have followed this example, in testimony of a more than satisfied appetite, but my wish to gratify our excellent Amphitryon would not carry me quite so far This custom, which in France would seem more than extraordinary, was, however, nothing new to myself, for I had already remarked it in the best societies at Manilla Need I then to be surprised on finding the Chinese so little nice in their convivial habits, when our near neighbours the Spaniards have not yet cast off this remnant of the grossness of the olden time?

This disagreeable custom would seem to be tolerated all over Asia, where it is considered as much a matter of course as coughing or sneezing The curious part of the history is, that any ideas of *civility* or *politeness* should be attached to that which in England or France would be so differently received "At length," adds our author, "we adjourned to the next room to take tea,—the indispensable commencement and close of all visits and ceremonies among the Chinese According to custom, the servants presented it in porcelain cups, each of which was covered with a saucerlike top, which confines and prevents the aroma from evaporating The boiling water had been poured over a few of the leaves collected at the bottom of the cup, and the infusion, to which no sugar is ever added in China, exhaled a delicious fragrant odour, of which the best teas carried to Europe can scarcely give an idea"

It is remarkable that the grape, although abundant, is not used in this country for the production of wine, which is fermented from rice, but nevertheless resembles some of our weaker white wines both in colour and flavour. The rice is soaked in water, with some other ingredients, for a considerable number of days. The liquor is then boiled, after which it is allowed to ferment, and subsequently drawn off clear from the bottom, to be put up in earthen jars, not unlike the amphoræ of the ancients still remaining to us. The residue is used in the distillation of a very strong spirit, little inferior in strength to pure alcohol, which they sometimes introduce in an extremely small cup at the close of their dinners. When good, it resembles strong whisky, both in its colourless appearance and its smoky flavour. The Tartars are said still to preserve a remnant of their pastoral state in their predilection for a strong liquor which is distilled from mutton. One of the soups, too, presented at the imperial feast conferred on the last British embassy at Tien-tsin, was said to be composed of mare's milk and blood!

The Chinese are little addicted to drinking plain water, which in a considerable portion of the country is extremely bad. On the Peking river several of the persons in the embassies suffered severely from its use, by which they were afflicted with dysenteries and other unpleasant symptoms. It was generally of a milky colour, and, though cleared in some measure by being stirred with a bamboo, in the cleft of which a piece of alum had been stuck as a precipitate, it always retained a portion of its noxious qualities. It may fairly be surmised that the badness of the water occasioned the first introduction, and subsequently the universal use, of tea as an article of drink. Notwithstanding their general

repugnance to eating and drinking what is cold, none understand better than the Chinese of the north the use of ice during hot weather Near to Peking, in the month of August, and when the thermometer stood above 80°, we constantly saw people carrying about supplies of this article of luxury Two large lumps, whose solid thickness proved the lowness of the temperature which produced them, were suspended in shallow baskets at opposite ends of a pole, carried across the shoulders Every vender of fruit at a stall either sold it in lumps, or used it in cooling his goods, and the embassy was liberally supplied with ice for cooling wine The mode of preserving it through the summer is the usual one, of depositing the ice at a sufficient depth in the ground, surrounding it with straw or other non conducting substance, and draining off the wet

The Chinese cookery has a much nearer resemblance to the French than the English, in the general use of ragoûts and made dishes, rather than plain articles of *diet, as well as in the liberal introduction of vegetables* into every preparation of meat The expenses of the wealthy, as might be expected, run very much in the direction of sensual pleasures, among which the gastronomic hold a conspicuous place Some of the articles, however, which they esteem as delicacies would have few attractions for a European Among others, the larvæ of the sphinx-moth, as well as a grub which is bred in the sugar-cane, are much relished Their dishes are frequently cooked with the oil extracted from the *ricinus*, which yields the castor-oil of medicine, but as it is used by them in the fresh state, and with some peculiar preparation, it has neither the strong detergent properties nor the detestable taste by which this oil is known in Europe

The general prevalence of Budhism among the population is perhaps one of the reasons why beef is scarcely ever used by them; though the multitudes of bullocks killed annually, for the use of the European shipping, prove that their religious scruples cannot be very strong. It must, however, be observed, that some absurd prejudices and maxims, not to say positive laws, have always existed against an extended consumption of flesh food. There are, accordingly, no people in the world that consume so little butcher's meat, or so much fish and vegetables. The rivers and coasts of this country are profusely productive of fish, and the people exercise the greatest ingenuity in catching them. Carp and mullet were observed by the last embassy in all the towns bordering on the route from Peking, an appearance of plenty which is explained by the custom of stocking the waters artificially with spawn. It would be a mistake to suppose that the extension of cultivation had rendered game scarce. There are abundance of wooded hills and mountains, as well as lakes, about which wild fowl, pheasants, red-legged partridges, and snipes, are plentiful. Wild geese are seen on the Canton river during winter in large flocks, as well as teal and wild ducks; and the woodcock is sometimes, though rarely, to be procured.

The most universal vegetable food in the empire, next to rice, is the *Pĕ-tsae*, a species of brassica, which derives its name (white cabbage) from being partially blanched, as celery is with us. By our embassies it was frequently used as a salad, and, when fresh, is little inferior to lettuce, which it greatly resembles as a plant. The most celebrated place for its production is the neighbourhood of Tien-tsin, where the soil is a loose sandy alluvium. From thence it is conveyed, either in the fresh state or salted, to all parts of the country. They are said to preserve it

fresh [illegible]
deep in the [illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible]
season [illegible]
[illegible]
the [illegible]
the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
small [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

We [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

from the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

[illegible]

or two as a [illegible]

they [illegible]

are entirely regulated by the quantity of rice consumed; their meals according to the number of bowls of it boiled; and their exertions according to the quantity wanted. Every substitute for this favourite food is considered meagre, and indicative of the greatest wretchedness. When they cannot obtain a sufficient quantity to satisfy their appetites, they supply the deficiency with an equal weight of water.* Inquiring whether the western barbarians eat rice, and finding me slow to give them an answer, they exclaimed, 'Oh! the sterile regions of barbarians, which produce not the necessaries of life. Strange that the inhabitants have not long ago died of hunger!' I endeavoured to show them that we had substitutes for rice which were equal, if not superior to it; but all to no purpose; and they still maintained that it is rice only which can properly sustain the life of a human being."

If the rich should appear to be fantastic in the selection of their diet, the poor are no less indiscriminate in the supply of theirs. They will, in fact, eat nearly everything that comes in their way; and, with one-half of the prejudices of the Hindoos, a large portion of the Chinese population would perish with hunger. They make no difficulty whatever of dogs, cats, and even rats; and indeed the first of these are enumerated as a regular article of food in one of their ancient books. Among the rich themselves, a wild cat, previously prepared by feeding, is reckoned a delicacy. Chinese dogs are said to have a particular aversion for butchers, in consequence, no doubt, of the violation of those personal exemptions and privileges which the canine race are allowed to enjoy almost everywhere else.

As might be expected from the economical habits of the people, that great save-all, the pig, is universally

* Making a sort of gruel of the rice.

reared about cottages, and its flesh [illegible] for the [illegible]
mone t meat the maxim is, "that a scholar [illegible]
his books, nor the poor man his pigs" [illegible]
the frequent use of pork produces or pred[illegible]
("*cui id animal obnoxium*," says [illegible]
would go far to corroborate the truth o[illegible]
being very subject to that, a well [illegible]
affections but it must be remarked [illegible]
that their foul feeding i *universal* The [illegible]
ducks very cheaply, by making them [illegible]
food Large quantities of [illegible]
cially, and the ducks brought [illegible]
boats, where their lodging [illegible]
forms extending far beyond [illegible]
manner they are conveyed [illegible]
and turned out to seek [illegible]
and shoals So well [illegible]
upon a given signal [illegible]
regularity up the [illegible]
their habitation on [illegible]
flesh is preserved by [illegible]
open, flattened, and [illegible]
to the dry north[illegible]

The consump[illegible]
and enables the [illegible]
the *gabelle* wh[illegible]
immense quan[illegible]
daily caught, [illegible]
species of p[illegible]
salt and dr[illegible]
accompan[illegible]
taste of t[illegible]
favourite [illegible] *ther*
even o[illegible]

is foreign, on the occasion of salted cod being introduced for two or three years in English ships; the somewhat decayed condition in which it reached China being said to have been anything but a drawback. This species of cargo, however, besides its disagreeable nature, and the injurious effect which it might have on more delicate articles of shipment, was found during the long voyage to breed a peculiar insect, which, from the readiness with which it bored into the planks and timbers of a ship, was considered as dangerous, and accordingly the import was greatly discontinued.

The middling and poorer classes are amply accommodated with taverns and eating-houses, where, for a very small sum, a hot breakfast or dinner may be obtained in a moment. There were some favourable specimens of these at Canton, to the west of the factories, built up to the height of two stories, and looking down the river. Such was the jealous inhospitality of the local government, or rather of the Hong merchants (who had charge of foreigners), that the owners of these taverns were strictly prohibited from entertaining Europeans; and they have often refused all offers from those who wished to try the entertainment which they afforded. Such of the Chinese of respectability as have not their families at Canton frequently resort to these places in the evening, where they are provided with a comfortable dinner; and about the period of sunset the whole range is seen gaily lighted up through its several stories.

The public-houses for the poorer people are generally open sheds, and on particular festivals these consist of a temporary structure of matting, with a boarded floor, fitted up with tables and benches, and affording the means of gambling and drinking to the dissolute portion of the lowest class. To the credit of the Chinese as a nation, it

must be stated that the proportion which this description of persons bears to their numerous population is not large The seafaring inhabitants of Canton and Fokien are perhaps among the worst. The dangerous profession of these poor people, and their unsettled, wandering habits, tend together to give them the reckless and improvident character which is often found attached to the lower grades of the maritime profession in other countries Mr Gutzlaff has drawn a very revolting picture of the sailors who navigate the Chinese junks, and his account is no doubt in the main quite correct, but it must be observed, in general, of the gentlemen of his profession, both Catholics and Protestants, that, accustomed habitually to view the heathen almost exclusively on the side of their spiritual wants, they have sometimes drawn rather too unfavourable a picture of their moral character This, however, is more true of many others than of Mr Gutzlaff, whose candour has occasionally done fair justice to the inhabitants of the Chinese empire, on the score of their good qualities

Though the lowest orders are certainly very prone to gambling, this is a vice which is chiefly confined to them So much infamy attaches to the practice in any official or respectable station, and the law in such cases is so severe, that the better classes are happily exempt from it This seems to be a point on which the *liberty* of the subject may in any community (where public opinion is ineffectual) be unceremoniously violated, very much to its own benefit, since true liberty consists in the power to do everything except that which is plainly opposed to the general good Those laudable inventions, dice, cards, and dominoes, are all of them known to the Chinese Their cards are small pieces of pasteboard, about two inches long and an inch broad, with black and red cha-

racters on the faces. The idle and dissolute sometimes train quails for fighting, as the Malays do cocks; and even a species of cricket is occasionally made subservient to this cruel purpose.* The Chinese chess differs in board, men, and moves, from that of India, and cannot in any way be identified with it, except as being a game of skill, and not of chance.

They have two contrivances for the promotion of drinking at their merry-meetings. One of these, called *Tsoey-moey*, consists in each person guessing at the number of fingers suddenly held up between himself and his adversary, and the penalty of the loser is each time to drink a cup of wine. In still, calm evenings, during the continuance of the Chinese festivals, the yells of the common people engaged at this tipsy sport are sometimes heard to drown all other noises. It is precisely the same as the game of *morra*, common among the lower orders in Italy at the present day, and derived by them from the Roman sport of *micare digitis*, of which Cicero remarked that "you must have great faith in the honesty of any man with whom you played in the dark;"—"*multâ fide opus est, ut cum aliquo in tenebris mices.*" The other festive game is a handsome bouquet of choice flowers, to be circulated quickly from hand to hand among the guests, while a rapid roll is kept up on a kettle-drum in an adjoining apartment. Whoever may chance to hold the flowers at the instant the drum stops, pays forfeit by drinking a cup of wine. It may be easily imagined that this rational amusement, at which the author (proh pudor!) has more than once assisted, occasionally gives rise to scenes worthy of Sir Toby and his associates in 'Twelfth Night.'

* Two of them are placed together in a bowl, and irritated until they tear each other to pieces.

In lieu of theatrical entertainments at their dinners, conjuring, sleight of hand, and other species of dexterity, are sometimes introduced for the diversion of the assembly. The conjuror has always an accomplice, as usual, who serves to distract the attention of the spectators. One of their best exhibitions of mere dexterity is where a common china saucer is spun on its bottom upon the end of a rattan cane in a very surprising manner. The rapid revolution communicated to the saucer by the motion of the performer's wrist, through the medium of the flexible and elastic rattan, keeps it whirling round without falling, even though the cane is occasionally held nearly horizontally, and sometimes passed behind the back or under the legs of the exhibitor. It may be observed that the saucer is seldom in danger of falling, except for the moment when the eye of the performer may be taken off from it.

Among their out-of-door amusements, a very common one is to play at shuttlecock with the *feet*. A circle of some half a-dozen keep up in this manner the game between them with considerable dexterity, the thick soles of their shoes serving them in lieu of battledores, and the hand being allowed occasionally to assist. In kite flying the Chinese certainly excel all others, both in the various construction of their kites, and the heights to which they make them rise. They have a very thin, as well as tough, sort of paper, made of refuse silk, which, in combination with the split bamboo, is excellently adapted to the purpose. The kites are made to assume every possible shape, and, at a great distance, it is impossible sometimes to distinguish them from real birds. By means of round holes, supplied with vibrating cords or other substances, they contrive to produce a loud humming noise, something like that of a top, occasioned by



Chinese Juggler.

the rapid passage of the air as it is opposed to the kite. At a particular season of the year, not only boys, but grown men, take a part in this amusement, and the sport sometimes consists in trying to bring each other's kites down by dividing the strings.

The taste of the Chinese court in its amusements was observed by the several embassies to be nearly as puerile as that of most other Asiatics. Farces, tumbling, and fireworks were the usual diversions with which the emperor and his guests were regaled. Two of the sovereigns of this Tartar dynasty, Kâng-hy and Kien-loong, maintained the hardy and warlike habits of the Manchows by frequent hunting expeditions to the northward of the Great Wall. They proceeded at the head of a little army, by which the game was enclosed in rings, and thus exposed to the skill of the emperor and his grandees. We find, from Père Gerbillon's account of his hunting expedition with Kâng-hy, that a portion of the train consisted of fal-

[illegible] personal skill [illegible] been [illegible] from Gerbillon [illegible] animal [illegible] time, he arrived [illegible] emperor, [illegible] at leisure, and with the first arrow pierced [illegible] deadly wound. When the animal found [illegible] gave a dreadful roar, and turned [illegible] towards the arrow that stuck in [illegible] vour to pull it out, he broke it [illegible] few paces farther, he stopped exh[illegible]. The emperor, upon this, alighting from his horse, [illegible] by the Manchow [illegible] four of the ablest hunters armed [illegible] approached the bear and killed [illegible] of his half pike."

The amusements of the emperor [illegible] during the severe winters of P[illegible] Van Braam who was one of the Dutch [illegible] proceeded from Canton soon after Lord Macartney's embassy.—"The emperor made his appearance on a sort of sledge, supported by the figures of four dragons. The machine was moved about by several mandarins, some dragging before, and others pushing behind. The four principal ministers of state were also drawn upon the [illegible] in their sledges by inferior mandarins. Whole troops of civil and military officers soon appeared, some on sledges, some on skates, and others playing at football on the [illegible] and he that picked up the ball was rewarded by the emperor. The ball was then hung up in a kind of [illegible] several mandarins shot at it in passing [illegible] their bows and arrows. Their skates [illegible]

under the heel, and the fore part was turned up at right angles." These diversions are quite in the spirit of the Tartars, whose original habits were strongly opposed to those of the quiet and effeminate Chinese. However robust and athletic the labouring classes in the southern provinces of the empire, those who are not supported by bodily exertion are in general extremely feeble and inactive. Unlike the European gentry, they seldom mount on a horse, if not of the military profession; and as nobody who can afford a chair ever moves in any other way, the benefits of walking are also lost to them. Nothing surprises one of these Chinese gentlemen more than the voluntary exertion which Europeans impose on themselves for the sake of health as well as amusement. Much of this inactivity of habit must of course be attributed to the great heat of the climate during a considerable portion of the year; and they would be greater sufferers from their sedentary lives were it not for the beneficial custom of living entirely in the *open air*, with warm clothing, during even the winter months—that is, in the south; for to the northward the extreme cold compels them to resort to their stoves and flues, with closed windows and doors. The apartments of houses at Canton are always built quite open to the south, though defended from the bleak northerly winds by windows of oyster-shells or glass.

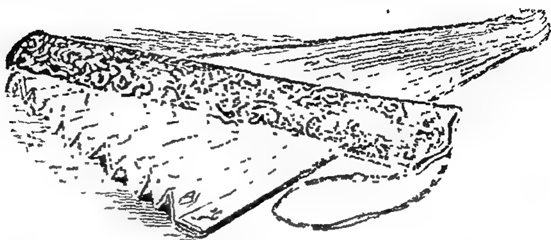
CHAPTER XI

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—(*continued*)

Costume of upper classes — Arms not worn — Summer and winter costume — Paucity of linen — Furs and skins — No sudden changes of fashion — Modes prescribed by authority — Honours to just

"When dressed, every Chinese of any station wears by his side a variety of accoutrements which would strike a stranger as being of a warlike character, but which prove, on examination, to be very peaceful appendages A worked silk sheath encloses a fan A small leather bag, not unlike a cartouche-box, suspended to the belt, supplies flint and steel for lighting the pipe, and the tobacco is carried in an embroidered purse or pouch" Dr Abel thus describes the appearance of the first well dressed Chinese whom he saw on reaching the shores of the Yellow Sea . Arms are, in fact, never worn on the person except by soldiers at parade, and even the military mandarins do not wear swords on ordinary occasions of ceremony The common people are not allowed to be seen with arms, except for specific purposes of self-protection, as when carrying off their property from a fire, or for a defence against river pirates, and the like

The possession of *fire-arms* is altogether forbidden by the jealous government, as may be seen from the follow-

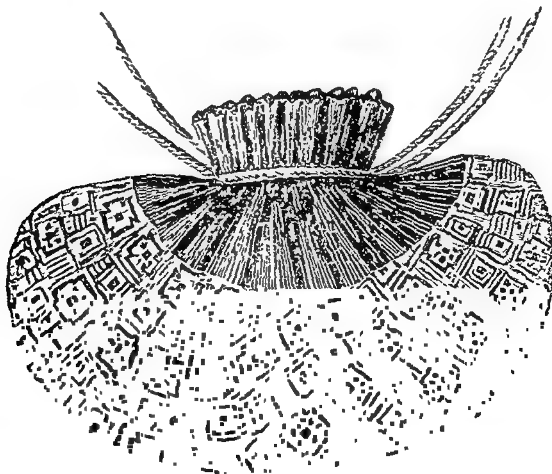


Fan and Case.



The Belt.

ing extract from a Peking gazette :—" For the people to have fire-arms in their possession is contrary to law, and orders have already been issued to each provincial government to fix a period within which all matchlocks belong-



The Purse.

ing to individuals should be bought up at a valuation. . . . . With regard to those fire-arms which are in immediate use for the safeguard of the country, the said governor has already directed the proper officers to carve on every matchlock the name of the person to whom it is delivered, and to preserve a general register of the whole. Let the governor also give strict charge to make diligent search and prevent the illicit making of fire-arms for the future; and let the workers in iron be rigidly looked after, lest they clandestinely manufacture and sell them: the evil may thus be cut off in its commencement. Those officers who have made full and complete musters within the limited period, the governor is directed to notice properly as an encouragement to others." Those Chinese near Canton who employ themselves in shooting wild-fowl for sale are said to belong mostly to the militia of the province. The war with England, however, was followed by a general relaxation of the above rule. The government encouraged the people to arm themselves, vessels of all descriptions were licensed to carry arms, the licenses [illegible] and [illegible] the spread of piracy [illegible] its recent [illegible].

The extremes of heat and cold which prevail throughout the country at opposite seasons of the year, [illegible] the general custom of living [illegible] are the causes which have [illegible] broad and marked distinction [illegible] summer and the winter [illegible] difference is principally marked [illegible] cap is a [illegible] substance resembling [illegible] any [illegible] or print of the [illegible]

mental ball descends all around over the cap a fringe, or rather bunch of crimson silk, or of red horsehair; in front of the cap is sometimes worn a single large pearl.





Summer and Winter Caps.

The winter cap, instead of being a cone, fits closer to the shape of the head, and has a brim, turned sharply up all round, of black velvet, or fur, and rising a little higher in front and behind than at the sides. The dome-shaped

top is surmounted by the same ball as in the other case, denoting the rank of the wearer, and from the point of insertion descends a bunch of fine crimson silk just covering the dome On the commencement of the cold or hot weather, the first person in each province, as the Tsoong-tŏ, or viceroy, assumes his winter or summer cap, the circumstance is noticed in the official gazette, or court circular, and this is the signal for every man under his government to make the same change In the embassy of 1816 the imperial legate who conducted the mission down to Canton, being for the time superior in rank to the viceroy, in this manner put on his winter cap, and gave the example to the province through which he was passing Within doors they usually wear, in cold weather, a small skull cap, either plain or ornamented

The summer garment of the better classes is a long loose gown of light silk, gauze, or linen, hanging free at ordinary times, but on occasions of dress gathered in round the middle by a girdle of strong wrought silk, which is fastened in front by a clasp of agate, or of the *jade*, which the Chinese called *yu* In an oppressive climate, when the thermometer is at 80° or 90°, there is much ease and comfort in the loose sleeves, and the freedom from restraint about the neck, by which this dress is distinguished, and the tight sleeves with the huge collars and stocks of Europeans very naturally made them objects of compassion, if not ridicule To the girdle are fastened the various articles noticed by Dr Abel, as the fan-case, tobacco-pouch, flint and steel, and sometimes a sheath with a small knife and a pair of chopsticks They are very proud of displaying a watch, which is inserted in an embroidered silk case or pouch

The winter dress, being nearly as loose as that of summer, is less calculated to promote warmth and comfort

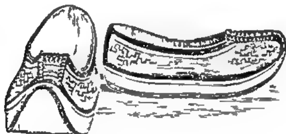
than the European costume, and at the same time more unfavourable to bodily activity and exertion. Over a longer dress of silk or crape, which reaches to the ankles, they wear a large-sleeved spencer, called *ma-kwa* (or riding-coat), which does not descend below the hips. This is often entirely of fur, but sometimes of silk or broadcloth lined with skins. The neck, which in summer is left quite bare, is protected in winter with a narrow collar of silk or fur; their loose dresses always fold over to the right breast, where they are fastened from top to bottom, at intervals of a few inches, by gilt or crystal buttons (the latter in mourning) with loops.



Chinese Gentleman and Servant.—From Chinese Paintings.

In summer the nether garment is loose, and not unlike ancient Dutch breeches; but in winter an indescribable pair of tight leggings are drawn on separately over all, and fastened up to the sides of the person, leaving the voluminous article of dress above-mentioned to hang out behind, in a manner that is anything but pleasant. Stockings of cotton or silk, wove and not knit, are worn by all

who can afford them and in winter, persons of a certain rank wear boots of cloth satin or velvet, with the usual thick white sole which is kept clean by *whiting* instead of *blacking* in the usual style of contrariety to our customs The thick soles of their boots and shoes in all probability arose from the circumstance of their not possessing such a substance as *well tanned* leather a thinner layer of which is sufficient to exclude the wet The shoes made for Europeans at Canton are perfectly useless in rainy weather and spoiled on the very first wetting



Men s Shoes

The Chinese dresses of ceremony are exceedingly rich and handsome and contrast to great advantage with the queer unmeaning capings and skirtings of our coats The colour of the spencer is usually dark blue, or purple and the long dress beneath is commonly of some lighter and gayer hue On state occasions this last is very splendidly embroidered with dragons or other devices in silk and gold, and the cost amounts frequently to large sums At the imperial feast of which the last embassy partook at Tien tsin, the crowd of mandarins in full dress surmounted by their crimson caps and various coloured balls certainly produced a striking effect

The great sin of the Chinese costume is the paucity of

white linen, and consequently of washing. Even their body-garment is sometimes a species of light silk, but capable of purification. All the rest of their dress being of silks or furs, there is less demand for white calico or linen in proportion to the numbers than in any other country. They spread neither sheets upon their beds nor cloths on their tables, and the want of personal cleanliness has of course a tendency to prómote cutaneous and leprous complaints. Their substitute for soap is an alkaline ley, derived from a mineral substance, and rather corrosive in its nature.

The skins of all animals are converted into apparel for the winter. The lower orders use those of sheep, cats, dogs, goats, and squirrels. Even rat and mouse skins are sewn together for garments. The expensive fur dresses of the higher orders descend from father to son, and form sometimes no inconsiderable portion of the family inheritance. At an entertainment in Canton, where the party, according to the custom of the country, were seated in an open room without fires, the European guests began to complain of cold; upon which the host immediately accommodated the whole number of ten or twelve with handsome wide-sleeved spençers, all of the most costly furs, telling them at the same time that he had plenty more in reserve. They have one singular species of refinement on the score of skins. The young lamb *in utero*, after a certain period of gestation, is taken out, and its skin prepared with the fine silky wool upon it for dresses, which of course require, on account of their small size, a great number of lambs to be thus "untimely ripped," and the luxury is therefore an expensive one.

The Chinese, perhaps, may be said to possess an advantage in the absence of those perpetual and frequently absurd mutations of fashion in Europe, which at one

period blow out the same individual like a balloon, whom at another they contract into a mummy, and which are frequently ridiculed and followed in excess at one and the same time They are not at the mercy and disposal, in matters of taste, of those who make their clothes, and their modes generally last as long as their garments The human shape and dress are not varied with the infinite mutations of a kaleidoscope, and that peculiar, though indisputable species of merit "being in the height of the fashion,' the honours of which must be chiefly shared with the tailor and the milliner, is nearly unknown to them

The only setter of fashions is the Board of Rites and Ceremonies at Peking, and to depart materially from their ordinances would be considered as something worse than mere *mauvais ton* It is their business not only to prescribe the forms on all occasions of worship or of ceremony, but the costumes which are to be worn must be in strict conformity to rule The dresses of all ranks and orders and of both sexes, about the imperial palace, are specified, as regards cut, colour, and material, with as much precision as in any court of Europe From the Tartar religion of the Lamas, the rosary of 108 beads has become a part of the ceremonial dress attached to the nine grades of official rank. It consists of a necklace of stones and coral nearly as large as a pigeon's egg, descending to the waist and distinguished by various beads according to the quality of the wearer There is a smaller rosary of only eighteen beads of inferior size, with which the bonzes count their prayers and ejaculations, exactly as in the Romish ritual. The laity in China sometimes wear this at the waist perfumed with musk, and give it the name of *Heang-choo*, "fragrant beads'

The various appendages worn at the girdle, as the

purse or pouch, the steel and flint case for lighting the pipe, the watch-case, &c., are generally of the finest silk embroidery, which forms one of the principal accomplish-



Audience of Kien-loong.

ments of Chinese ladies. Indeed all the handsome crape shawls taken to England, some of which cost from sixty to eighty dollars, are entirely the work of women, many

of whom earn more than twenty dollars a month by their labour. A Chinese is seldom seen without his snuff bottle, which is of oval construction, and less than two inches in length, the stopper having a small spoon attached, similar to that for cayenne-pepper, with which a portion of snuff is laid on the left hand, at the lower joint of the thumb, and thus lifted to the nose. The material of these bottles is sometimes of porcelain, or of variegated glass, carved with considerable skill in the style of cameos, or of rock crystal, with small figures or writing on the *inside*, performed in a manner which it is not easy to understand.

Among the presents sent to, or, in the language of Peking diplomacy, *conferred upon* foreign sovereigns, is the embroidered silk purse, one of which the old emperor Kien loong took from his side and gave to the youth who officiated as page to Lord Macartney. This, however, was of the imperial yellow colour, with the five-clawed dragon, and could hardly be worn by Chinese subjects, who always displayed the most profound reverence and admiration when they saw it, and knew it was from the great emperor's own person. The ornament which has sometimes, for want of a better name, being called a *sceptre*, is, in fact, an emblem of amity and good will, of a shape less bent than the letter S, about eighteen inches in length, and cut from the *jade* or *yu* stone. It is called *joo-ee*, "as you wish," and is simply exchanged as a costly mark of friendship; but that it had a religious origin seems indicated by the sacred flower of the lotus *(Nymphæa nelumbo)* being generally carved on the superior end.

The Chinese have some singular modes of demonstrating their respect and regard on the departure of any public magistrate whose government has been marked by moderation and justice. A deputation sometimes waits

on him with a habit composed of every variety of colour, "a coat of many colours," as if made by a general contribution from the people. With this he is solemnly invested, and, though of course the garment is not intended to be worn, it is preserved as an honourable relic in the family. On quitting the district he is accompanied by the crowds that follow his chair, or kneel by the way-side, while at intervals on the road are placed tables of provisions and sticks of incense burning. These honours were shown to a former Fooyuen of Canton, a man of a most eccentric but upright character, who, unlike so many others in his situation, would never take anything from the Hong merchants or others under his authority. He seemed to have a supreme indifference for human grandeur, and at length retired by his own choice, and the emperor's permission, into private life, from whence it is said he became a devotee of Budh. On his quitting Canton a very singular ceremony was observed in conformity with ancient Chinese usage on such rare occasions: when he had accepted the various demonstrations of homage and respect from those who had been deputed by the people to wait on him, he proceeded from his residence towards the city gates, and, being there arrived, his *boots* were taken off, to be preserved as a valued relic, while their place was supplied by a new pair. This was repeated more than once as he proceeded on his way, the boots which he had only once drawn on being regarded as precious memorials. The conduct of the higher magistrates cannot fail to be influenced sometimes by the ambition of earning such popular honours, and there can be little doubt that, in places less exposed to the contagion of vice and temptation than Canton, there are good magistrates in China as well as elsewhere.

But to return to costumes. The head of the men, as

we have before noticed, is invariably shaven, except at the top, whence the tail depends in conformity with the Tartar custom, the only change being in mourning, when the hair is allowed to grow. The Chinese having so little beard, the principal work for the razor is on the head, and consequently no person ever shaves himself. The great number of barbers is a striking feature in all towns, and sufficiently explained by the prevailing custom. They exercise the additional function of shampooing, which, with the antecedent shave, occupies altogether a considerable time. Every barber carries about with him, slung from a stick across his shoulder, all the instruments of his vocation in a compendious form. On one side hangs a stool, under which are drawers containing his instruments, and this is counterpoised at the other end by a small charcoal furnace under a vessel of water which it serves to heat. Their razors are extremely clumsy in appearance, but very keen and efficient in use. It is not the custom for the men to wear moustaches before forty years of age, nor beards before sixty. These generally grow in thin tufts, and it is only in a few individuals that they assume the bushy appearance observable in other Asiatics.

The women would frequently be very pretty, were it not for the shocking custom of daubing their faces with white and red paint, to which may be added the deformity of cramped feet. In point of health, however, this is in a great degree made up by the total absence of tight lacing, and of all ligatures and confinements whatever about the vital parts. The consequence is that their children are born very *straight-limbed, and births are scarcely ever* attended with disaster. Their dress is extremely modest and becoming, and, in the higher classes, as splendid as the most exquisite silks and embroidery can make it, for

the Chinese certainly reserve the best of their silk manufactures for themselves. What we often choose to call *dress* they would regard as absolute nudity, and all close fitting to the shape as only displaying what it affects to conceal.

Unmarried women wear their hair hanging down in long tresses, and the putting up of the hair is one of the ceremonies preparatory to marriage. It is twisted up towards the back of the head, ornamented with flowers or jewels, and fastened with two bodkins stuck in crosswise. They sometimes wear an ornament representing the foong-hoâng, or Chinese phœnix, composed of gold and jewels, the wings hovering, and the beak of the bird hanging over the forehead, on an elastic spring. After a certain time of life the women wear a silk wrapper round the head in lieu of any other dress. The eyebrows of the young women are fashioned until they represent a fine curved line, which is compared to the new moon when only a day or two old, or to the young leaflet of the willow.

Pink and green, two colours often worn by women, are confined exclusively to them, and never seen on men. The ordinary dress is a large-sleeved robe of silk, or of cotton among the poorer sort, over a longer garment, sometimes of a pink colour; under which are loose trousers, which are fastened round the ankle, just above the small foot and tight shoe. A proverbial expression among the Chinese for the concealment of defects is—"long robes to hide large feet." Notwithstanding this, the Tartar women, or their lords, have had the good sense to preserve the ladies' feet of the natural size. In other respects, however, they dress nearly as the Chinese, and paint their faces white and red in the same style.

The ordinary dress of men among the labouring classes is extremely well suited to give full play to the body: it consists in summer of only a pair of loose cotton trousers

tied round the middle, and a shirt or smock, equally loose, hanging over it. In very hot weather the smock is thrown off altogether, and only the trousers retained They defend the head from the sun by a very broad



Husbandman

umbrella-shaped hat of bamboo slips interwoven, which in winter is exchanged for a felt cap; and in rainy weather they have cloaks of a species of flags or reeds, from which the water runs as from a pent-house. A large portion of the peasantry wear no shoes, but some are furnished, particularly those who carry heavy burdens, with sandals of straw to protect the feet.

In describing the dwellings of the Chinese, we may observe that, in the ordinary plan, they bear a curious resemblance to the remains of the Roman habitations disinterred from the scoriæ and ashes of Pompeii. The Pompeian villa at the Crystal Palace recalls at once the plan of a Chinese house. They consist usually of a ground floor, divided into several apartments within the dead wall that fronts the street, and lit only by

windows looking into the internal courtyard. The principal room, next to the entrance, serves to receive visitors as well as for eating; and within are the more private apartments, the doorways of which are screened by pendent curtains of silk or cotton, round inner courts open to the sky. Near Peking, the embassies found most of the apartments furnished with a couch or bed-place of brickwork, having a furnace below to warm it during the winter. This was usually covered with a felt rug or mat, which, with the assistance of the warmth, gave perpetual lodging to swarms of vermin, and rendered the bed-places quite unavailable to the English travellers. These flues, however, are very necessary during the severe winters, when the fires in the better houses are lit on the outside; but in poorer ones the furnace is within, and serves the double purpose of cooking and warmth, the whole family huddling round it.

All houses of consequence are entered by a triple gateway, consisting of one large folding-door in the centre, and of a smaller one on either side. These last serve for ordinary occasions, while the first is thrown open for the reception of distinguished guests. Large lanterns of a cylindrical shape are hung at the sides, on which are inscribed the name and titles of the inhabitant of the mansion, so as to be read either by day or at night when the lanterns are lit. Just within the gates is the covered court, where the sedan-chair stands, surrounded by red varnished label-boards, having inscribed in gilt characters the full titles of any person of rank and consequence. We cannot better describe one of their larger mansions than in the words of Sir George Staunton:*—"This palace was built on the general model of the dwellings of great mandarins. The whole enclosure was in the form

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 139.

of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a high brick wall, the outside of which exhibited a plain blank surface, except near one of its angles, where the gateway opened into a narrow street, little promising the handsome structures withinside The wall in its whole length supported the upper ridge of the roof, whose lower edges, resting upon an interior wall parallel to the other, formed a long range of buildings divided into apartments for servants, and offices The rest of the enclosure was subdivided into several quadrangular courts of different sizes In each quadrangle were buildings upon platforms of granite, and surrounded by a colonnade. The columns were of wood, nearly sixteen feet in height, and as many inches in diameter at the lower end, decreasing to the upper extremity about one sixth They had neither capital nor base, according to the strict meaning of those terms in the orders of Grecian architecture, nor any divisions of the space called the entablature, being plain to the very top, which supports the cornice, and were without any swell at the lower end, where they were let into hollows cut into stones for their reception, and which formed a circular ring round each, somewhat in the Tuscan manner Between the columns, for about one-fourth of the length of the shaft from the cornice downwards, was carved and ornamented woodwork, which might be termed the entablature, and was of a different colour from the columns, which were universally red This colonnade served to support that part of the roof which projected beyond the wall plate in a curve, turning up at the angles By means of such roofed colonnades every part of those extensive buildings might be visited under cover The number of pillars throughout the whole was not fewer than six hundred

"Annexed to the principal apartment, now destined

for the ambassador, was an elevated building, intended for the purposes of a private theatre and concert-room, with retiring apartments behind, and a gallery for spectators round it. None of the buildings were above one story, except that which comprised the ladies' apartments during the residence of the owner: it was situated in the inmost quadrangle. The front consisted of one long and lofty hall, with windows of Corean paper, through which no object could be distinguished on the other side. On the back of this hall was carried a gallery, at the height of about ten feet, which led to several small rooms, lighted only from the hall. Those inner windows were of silk gauze, stretched on frames of wood, and worked with the needle in flowers, fruit, birds, and insects, and others painted in water-colours. This apartment was fitted in a neater style, though upon a smaller scale, than most of the others. To this part of the building was attached a small back court with offices; the whole calculated for privacy.

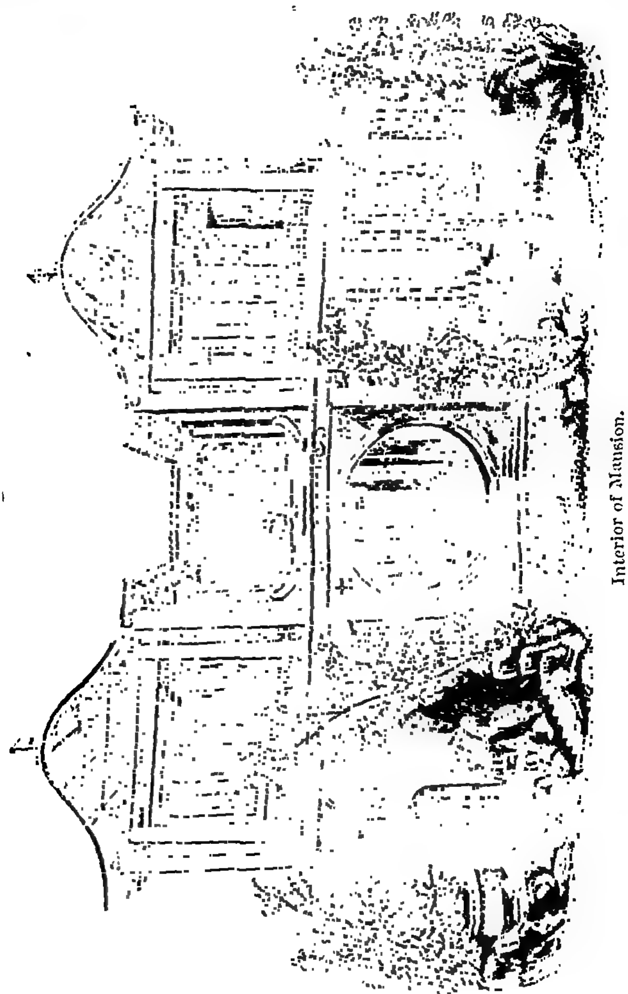
"In one of the outer quadrangles was a piece of water, in the midst of which a stone room was built, exactly in the shape of one of the covered barges of the country. In others of the quadrangles were planted trees, and, in the largest, a huge heap of rocks rudely piled, but firmly fixed upon each other, and at one end was a spot laid out for a garden in miniature; but it did not appear to have been finished."

In the best Chinese mansions there are seldom any stairs beyond the few stone steps by which they are raised above the general level of the ground. The stonework of the foundation is extremely solid and handsome, and in the neighbourhood of Canton it is always of granite. The walls are of blue brick, frequently with an artificial facing or pointing, by which strangers are apt to be deceived as to the fineness of their brickwork. They work in stucco

with great skill, representing animals, flowers, and fruits, which are sometimes coloured to imitate nature, and the cheapness of this ornament makes it very common The partition-walls of the inner courts are frequently broken into compartments, which are filled with an open work of green varnished tile, or coarse porcelain The mode in which they tile their roofs is evidently derived from the use of split bamboos for the same purpose, as it is practised to this day by the Malays, and described by Marsden The transverse section of these tiles being something of a semicircle, they are laid down the roof with their concave sides uppermost to serve as gutters, the upturned edges of every range being contiguous But as these would admit the rain at the lines of contact, other tiles are laid in a contrary position over them, and the whole secured in their places by mortar The Portuguese houses in Lisbon are tiled in the same manner, and were perhaps first derived from their early knowledge of China

In towns, where space is of consequence, the houses and shops of the greater number of the inhabitants have a story above the ground floor, and on the roof is often erected a wooden stage or platform for drying goods, or for taking the air in hot evenings This custom contributes to make their houses very liable to catch and to spread fires during a conflagration Nothing surprises the Chinese more than the representations or descriptions of the five and six storied houses of European cities, and the emperor is said to have inquired if it was the smallness of the territory that compelled the inhabitants to build their dwellings so near the clouds They have the most absurd superstition in regard to the ill-luck that attends the elevation of dwellings above a certain height, and the erection of a gable end (which they denominate by their character for *metal*, approaching to the same shape) will

fill a whole family with consternation, until certain ceremonies have been performed to dispel the "evil influence." These remedies are about as well founded in



Interior of Mansion.

common sense as the evils which they are employed to remove, and resemble exactly the charms and exorcisms used in our olden time against witches, ghosts, and devils.

In the same way that a horse-shoe, with us, nailed against the door was an infallible protection from a witch, the figure of a dragon, with its mouth wide open, opposite to the unlucky roof, swallows up all the *ngò-ku*, "the bad air, or influence" The Chinese however, never seem to have reached that height of judicial acumen by which, in former times with us, many a helpless old woman was thrown into the water, to be drowned if she sank, or burnt if she floated.

The magnificence of Chinese mansions is estimated in some measure by the ground which they cover, and by the number and size of the courts and buildings. The real space is often eked out by winding and [illegible] passages or galleries, decorated with carving and [illegible]work in very good taste. The walks are often [illegible] with figured tiles. Large tanks or ponds, with the [illegible]bium, or sacred lotus, are essential to every [illegible] and these pools are generally filled with [illegible] golden carp and other fish. Masses of [illegible] either rise out of the water, or are [illegible] ground, in an affected imitation of [illegible] these are often planted their [illegible] Chambers's description of Chinese [illegible] prose work of imagination, with [illegible] dation in reality. Their taste [illegible] fictive and vicious on [illegible] improvement of nature [illegible] cramping of their women's [illegible] exists in the garden [illegible] at Yuen ming-yuen, [illegible] both in plan and [illegible] these would be al[illegible]

The apartments [illegible] of furniture a [illegible]

have reached a point of luxury far short of our own. Perhaps, however, they are the only people of Asia who use chairs:* these resemble the solid and lumbering pieces of furniture which were in fashion more than a century ago, as described by Cowper:—

> "But restless was the chair; the back erect
> Distress'd the weary loins, that felt no ease;
> The slippery seat betray'd the sliding part
> That press'd it, and the feet hung dangling down."

Cushions, with hangings for the back, are sometimes used of silk, or English woollens, generally of a scarlet colour, embroidered in silk patterns by the Chinese women. Near the chairs are commonly placed those articles of furniture which the Portuguese call *cuspadores*, or spitting-pots, rendered necessary by the universal habit of smoking, even among the women. The disagreeable noise that attends the clearing the throat and fauces of the poison inhaled by this practice is perpetual among the Chinese, and makes one enter feelingly into the complaints which have proceeded from several visitors of the United States, in regard to similar habits (chewing included) among our Transatlantic brethren.

Among the principal ornaments are the varied lanterns of silk, horn, and other materials which are suspended from the roofs, adorned with crimson tassels, but which for purposes of illumination are so greatly behind our lamps, and produce more smoke than light. At a Chinese feast one is always reminded of the lighting of a Roman entertainment:—

> "Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
> Vertice fumum."

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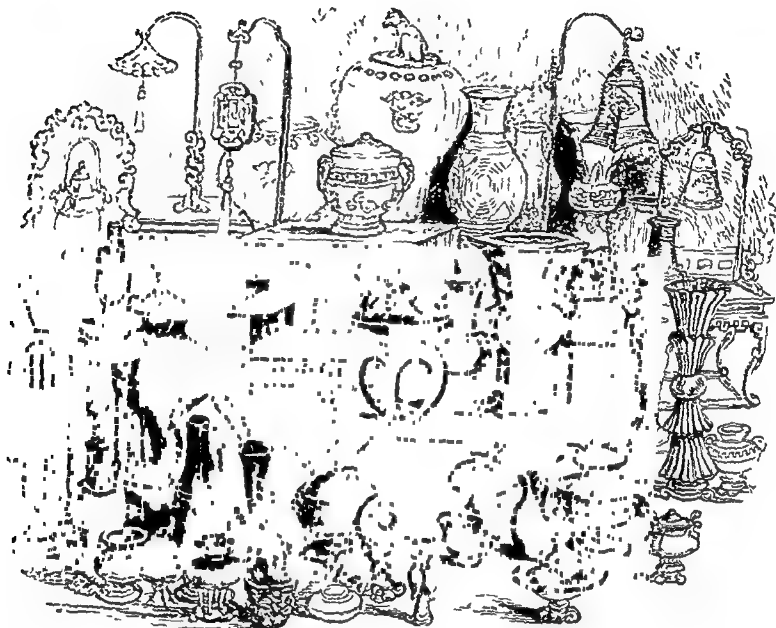
* Other Asiatics squat on the ground, and eat with their fingers; while the Chinese sit on chairs or benches, and eat with chopsticks, a very cleanly mode.

The great variety, and, in the eyes of a Chinese, the beauty of the written character, occasions its being adopted as an *ornament* on almost all occasions Caligraphy (or fine handwriting) is much studied among them and the autographs of a friend or patron, consisting of moral sentences, poetical couplets, or quotations from the sacred books, are kept as memorials, or displayed as ornaments in their apartments They are generally inscribed largely upon labels of white satin, or fine-coloured paper, and almost always *in pairs*, constituting those *parallelisms* which we shall have to notice under the head of Literature and Poetry

In the forms of their furniture they often affect a departure from straight and uniform lines and adopt what might be called a regular confusion, as in the divisions and shelves of a bookcase or the compartments of a screen Even in their doorways instead of a regular right angled aperture one often sees a complete circle, or the shape of a leaf or of a jar This however, is only when there are no doors required to be shut their absence being often supplied by hanging screens of silk and cloth, or bamboo blinds like those used in India Their beds are generally very simple, with curtains of silk or cotton in the winter, and a fine mosquito net during the hot months when they lie on a mat spread upon the hard bottom of the bed Two or three boards, with a couple of narrow benches or forms on which to lay them, together with a mat, and three or four bamboo sticks, to stretch the mosquito curtains of coarse hempen cloth, constitute the bed of an ordinary Chinese

It may readily be supposed that, in the original country of porcelain, a very usual ornament of dwellings consists of vases and jars of that material of which the antiquity is valued above every other quality This taste has led

to the manufacture of factitious antiques, not only in porcelain, but in bronze and other substances,—points on which strangers are often very egregiously taken in as purchasers. The shapes of their tripods, and other ancient



Chinese Jars and Household Ornaments.—From Chinese Drawings.

vessels, real or imitated, are often fantastical, and not unlike similar vestiges in Europe. In these they place their sticks of incense, composed principally of sandal-wood dust, which serve to perfume their chambers, as well as to regale the gods in their temples. The Chinese are great collectors of curiosities of all kinds, and the cabinets of some individuals at Canton are worth examining.

Having considered the accommodations of the people when at rest, we may view them in locomotion, or when travelling. The manner in which the greater part of the

empire is intersected by rivers and canals makes water-carriage the most common as well as commodious method of transit from place to place; but where that is impossible they travel (towards the south) in chairs, and in the great flat about Peking in a one horse tilted waggon, or *cart*,—for it deserves no better name. The multiform inconveniences of these primitive machines were experienced by the members of the last embassy, and have been feelingly described by some of them. The wheels, frequently solid and without spokes like the cartwheels at Lisbon, are low and fixed to very short axletrees. The bodies, covered with tilts of coarse cotton, open only in front, and are just wide enough to admit two persons closely wedged. They have no raised seats, and the only posture is to be stretched at length, or with the legs drawn up, the sufferer being always in close contact with the axle without the intervention of springs. A servant of the ambassador, who was an invalid at the time, and had not strength to avoid the violence of the shocks, actually suffered a concussion of the brain.

The Chinese occasionally travel on horseback but their best land-conveyance by far is the sedan, a vehicle which certainly exists among them in perfection. Whether viewed in regard to lightness, comfort, or any other quality associated with such a mode of carriage there is nothing so convenient elsewhere. Two bearers place upon their shoulders the poles, which are thin and elastic, and in shape something like the shafts of a gig connected near the ends, and in this manner they proceed forward with a measured step, an almost imperceptible motion, and sometimes with considerable speed. Instead of panels, the sides and back of the chair consist of woollen cloth for the sake of lightness, with a covering of oilcloth against rain. The front is closed by a hanging blind of the same

materials in lieu of a door, with a circular aperture of gauze to see through. The Europeans at Macao furnish theirs with Venetian blinds, and never make use of any



Mandarin bearing Emperor's Letter.

other carriage. Private persons among the Chinese are restricted to two bearers, ordinary magistrates to four, and the viceroys to eight; while the emperor alone is great

enough to require sixteen They divide the weight by multiplying the number of shoulder-sticks applied to the poles, as represented in a vignette to Staunton's Embassy, in an instance where the number of bearers would be sixteen, and this rule is made applicable to the conveyance of the heaviest burdens by coolies or porters The Chinese constantly remind one of ants, by the manner in which they conquer difficulties through dint of mere numbers, and they resemble those minute animals no less in their persevering and unconquerable industry.

There is no country of the same extent in which horses are so little used for the purposes of either carriage or draft, and this seems to arise, in some measure, from their grudging to animals that food which the earth otherwise provides for man Their horses are in general miserable stunted creatures, of the smaller order of ponies, and almost always in the worst condition, nor is the caparison in most cases much better than the beast The rider is wedged into a high saddle of the usual oriental character, of which every part, stirrups included, is extremely heavy and cumbrous The bridles ought to be of stitched silk, but they are often of rope and tufts of red horsehair are sometimes suspended from the chest of the animal. Where no rivers or canals afford the conveniences of water-carriage, the roads, or rather broad pathways, are paved in the south for horses, chairs, and foot-passengers, but no wheel-carriages were met with by the embassies except in the flat country towards Peking

Official persons are accommodated with lodging on their journeys in buildings called *Koong-kuan*, or government hotels, and, wherever one of these does not exist, the priests of the Budh sect are called upon to provide for them in their temples. The gods appear sometimes to be treated with little ceremony on these occasions In 1816 a por-

which they had bee
Nothing surprised the
of comforts and conveniences
to require, and the quantity
of their own nation travels with litt
and pillow rolled up in a thin mattress, or a
for his wardrobe, he carries it all on his back,
travelling by water. In the latter mode of carri
great officers of government sometimes convey no
quantity of goods, and, as their baggage is exempted fr
search, it is said that the privilege is often abused to
smuggling opium.

There is no post regulated by the government for
acilitating the general intercourse of its subjects; though
ne would imagine that a system of the kind might be
nade very serviceable by this jealous autocracy (as it has
y some others) in promoting the special objects of its
olice. The government expresses are forwarded by land
ong a line of posts, at each of which a horse is always
ept ready; and it is said that, when the haste is urgent,
feather is tied to the packet, and the express is called a
i-ma, "flying-horse," on which occasions the courier is
pected to go at the rate of about a hundred miles a
y, until relieved. In this manner a despatch from
king reaches Canton, or *vice versâ*, a distance of 1200
les, in a fortnight or twelve days. A letter from the
peror himself is carried by an officer of some rank in a
low tube attached to his back. They have no tele-
phs, but the embassies frequently observed that three
ical, or rather sugar-loaf, beacons were erected on the

most conspicuous points, to serve as signals by day or night, with the assistance of lighted wood or straw in the hollow, chimney like interior

There is printed for general use a very accurate itinerary of the empire, containing the distances in Chinese *ly* from town to town and one of these, on being compared with the actual distances on the map, as travelled by the last embassy, was found to correspond with sufficient exactness But the greatest public accommodation consists in the arrangements for the conveyance of goods, which are regulated in the best manner The public porters are under the management of a head man who is responsible for them The wages for the number engaged are paid to him in advance, upon which he furnishes a corresponding number of tickets, and when the work is done, these are delivered as vouchers for the several porters to carry back and receive their money The ordinary pay is one mace, or under 8*d*, per diem and so trustworthy are these poor people, that not a single article was known to be lost by the embassies in all the distance between the northern and southern extremes of the empire.

But, putting speed out of the question, there certainly is no country of the world in which travelling by water is so commodious as in China and it seems reasonable to attribute this circumstance to the universal prevalence of that mode of locomotion Indeed, all the river-craft of this people may be said to be unrivalled The small draft of water, and, at the same time, great burthen and stiffness of their vessels, the perfect ease with which they are worked through the most intricate passages and most crowded rivers, and the surprising accommodation which they afford have always attracted attention The Arab Ibn Batuta, whose travels we have before noticed, in

used in unloading the ships, but fitted up when required with partitions, glass windows and other conveniences for travelling. The charges of the mandarins, under the denomination of duties and fees, at length grew to be so oppressive, that the thing was brought to the notice of the viceroy in 1825, and a considerable abatement made in the expense. Still, however, this was so considerable, and the delays interposed midway in the passage, for the purposes of scrutiny and examination, so tedious and harassing, that most *barbarians* preferred going up and down by the ships passage in European boats. In this, as well as many other instances, the cupidity of the mandarins defeated its own purpose.

Nothing could more strongly characterize the busy trading character of the Chinese among themselves, and the activity of their internal traffic, than the vast numbers of passage boats which are constantly sailing along the rivers and canals, crowded both inside and out with a host of passengers. The *fare* in these vessels is quaintly enough termed *shuey-keŏ*, "water legs," as it serves in lieu of those limbs to transport the body. None, however, above the poorer classes avail themselves of these conveyances, as a small private boat can always be engaged, by natives, at a sufficiently cheap rate. That the company on board the public transports is not of the most select order is plain from a caution generally pasted against the mast, "*Kin shin lo paou*," "Mind your purses." There is a species of tavern or public house, a short way above the European factories in Canton, at the point whence all these passage-boats are obliged to start by the regulation of the police; and where the crowd and concourse is sometimes really surprising. Regular passports are always required, and the whole appears admirably arranged to promote the objects of a very cautious and vigilant

government, in the maintenance of order, without impeding the general circulation of industry.

There is, in short, a business-like character about the Chinese which assimilates them in a striking manner to the most intelligent nations of the West, and certainly marks them out, in very prominent relief, from the rest of Asiatics. However oddly it may sound, it does not seem too much to say that, in everything which enters into the composition of actively industrious and well-organised communities, there is vastly less difference between them and the English, French, and Americans, than between these and the inhabitants of Spain and Portugal, whose proneness to stolid bigotry and oriental laziness was perhaps in part imbibed from the Arabs. Through the influence of climate and other causes, these seem still retained in a surprising degree, though they must be expected some day to give way to the example of more enlightened and energetic nations.

Whenever the effects of our scientific machinery in abridging labour are explained to an intelligent Chinese, the first idea that strikes him is the disastrous effect that such a system would work upon his over-peopled country, if suddenly introduced into it, and he never fails to deprecate such an innovation as the most calamitous of visitations. We shall see hereafter that they have some ingenious contrivances by which to avail themselves of the natural moving powers presented by wind, water, and the force of gravity, and that they have managed to appropriate in practice most of the mechanical powers with surprising simplicity and effect: but of the strength that slumbers in the giant arm of steam they are at once theoretically and practically ignorant, although they both understand and apply, in their commonest cookery, the *heat* of steam under confinement to dress rice and other vegetables.

The canal and the Yellow River are a perpetual source of anxiety and expense to the government, to keep their banks in repair, and prevent those inundations to which the country in the neighbourhood is constantly liable. The use of steam vessels is therefore utterly precluded by the peculiar character and circumstance of *one* of the principal streams of China, as well as of the Grand Canal. But it was impossible to travel with the embassy in 1816, along that noble river the Yang tse kiang, which divides as nearly as possible the empire into two equal parts, and flows through its finest climates, without wishing for steamboats, more especially while suffering under the delay that arose from sailing up against that mighty stream, which runs with a prevailing ebb towards the sea. It is indeed for such rivers as the Mississippi and the Kiang that steamers are most peculiarly fitted, and nothing can be less like steamers than the progress of the Chinese travelling boats. Those very points of shape and construction, from which they derive their commodiousness and safety, render them extremely slow under the most favourable circumstances, and, with the exception of their smuggling or piratical boats, the Chinese may be said to be anything but economists of *time* on the water.

The following extract from an unpublished journal of the last embassy * exactly describes the singular process of passing the sluices which are substituted on the Grand Canal for *locks*. The advantage of the latter mode (which seems unknown to the Chinese) is, the vessel being raised or lowered to a different level by the gradual rise or fall of the water in which it floats, by which means the dangers of a sluice are completely obviated. "It was announced that some of our boats were come up for the purpose of

* Journal of Sir George Staunton

passing through the sluice, upon which the ambassador proposed to the legate that we should walk up to the pier-head, to see the manner in which this was effected. The legate said he would accompany us with pleasure, being himself curious to see the boats pass; and we all accordingly stood upon the pier-head, while the four headmost boats (of sixty or seventy tons burthen) were shot through the sluice. By means of the precautions adopted, and which consisted partly in hanging against the sides of the pier large fenders or cushions of rope, to deaden any accidental concussion, the boats passed through with perfect safety. The fall was somewhat greater than that of the Thames under the arches of old London Bridge, but still the hazard and difficulty seem to have been a good deal magnified. The stone abutments were constructed chiefly of large blocks of grey marble or limestone, with a few blocks of granite intermixed. After the boats had passed we returned with the legate to the pavilion for a few minutes, and then rose to rejoin our sedans, and return in them to our boats.

"At half-past twelve we passed through a second sluice similar to the first, without taking the trouble to quit our boats. We then brought to for some time, and did not pass through the third sluice until about four. The fall here was fully as great, and the torrent as rapid, as in the first sluice; but we all declined the legate's second invitation to land while the boats were passing through. The passage was effected by the whole of our squadron without loss or accident. The boats of smaller dimensions steered directly for the sluice and shot through the opening at once; but our common dinner-boat, and those of the ambassador and commissioners, were obliged to be warped along the bank up to the pier-head gradually. In both modes any failure or mistake, from bad steerage or ropes

giving way might have been attended with serious consequences, for if any of the smaller boats had struck on the pier head, or if any of the larger ones had swung round and presented their broadsides to the sluice, they would in both cases have run considerable hazard of being stove in and wrecked, and some of the persons in them might have been drowned in the confusion The large boat in which I was had been warped up to a proper position, and was on the point of being loosened from the ropes in order to shoot through the aperture, when a succession of small boats unexpectedly came up and possessed themselves of the passage, compelling us to hold on against the stream for about a quarter of an hour, in a situation that was awkward if not hazardous.

It is curious to find this description of the passage on the canal so exactly agreeing with that of an Arabian traveller not much less than six hundred years ago soon after that artificial route by water was constructed under the Mongol conquerors of China The difference of level is commonly from five to six feet at the sluices, but in passing by the town of Hoay g in, near the embouchure of the Yellow River, the boats sailed at an elevation of between fifteen and twenty feet above the level of the city, and the travellers looked down upon the roofs of the houses, which any accident to the bank of the canal must inevitably have consigned to destruction The existence of such a work in China, at a time when Europe was involved in comparative barbarism, affords a curious subject for reflection

CHAPTER XII.

CITIES—PEKING.

External walls — *The Tartarian city — The Yellow Wall — The Chinese city — Occasional scarcity — Dangers of the emperor — Gardens of Yuen-ming-yuen — Scene in last embassy — Expenses of the court — Tartars and Chinese — Police — Murder of a French crew — Punishment of assassins.*

THE most striking feature of all the principal cities of China consists in the high castellated walls of blue brick by which they are surrounded, and of which the wall of Peking may be considered as a specimen, with some considerable difference, of course, in respect to its superior height and thickness. Like the ancient rampart of the empire, this consists of a mound of earth or rubbish incased with brick. The height is about thirty feet, the thin parapet being deeply embattled, with intermediate loopholes, but bearing no resemblance to regular embrasures for artillery. Indeed, cannon are not often seen mounted on the walls, although there are often some old guns lying about near the gates. The thickness of the wall at the base is nearly twenty feet, diminishing, by the inclination of the inner surface, to twelve or more at the summit. The height and weight of this wall, with its perpendicular external face, would only serve to facilitate the operations of battering-cannon, which, of course, would begin to breach from the base; but the principal

weapon in the wars of the Chinese and Tartars has always been the bow and arrow At each gate the wall is *doubled* by an outer enclosure in a semicircular shape, the entrance to which is not opposite to the principal gate, but lateral, with a view to security and defence Over both gates are erected towers of several stories, which serve to lodge the soldiers who guard them At intervals of about sixty yards along the length of the wall are flanking towers or bastions of the same height, projecting about thirty feet from the curtain Most of the plans of Peking represent a wet ditch entirely compassing the sides of the city, and it no doubt extends round a certain portion, but when the embassy passed, in 1816, it is quite certain that the north east portion had not even a dry ditch, and that some of the gentlemen quitted their vehicles to take out specimens of the brick from numerous holes which time and neglect had produced in the face of the wall The same thing was observed by our embassy at Nanking, the ancient enclosure of which was nearly as lofty as the present bulwark of Peking, but no very notable remains of a ditch could be perceived at that part which the travellers visited

The area on which Nanking stood was more extensive than the space enclosed by the walls of Peking, but the greater portion of the surface surrounded by the ancient defence is now devoid of even the traces of buildings; and the city of Keang ning foo, as it is at present called, occupies only a corner of the original enclosure Peking likewise contains so many void spaces of great extent, that it is very difficult, considering the lowness of the one-storied buildings, to imagine how it can hold such a monstrous population as some have attributed to it A very large portion of the northern or Tartarian city is

occupied by the enclosure which contains the palaces and pleasure-grounds of the emperor; the remainder is studded over with the official or religious buildings, all of them surrounded by large open courts; and the Chinese city to the south has some very extensive spaces occupied by immensely spreading buildings, and grounds attached, where the emperor sacrifices to Heaven, and performs the annual ceremony of ploughing, with various other rites. There are, besides, large sheets of water, and gardens devoted to the growth of vegetables for the city. With every allowance, therefore, for the extent of area enclosed by the walls, the population of Peking can hardly equal that which is now comprised within the London bills of mortality.

Father Hyacinth, long resident in the capital of China as a member of the Russian mission, has given a very circumstantial account of it, much of which is founded on personal observation, and the rest derived from inquiry or books. The short time which the mission of Earl Macartney passed there admitted of fewer opportunities of investigation; but Mr. Barrow, who was left at Peking and Yuen-ming-yuen while the ambassador attended the emperor beyond the wall, made good use of his time, and has given us a graphic description of what he witnessed. The streets of Canton and of most other cities are extremely narrow, admitting of only three or four foot-passengers abreast; but the principal thoroughfares of Peking, which connect its different gates, are fully one hundred feet in width. These are unpaved, no doubt in consequence of the difficulty and expense of procuring stone in the immense alluvial flat on which the city stands; and every inhabitant is compelled by the police to clean and sprinkle with water, during the dry months, that portion of the street which fronts his abode, with a

new to allay the dust. In rainy weather, however, the principal ways are said to be in a dreadful state, from the want of proper drains, and in consequence of the perfect level of the ground not allowing the water to flow off.

Sir George Staunton thus describes the appearance of the capital, when it was traversed by the embassy on the way to Yuen-ming-yuen:—"The first street extended on a line directly to the westward until it was interrupted by the eastern wall of the imperial palace, called the Yellow Wall,* from the colour of the small roof of varnished tiles with which the top of it is covered. Various public buildings, seen at the same time, and considered as belonging to the emperor, were covered in the same manner. Those roofs, uninterrupted by chimneys, and indented in the sides and ridges into gentle curves, with an effect more pleasing than would be produced by long straight lines, were adorned with a variety of figures, either in imitation of real objects, or more commonly as mere works of fancy; the whole, shining like gold under a brilliant sun, immediately caught the eye with an appearance of grandeur in that part of the buildings where it was not accustomed to be sought for. Immense magazines of rice were seen near the gate; and, looking from it to the left along the city wall, was perceived an elevated edifice, described as an observatory, erected in the former dynasty by the Emperor Yong-lo, to whom the chief embellishments of Pekin are said to be owing.

"Several circumstances, independently of the [illegible] of strangers, contributed to [illegible] wide a street. [illegible] was moving towards the gate, in which [illegible] [illegible] seemed at first to [illegible]

* [illegible] Wall

marriage ceremony; but the appearance of young men overwhelmed with grief showed it to be a funeral,* much more indeed than the corse itself, which was contained in a handsome square case, shaded with a canopy painted with gay and lively colours, and preceded by standards of variegated silks. Behind it were sedan-chairs covered with white cloth, containing the female relations of the deceased. The white colour, denoting in China the affliction of those who wear it, is sedulously avoided by such as wish to manifest sentiments of a contrary kind;† it is therefore never seen in the ceremony of nuptials (met soon afterwards), where the lady, as yet unseen by the bridegroom, is carried in a gilt and gaudy chair, hung round with festoons of artificial flowers, and followed by relations, attendants, and servants bearing the paraphernalia, being the only portion given with a daughter in marriage by her parents. The crowd was not a little increased by the mandarins of rank appearing always with numerous attendants; and still more by circles of the populace round auctioneers, venders of medicines, fortune-tellers, singers, jugglers, and story-tellers, beguiling their hearers of a few of their *tchen*, or copper money, intended probably for other purposes. Among the stories that caught, at this moment, the imagination of the people, the arrival of the embassy was said to furnish no inconsiderable share. The presents brought by it to the emperor were asserted to include whatever was rare in other countries, or not known before to the Chinese. Of the animals that were brought, it was gravely mentioned that there was an

* The Chinese, who are not fond of using ill-omened words, call a funeral "a white affair."

† It is avoided as being unlucky, or ill-omened. The colour of compliment or congratulation is red.

elephant of the size of a monkey, and as fierce as a lion, and a cock that fed on charcoal. * * * * *

" As soon as the persons belonging to the embassy had arrived at the eastern side of the Yellow Wall, they turned along it to the right, and found on its northern side much less bustle than in the former street Instead of shops, all were private houses, not conspicuous in the front Before each house was a wall or curtain, to prevent passengers from seeing the court into which the street-door opened This wall is called the wall of *Respect* A halt was made opposite the treble gates, which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace wall It appeared to enclose a large quantity of ground it was not level like all the lands without the wall some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent the earth taken to form them left broad and deep hollows, now filled with water Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose, with a variety of fanciful edifices interspersed with trees On the hills of different heights the principal palaces for the emperor were erected The whole had somewhat the appearance of enchantment * * * * * * * From the spot whence an opportunity thus offered to take a glance, through the gates of the palace wall, at part of what was enclosed within it, the eye, turning to the north, observed, through a street extending to the city wall, the great fabric, of considerable height, which includes a bell of prodigious size and cylindrical form, that, struck on the outside with a wooden mallet, emits a sound distinctly heard throughout the capital Beyond it, but more to the westward was one of the northern gates, the watch tower over which rendered it visible above the intermediate buildings Proceeding on beyond the palace gates, directly to the westward, between

the Yellow Wall and the northern buildings of the city, is a lake of some acres in extent, now, in autumn, almost entirely overspread with the peltated leaf of the *nymphæa nelumbo*, or *lien-wha* of the Chinese. * * * * The route was continued westerly through the city. The dwelling-house of some Russians was pointed out, and, what was more singular, a library of foreign manuscripts, one of which was said to be an Arabic copy of the Koran. Some Mahometans were seen, distinguished by red caps. Among the spectators of the novel sight some women were observed; the greatest number were said to be natives of Tartary or of a Tartar race. Their feet were not cramped like those of the Chinese; and their shoes with broad toes, and soles above an inch in thickness, were as clumsy as those of the original Chinese ladies were diminutive. A few of the former were well-dressed, with delicate features, and their complexions heightened with the aid of art. A thick patch of vermilion on the middle of the lower lip seemed to be a favourite mode of using paint. Some of them were sitting in covered carriages, of which, as well as of horses, there are several to be found for hire in various parts of the town.* A few of the Tartar ladies were on horseback, and rode astride like men. Tradesmen with their tools, searching for employment, and pedlars offering their wares for sale, were everywhere to be seen. Several of the streets were narrow, and at the entrance of them gates were erected, near which guards were stationed, it was said, to quell any occasional disturbance in the neighbourhood. Those gates are shut at night, and opened only in cases of exigency. The train of the embassy crossed a street which extended north and south the whole length of the Tartar city, almost four

* None but privileged persons can use a chair so near to the emperor; but, in other parts, these are the common conveyances.

miles, and is interrupted only by several pailoos, or triumphal fabrics, and passing by many temples and other capacious buildings and magazines, they reached, in little more than two hours from their entrance on the eastern side, to one of the western city gates"

From this they issued towards the imperial park of Yuen ming yuen, and the route, thus accurately described, can readily be traced on the plan of Peking The Tartar city, through which they passed, is about three miles in breadth and four in length The portion traversed by the embassy was rather more than five miles, which was as much as they could accomplish, with all interruptions, in the space of time mentioned above The observatory seen by them to the left on entering the city was that of the *Kin sing* (or planet Venus), near the south-east corner of the wall A new set of instruments was made for it by order of Kang hy, under the direction of the Romish missionaries, and the astronomical instruments brought out by Lord Macartney were subsequently deposited there The high fabric, with its large cylindrical bell, which the travellers observed between the north gate of the imperial wall and the extremity of the Tartar city on that side, is the *Choong low, or* "Bell tower," near to which is the office of the "General of the Nine Gates,' to whose charge is intrusted the police of the city A wooden mallet, being struck upon the huge bell, makes known the five watches of the night, and the sound is heard through the greater part of the city

Within the precincts of the Tartarian city, near the southern gate of the imperial wall, are the principal boards or tribunals of the supreme government, and not far from them is the college of the Russian mission, consisting of ten persons, who are periodically relieved from St Petersburgh Near the westernmost of the three southern gates

the Portuguese Jesuits had their college; but the last of this fraternity was sent away in the year 1827, in the person of Padre Serra, who then furnished us with some curious notes. The most favoured of the Romish clergy, who were the French Jesuits employed by Kâng-hy, had their dwelling allotted within the circuit of the imperial wall, near the lake and gardens on the north and west of the enclosure. This great space, occupying an area of about two square miles, is just in the centre of the Tartarian city, and can be entered by none but authorised persons. It corresponds in shape to the outer limits of the city, being an oblong square, built on a very regular plan; and contains within itself a third and still more sacred enclosure, devoted exclusively to the emperor's abode, called "The Prohibited Wall." This contains the private palaces of the sovereign and his empress, communicating by a gate on the north with a square two-thirds of a mile in length, in which are situated the artificial hills and woods mentioned by Sir George Staunton, as seen at a distance in his progress through Peking. The architecture and arrangements of the palaces and courts within the "prohibited wall" are described as far exceeding any other specimens of the kind in China.

In regard to population, the vast areas included within the imperial wall and the central or prohibited wall may be considered comparatively as empty spaces. Father Hyacinth describes the lakes and gardens which he saw as occupying nearly the whole western side of the larger parallelogram, the lake alone being upwards of a mile in length. From his accouut it may be inferred that the palaces and gardens of the Chinese emperor are worthy of the master of so many millions of subjects, who have been estimated at a third of the whole human race. So much of the capital, however, being devoted to the emperor, it is

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] which [illegible] Chinese [illegible]
This number nearly [illegible] the [illegible] population of the kingdom of Portugal by the latest census. If we admit that the number of subjects who own the emperor of China for their master really exceeds the amount of three hundred millions, he may naturally speak with contempt of states whose entire population goes not beyond the hundredth part of his own "black-haired race," as he calls them.

On the east side of the Tartarian city is the Altar of the Sun, because the luminary rises in that quarter; and for a similar, though not the same reason, the Altar of the Moon is on the western side, because at the opposition, or at full moon, she sets in the west, while the sun rises on the other side. This regard to the place of the sun's rising serves to explain several points in Chinese customs. Their climate makes it necessary to build all considerable houses fronting the south, but closed to the north; for the sake of admitting the southerly monsoon in summer, and excluding the northerly in winter. The eastern side of the house is the most honourable, for the reason above given, and the master of a family is therefore called *Tong-kea*, "East of the household." But the *left hand* is likewise to the east of the principal seat in the hall of reception, which serves to explain the circumstance of their making the left side the place of honour, so contrary to the custom which generally prevails in other countries.

The Chinese town, which lies to the south of the Tartarian or "City of Nine Gates," is not subject to the same

* Comprising the space from the east of Regent's Park to [illegible] Green on the north, to Belgravia and the Grand Surrey Canal [illegible] south.

rigid system of military police as that which contains the abode of the emperor; and its walls and defences are inferior to those of the other, being, in fact, like the ordinary Chinese towns. The included area is about equal to that of the Tartarian city, but of this a very considerable portion is occupied by the immense courts of the temples dedicated to "Heaven," and to the deified inventor of agriculture (sometimes styled the Temple of "Earth"), where the emperor sacrifices annually, and performs the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field. The Altar to Heaven stands in a square enclosure, measuring about three miles in circuit, near the southern wall of the Chinese city. The terrace consists of three stages, diminishing from one hundred and twenty to sixty feet in diameter, each stage being surrounded by a marble balustrade, and ascended by steps of the same material. Towards the north-west of the enclosure is the Palace of Abstinence, where the emperor fasts for three days preparatory to offering sacrifices to the heavens at the winter solstice. On the other side of the great central street leading to the Tartarian city, and just over against the Temple of Heaven, stands the Altar of the Earth. The square enclosure is about two miles in circuit, and contains the field which is once a year ploughed by the emperor and his great officers, and the produce reserved for sacrifices.

In the vicinity of the south-east angle of the Chinese city are extensive sheets of water, and large open spaces cultivated with grain and vegetables for the use of Peking. Towards the south-west angle, also, beyond the Temples of Heaven and of the Earth, is a huge pool or lake, dedicated to the genius of the watery element, under the designation of *Hĕ-loong*, the "Black Dragon," where the emperor either deprecates or prays for rain, according as the country may be afflicted by deluge or drought. These

great chasms in the population of the capital, with the vast spaces occupied by the imperial palaces and gardens, make it very improbable that the population of Peking should be at present equal to that of London, especially as *the houses are only of one story* The less strict police of the Chinese city makes it a place of retirement to many from the other, where the precautions for the emperor's personal safety and quiet produce a system of discipline not unlike that of a garrison town. The "General of the Nine Gates," under whose charge it is placed, was sent, in 1816 to urge the departure of the embassy from Yuen-ming-yuen and he did his best to excite their alarm, by telling them that he commanded "a million of men

There seems to be some reason for the care with which the Tartarian city is guarded, if we take into consideration the dangers arising from occasional scarcities in an immensely populous city, which is fed, in a great measure, with grain brought from the southern provinces In the year 1824 the court were seriously alarmed by the consequences of a severe drought, which produced, first want, and afterwards pestilence, at Peking The late emperor, then reigning, issued a proclamation in these words —"The numerous resort of a hungry populace from the surrounding country has led to the occasional plundering of articles of food, and we have already issued our commands for restraining and controlling them One of the censors has reported that sundry vagrants, with the excuse of want and starvation, have been committing depredations in the markets and other places of public resort, in contravention of the laws The proper authorities are hereby commanded to issue proclamations on the subject, and to exercise a rigid control, that the neighbourhood of the imperial residence may be well governed and orderly The erection of additional play-

houses (according to the same report) being highly prejudicial to the morals of the people, the police of the city must also restrain and keep them within bounds."

Soon after was issued the subjoined :—" The different stations at Peking have distributed grain during a long-continued period; but on the 20th day of the 5th moon let them all be shut, and the distribution cease, as the stores will not admit of further donations. The harvest is now approaching, and the people may return to their several districts to seek a livelihood by their own labour. Let the governor of the province enjoin the district officers to exercise a strict vigilance, at the same time soothing the distressed populace, and preventing their wandering about in a dispersed and vagabond manner; thus seconding our paternal solicitude to cherish them in our bosom." To avert the drought which had created this distress, the emperor ordained certain religious observances, and we give an extract from his edict :—" On account of the drought in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the destitution of the husbandman's fields, which have looked in vain for fertilizing showers, we sent down our will that altars should be erected at *Hĕ-loong Tân** and elsewhere. Although during the last ten days there has been a slight appearance of rain, it was quite inadequate to moisten the earth. Let our eldest son, Ye-heng, on the 7th day of the present moon, proceed reverentially to the Temple of the Heavens to worship. Let our imperial relative, Mien-kae, proceed with reverence to the Temple of the Earth to sacrifice; and Mien-hia to the Temple of the Year. Let our son Ye-chaou likewise sacrifice at the Temple of the Winds. * * * * *

* *Hĕ-loong* is the Saghalien, or *Black Dragon*, which represents the principal river of Manchow Tartary, worshipped by the reigning family. The dragon always signifies the watery element, or rivers.

Having sent down our will regarding the sacrifices to be performed by the princes and great ministers on the 7th of the moon, we now intimate our intention to burn incense in person on the same day at the Altar of the Black Dragon' This may serve as a specimen of the state worship of China

But other dangers beset the emperor in his capital, either from the machinations of relatives who may plot against the throne, or from the treason of secret societies or brotherhoods, of which we shall have to speak "Though the succession to the throne,' observed Padre Serra, "depends on the arbitrary nomination of the reigning prince, this does not always prevent usurpations An instance of this was seen in the succession of Yoong ching to his father, the great Kang hy The prince nominated was the *fourth*, but this latter being in Tartary at the period of the emperor s somewhat sudden demise Yoong ching, who was a privileged wang (or *regulus*), entered the palace and seized the billet of nomination Before the number four, which he there found he boldly set the sign of ten, and thus made it appear that he, the *fourteenth* prince, was the one nominated He possessed himself of the sceptre, and ordered his brother to be arrested and imprisoned in a place which is standing to this day, four leagues to the north of Peking, in which it is said that he died" On the 18th October, 1813, as the last emperor but one, Keaking, was about to enter Peking, on his return from the summer excursion to Je-ho (the Hot springs, about one hundred miles north-east of the capital) a party of conspirators entered the imperial palace, and kept possession of a part of it for some time The late emperor, who was only his second son, is said to have owed his elevation to the good conduct he displayed on this occasion He shot two of the rebels, and

assisted to intimidate the remainder of those who had penetrated within the precincts of the palace.

The first intimation of the preceding occurrence was conveyed in a proclamation from the emperor, of which the following is an extract:—"Eighteen years have elapsed since, possessed of only inferior virtue, I looked up, and received with profound veneration the throne of my imperial father; since which I dared not resign myself to ease, or neglect the affairs of government. I had but just ascended the throne, when the sect of the *White Lily* seduced into a state of confusion four provinces, and the people suffered more than I can bear to express. I ordered my generals to proceed against them, and, after a protracted conflict, reduced them to submission. I then hoped that with my children (the people) I should have enjoyed increasing happiness and repose. On the 6th of the 8th moon the sect of Tien-ly (celestial reason), a band of vagabonds, suddenly created disorder, and caused much injury, extending from the district of Chang-yuen in Pechele to that of Tsaou in Shantong. I hastened to direct Wun, the viceroy, to lead forth an army to exterminate them and restore peace. This affair, however, existed at the distance of one hundred leagues from Peking; but, suddenly, on the 15th of the 9th moon, rebellion arose under my own arm—the calamity sprung up in my own house. A banditti of upwards of seventy men, of the sect Tien-ly, violated the prohibited gate, and entered withinside; they wounded the guard, and rushed into the inner palace. Four rebels were seized and bound; three others ascended the wall with a flag. My imperial second son seized a matchlock and shot two of them; my nephew killed the third. For this deliverance I am indebted to the energies of my second son."

About eight miles to the north west of Peking are the gardens, or rather the park, of Yuen ming yuen, which Mr Barrow (who spent his time between that place and Peking) estimates at an extent of twelve square miles. As the face of the country on this side of Peking begins to rise towards the Great Wall, the diversity of hill and dale has afforded some natural facilities for embellishment which have been improved by art. According to the description of the fore-mentioned writer, the landscape is diversified with woodlands and lawns, among which are numerous canals, rivulets, and sheets of water, the banks of which have been thrown up in an apparently fortuitous manner in imitation of the free hand of nature. Some parts are cultivated, and others left purposely wild, and wherever pleasure-houses are erected the views appear to have been studied. It is said that within the enclosure of these gardens there exist no less than thirty distinct places of residence for the emperor and his numerous suite of ministers, eunuchs, and servants, each constituting a considerable village. The principal hall of audience, seen by Mr Barrow, stood upon a platform of granite four feet high, and was surrounded by a sort of peristyle of large wooden columns, which supported the roof. The length of the hall within was one hundred and ten feet, the breadth forty two, and the height twenty. The floor was paved with slabs of grey marble laid checkerwise, and the throne, made entirely of carved wood, placed in a recess. The only furniture of the hall were a pair of brass kettle drums, two large paintings, two pairs of ancient blue porcelain vases, a few volumes of manuscripts, and a table placed at one end of the hall, on which stood an old English chimney clock, made in the seventeenth century.

It was at a place called Hae tien, in the immediate vicinity of these gardens, that the strange scene occurred

which terminated in the dismissal of the embassy of 1816. On his arrival there, about daylight in the morning, with the commissioners and a few other gentlemen, the ambassador was drawn to one of the emperor's temporary residences by an invitation from Duke Ho, as he was called, the imperial relative charged with the conduct of the negotiations. After passing through an open court, where were assembled a vast number of mandarins in their dresses of ceremony, they were shown into a wretched room, and soon encompassed by a well-dressed crowd, among whom were princes of the blood by dozens, wearing yellow girdles. With a childish and unmannerly curiosity, consistent enough with the idle and disorderly life which many of them are said to lead, they examined the persons and dress of the gentlemen without ceremony; while these, tired with their sleepless journey, and disgusted at the behaviour of the celestials, turned their backs upon them, and laid themselves down to rest. Duke Ho soon appeared, and surprised the ambassador by urging him to proceed directly to an audience of the emperor, who was waiting for him. His lordship in vain remonstrated that to-morrow had been fixed for the first audience, and that, tired and dusty as they all were at present, it would be worthy neither of the emperor nor himself to wait on his majesty in a manner so unprepared. He urged, too, that he was unwell, and required immediate rest. Duke Ho became more and more pressing, and at length forgot himself so far as to grasp the ambassador's arm violently, and one of the others stepped up at the same time. His lordship immediately shook them off, and the gentlemen crowded about him; while the highest indignation was expressed at such treatment, and a determined resolution to proceed to no audience this morning. The ambassador at length retired, with

the appearance of satisfaction, on the part of Duke Ho, that the audience should take place to-morrow. There is every reason, however, to suppose that this person had been largely bribed by the heads of the Canton local government to frustrate the views of the embassy, and prevent an audience of the emperor. The mission, at least, was on its way back in the afternoon of the same day.

The previous embassy of Lord Macartney, in 1793, attended the emperor's court at Jĕ-ho (sometimes written Zhehol) or "the hot-springs," at some distance north of the Great Wall, in Manchow Tartary. The elevation of this place, at some thousand feet above the plain in which Peking is situated, renders it a cool summer retreat during the excessive heats which prevail at the capital. The gardens and residences of the emperor, though considerable, are described as inferior in extent to those of Yuen-ming-yuen. Still, however, the accommodation of such a suite as the sovereign carries with him requires a town in itself. Peking, in fact, is chiefly supported throughout its vast bounds by the residence of the court and the supreme government. Being neither a seaport nor a place naturally suited to inland trade and manufactures, it derives nearly its whole importance from being the dwelling place of the "Son of Heaven."

His vast establishments are chiefly supported by the surplus revenue, both in money and stores, remitted by the way of the Grand Canal from the provinces.* An imperial relative of the first rank receives, according to P. Serra,† 10,000 taels annually from the exchequer, with a large allowance of rice, and as many as three hundred

* It is this that makes the southern entrance of the canal so valuable a point to a hostile squadron.

† Royal Asiat. Trans. vol. ii.

and more servants. As the multiplication of these expensive idlers would soon ruin the government, their rank descends by one degree in each generation, until after five descents their heirs retain the simple privilege of wearing the yellow girdle, with a bare subsistence. From this degradation a few have been excepted by especial favour, as it happened to a grandson of Kien-loong, to whom that emperor granted the first grade for ten lives. The expense to the state of a wâng of the first rank is about 60,000 taëls or 20,000*l.* annually; and this diminishes through the several grades down to the simple inheritors of the yellow girdle, who receive only three taëls a-month, and two sacks of rice. But they are allowed 100 taëls when they marry, and 120 for a funeral; from which (says Serra) they take occasion to maltreat their wives, because, when they have killed one, they receive the allowance for her interment, as well as the dowry of the new wife, whom they take immediately! In 1825 appeared the following order from the emperor:— "The Wâng (or *regulus*) Chunshan has presented to us a petition, entreating our imperial favour in the advance of some years' salaries, wherewithal he may be enabled to repair the tombs of his family. We permit to be advanced to him the amount of his money allowances for ten years ensuing, and direct that his pay be annually deducted until the whole shall be repaid." This title of *Wâng* is the one by which the Chinese emperor used to style the sovereign of England, whose representative (consistently enough with such a broad assumption) was expected to beat his head nine times against the ground, on being admitted to the presence of the universal monarch!

It is at Peking chiefly, and in its neighbourhood, that the privileges of Tartars, in contradistinction to Chinese,

are most broadly marked, and most openly asserted. It must be sufficiently clear to a sagacious government, as that of the Manchows has always proved itself, that, being so enormously outnumbered by the original inhabitants of *China, the wisest policy must be to display a tolerable* impartiality in the administration of the provinces and especially the distant ones. An examination of the Chinese red book gave the following results.—Of the *eight* viceroys, having each two provinces or one of the largest, under his sway, there are no less than *six* Chinese, and of the *fifteen* lieutenant governors, *ten* are Chinese. On the other hand, the highest and most responsible military commands are always intrusted to Manchows. The probability is, that the genius of the Chinese is better adapted to fitting themselves for civil office, the qualification for which is an adequate proficiency in that learning which is entirely founded on the ancient literature of the country, while for military command the Manchows are not only more likely to prove faithful to the present dynasty, but at the same time are better suited by nature and education. In the neighbourhood of the capital very distinct ideas of local claims and jurisdictions appear to be entertained by the Tartars. When Lord Macartney had passed just to the north of the Great Wall on his way to *Jĕ-ho*, one of the attendants, who was a Tartar, having been ordered for punishment by a Chinese mandarin, immediately resisted with great vehemence, exclaiming against the authority of the latter on that side of the national barrier.

The strict system of police, by which such an immense population is kept in due order, is essentially the same through the different cities and towns of the empire. Its efficiency arises in a great measure from the principle of *responsibility*, which forms so marked a feature of Chinese

rule, and is carried among them to an extent quite beyond our notions of equity. Every town is divided into tithings of ten houses, and these are combined into wards of one hundred; or, as the Chinese term it, "ten houses make a *kea*, ten *kea* make a *paou*," or hundred. The magistrate is responsible for his whole district, the hundreder and tithing-man each for his respective charge, and the householder for the conduct of his family.* From this gradation of authority all strangers and foreigners are rigidly excluded. So summary is the mode in which the objects of the police are effected, that it is no light matter to be once in their hands. The Chinese emphatically express their sense of this unfortunate condition by the popular phrase, "The meat is on the chopping-block."

The gates of all Chinese towns are shut soon after it is dark, when the first watch is sounded by a huge bell, or drum, in some commanding station. At the end of every principal street is a strong barrier of timber, which is closed at the same time with the principal gates. These are only opened to such as can give a satisfactory reason for their being allowed to pass, or for being out at night; as, for instance, to call a midwife on a sudden emergency. Every one is expected to carry a lantern, and is punished for being found without it. When the particular watch of the night has been indicated by a certain number of strokes on the drum or bell at the principal station, this is answered by all the rest; and a police soldier walks from one *corps de garde* to another, repeating the number of

* So true, however, is the maxim, *Leges sine moribus vanæ*, that I was obliged at Hongkong, which we held by right of conquest, to embody a portion of the Chinese municipal law in an ordinance for the special government of the native population, adopting their tithings and hundreds, and something of the mutual responsibility. The judge used occasionally to sit with a copy of Staunton's 'Penal Code of China' before him.

the watch (and thereby marking the time of night), by striking two hollow bamboos together.

The great jealousy with which the personal safety of the emperor is provided for at Peking renders the police very strict in regard to all access to the imperial palace and its neighbourhood. It has been well observed that the subjects of a despot are amply revenged by the fears in which such regulations originate. According to the penal code, "In all cases of persons who have lived within the jurisdiction of the imperial city being condemned to die by the sentence of the law, their families, and all persons whatsoever who resided under the same roof with them, shall remove forthwith." The principal duty of the military of China is to perform the office of a police; and it must be admitted that, by the aid of the [illegible] system of responsibility, there is no country in the world in which a more efficient police exists than there. [illegible]

has proved, in a very signal and remarkable manner, that the government was not only willing, but able, to do them summary justice. In 1816 the American ship 'Wabash,' having opium on board, came to an anchor off Macao, and, being manned by a very small number of hands, was suddenly carried by a boatful of desperate Chinese, who, coming on board under pretence of offering their services as pilots, stabbed those who were on deck, or forced them into the water; and then, confining the remainder of the crew to the forepart of the vessel, plundered her of all the opium. When the fact was represented to the local government, whose horror of piratical violence is extreme, such prompt and effective measures were taken for the discovery of the ruffians, that they were most of them caught and condemned to death, and their heads exposed in cages on the rocks near Macao as a warning to others.

But the case of the French ship 'Navigateur,' in 1828, was still more remarkable, and may be given nearly from the relation of M. Laplace, captain of the eighteen-gun corvette 'La Favorite,' whose observations on the Chinese we have had occasion to quote in another place. The 'Navigateur,' a merchantman, was compelled by stress of weather to put into Touron Bay on the coast of Cochin-China. The disabled state of the ship, the difficulty of effecting the necessary repairs, and the well-known unfriendliness of the local authorities, forced the captain and crew to the necessity of selling her to the King of Cochin-China, and embarking themselves with their most valuable effects on board a Chinese junk, which was engaged to carry them to Macao. The voyage was short, but still long enough to enable the crew of the junk to conceive and execute a dreadful conspiracy against the Frenchmen. It was in vain that one of the oldest of the

Chinese endeavoured by signs to draw the attention of the French captain to the danger which threatened him, the latter had contented himself with making one or two of his sailors keep watch by day, as well as during the night, but this charge was the more negligently executed, inasmuch as most of the people, in consequence of their previous sufferings, had to contend with fever or dysentery

The junk was already within sight of the great Ladrone island, the mark by which Macao is made in the southerly monsoon, and the Chinese passengers disembarked at once into boats, with an eagerness which ought to have roused the suspicion of the Europeans, had they not been blinded by the most imprudent confidence. The night passed quietly, and the dawning light seemed to promise a happy landing to the Frenchmen, but it was destined to witness their massacre These unfortunate men, the greater number still asleep, were despatched with hatchets and knives by the crew of the junk, and their captain, assailed by the assassins in the narrow cabin which he occupied with his mates, after killing several of the Chinese, fell himself the last One seaman, however, still remained, who, armed with an iron bar, continued to make a desperate resistance, although badly wounded in the head Having reached the deck of the vessel, almost overcome as he was in this unequal conflict, he leaped into the sea, and appeared in this manner to ensure, by his certain death, impunity to the murderers

He contrived, notwithstanding, to swim to the nearest fishing-boat, but was denied succour, with the usual selfish prudence of the Chinese, another boat, however, afterwards received him on board, and landed him by night on the shore at Macao Sick and wounded as he was,

the poor man wandered unknown for some time about the streets, but at length discovered the abode of the French missionaries, who with their ready humanity relieved him at once from his immediate wants. In the mean while the French consul had arrived from Canton, and the affair, being brought by him to the notice of the Portuguese authorities at Macao, was placed by them in the hands of the Chinese mandarins. By means of the information obtained from the French sailor, the Chinese passengers, who had quitted the junk previous to the massacre, and repaired in all haste to their respective houses, were summoned to Canton. From them was obtained a full evidence as to the criminals, and their design; and a strict embargo was at once laid on all the vessels within the ports of Canton and the neighbouring province of Fokien.

The assassins, being soon arrested in their junk, were put into iron cages, and conveyed to Canton for trial and judgment. On their arrival there it was ordained by the emperor's strict order that the trial and punishment should take place in the presence of the Europeans at that place. Among the English spectators was the interpreter of the East India Company, Dr. Morrison, the author of the Chinese Dictionary, whose labours have been so useful towards illustrating the literature of the country, and who was destined on this occasion to experience a very gratifying reward for his pains in acquiring the language. His attention having been attracted by the loud complaints of an old man, who, like the others, was shut up in a cage with iron bars, and who, in protesting his innocence, called for the French sailor whose life he had contributed to save, Dr. Morrison approached the old man's prison, heard what he had to say, and promised

him his assistance with the judges In a word, accompanied by the Frenchman, he presented himself before the mandarins, pleaded the cause of his client, and called to their recollection that maxim of Chinese law, and of humanity in general, that "it is better to let even the guilty escape than to punish the innocent" He obtained the consent of the court that the sailor should be confronted with the accused, and these, on the first sight of each other, immediately embraced and shed tears, to the great interest and sympathy of the audience The judges themselves yielded to the general sentiment, and at once absolved the old man Out of twenty-four prisoners, seventeen were condemned and decapitated at once, and their chief put to a lingering death in presence of the Europeans

Captain Laplace has made a great mistake in supposing that, when Dr Morrison enunciated to the mandarins that merciful and wise maxim which contributed to save the man's life, he told them anything that they had never before heard We could prove to him, by chapter and verse, that the precept is perfectly well known to the Chinese, however grossly it may have been violated by them in several cases where Europeans have *unintentionally* caused the death of natives It is, in fact, this knowledge of what is right in criminal practice that formerly made the conduct of the local government towards foreign homicides so perfectly unjustifiable, and rendered it not only excusable, but imperative, in Europeans to resist the execution, not of law, but of illegality Had they been treated like *natives* on these occasions, and according to the distinct provisions of the Chinese penal code, it difficult to make out a right to oppose the laws of country in which they sojourn But, as a just and

administration of those laws to natives and foreigners must always be the necessary condition of submission on the part of the latter, the absurd injustice and partiality of the local government deprived it of the right to complain, if Europeans, in cases of *accidental* homicide, refused to deliver up their countrymen to be strangled without a trial, or with only the mockery of one.

Since the war, it has formed a principal stipulation in the treaties with England, France, and America, that the subjects of these several states shall be amenable only to their own laws, as administered by the ministers or consuls resident in China. The same had long been the case in the Levant.

CHAPTER XIII

CITIES—NANKING AND CANTON.

Nanking partially depopulated — Occurrence in last embassy — View within the wall — Similarity of Chinese cities — Canton streets and shops — Mercantile corporations — Fires — Charitable insti- [illegible]

— The military — Forts

ALTHOUGH the circuit of the ancient walls of Nanking exceeds that of the present capital of China, it has been already stated that the larger portion of the area is now either a waste, or consists of fields in a state of cultivation. The last embassy had an opportunity of inspecting it in 1816, having been detained in the immediate neighbourhood for about two days, from the 21st to the 23rd October. The opportunity was improved to the utmost, and the liberty with which we were enabled to satisfy our curiosity received some addition in consequence of an accident, wherein the firmness of the ambassador was exercised with a favourable effect.

Soon after the fleet of boats which conveyed the mission had reached the suburbs of Nanking, on that great river the Kiang, which flows a few miles to the north-west of the old capital, the ambassador was induced, by the reports of some gentlemen of the mission, who had already explored a portion of the interior of the walls, without any objection being made, to visit the nearest gate on the north-west side. On reaching it, however, a mandarin of

subordinate rank, on horseback, with a pack of Chinese soldiers after him, rushed past and closed the gates suddenly in the face of the party. In return for this rudeness to the principal person of the mission, the individual who had caused the gates to be shut was requested to open them again, and it was declared that on no other condition would the ambassador quit the spot. The underling, however, who had committed the offence, showed no disposition to repair it, but took his departure in an impudent style. His excellency, on this, requested two individuals of his suite, of whom the writer was one, to proceed as fast as possible to the imperial legate, who acted as conductor to the embassy, and, complaining formally of the insult which had been offered him, require that reparation should be instantly made. We were very civilly received on board the Kinchae's boat, who, when we had explained the nature of the offence, immediately said that the person who had been guilty of it must be out of his wits, and sent at once to the highest military officer in the neighbourhood, to desire that he would go and see the gates re-opened instantly. We in the mean while walked back to rejoin the ambassador, accompanied by a very fat and asthmatic mandarin, of the Order of the Blue Button, who had much ado to keep up with our rapid pace. On our reaching the gate, the Chinese general who had been despatched by the legate presently arrived; and, apologizing for the folly of the officer, caused the gates to be re-opened. The ambassador expressed himself satisfied, and declined entering the gate, telling the general and the rest that he was sorry they should have had so much trouble.*

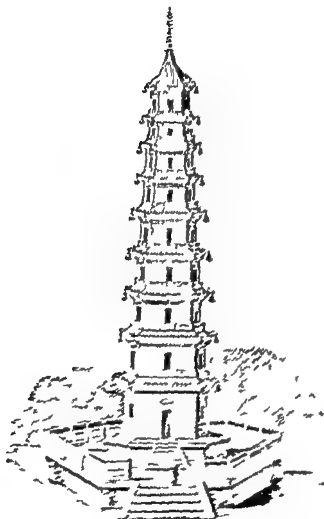
* Twenty-six years afterwards the flag-ship of Admiral Sir W. Parker was anchored off this very gate, and the Treaty of Nanking signed on board, in August, 1842.

A large assembled crowd had witnessed the transaction, and it evidently had a very favourable effect on their conduct, which became more civil than ordinary. In the course of the same day several gentlemen were allowed not only to pass the gate, but to proceed as far as they pleased into the interior, and from a high wooded hill within the wall, could see the modern town to the south, which occupies barely a third of the immense area. The ancient name of *Nanking* (the southern capital) is still in common use, but no longer admitted in official documents, wherein it is styled *Keang ning foo*, a city of the first order, but still merely the chief town of a province. The porcelain tower of Nanking (which however is porcelain in nothing but its tiles) was a conspicuous object in the distance, and tempted some of the party to undertake a walk to the modern town to inspect it. They reached the suburb without interruption, but the vast and dense crowd which presently surrounded them made it imprudent to persevere, and they were obliged to give up the principal object of their excursion. It was satisfactory, however, to have gained even this insight into the present condition of the ancient capital of China, which had never been visited by a former embassy. The following is from an unpublished journal of Sir George Staunton on the same occasion:—

"The view from the summit of the hill (within the gate) certainly well rewarded us for the labour of the ascent, and was a perfect panorama. On one side, and, as it were, beneath our feet, lay the suburb which we had just quitted, the noble stream of the Yang tse-keang, with its several branches, or rather subdivisions, and beyond them the pagoda of the city of Poo keu hien, and a distant range of hills in the horizon. On the other side was a beautiful vale of many leagues in extent, the whole of which, with several lesser eminences within its enceinte, is

included within the ancient boundaries of the imperial city. We could trace with the eye, assisted by a telescope, nearly the whole circuit of the walls; but within the vast space which they enclosed we looked almost in vain for the habitations of men, or any traces of the former populousness of this ancient capital of China. Even the very ruins and vestiges of the buildings which we are led to conclude must formerly have filled this space have disappeared; and at present clumps of trees, orchards, cultivated fields, and gardens, and a few scattered farm-houses occupy their places. At a distance, indeed, beyond an elevated ridge to the westward, we could perceive that a part of the valley was overhung with a cloud of smoke, which partially disclosed a few considerable buildings, and no doubt arose from that portion of the city which continues to be inhabited. We could distinguish pretty clearly the roofs of two or three buildings resembling temples, two arched gateways, and three pagodas, one of which, from its superior size and stateliness, and its proximity to the river, we immediately concluded to be the famous porcelain tower, and in this opinion we were confirmed by our Chinese conductors."

The desolation which took place in this ancient seat of the native sovereigns may no doubt be ascribed to the Tartar conquerors, who demolished the imperial palace, and even the sepulchres, in the rage of war. Much, however, may be attributed to another reason, which sufficiently explains why, except the Great Wall, there are few ancient monuments in China. Their edifices are far from being of a solid construction, the columns being in most cases of wood, and the climate throughout the country subject to the greatest vicissitudes of moisture and dryness, as well as of heat and cold. The nine-storied buildings called pagodas, being of good solid brickwork,



establishments to which they belong, besides the one at Nanking, a printed representation of which, with a description attached, was purchased by some of the embassy while in the neighbourhood. Its dimensions are nearly two hundred feet in height, the ground-plan being octagonal, and the spiral staircase built through the solid part of the wall, which surrounds a hollow space in the centre that is carried to the summit of the building. In niches at the sides of the stair are placed images of Budh, or of the goddess Kuân-yin.

Nanking being situated in lat. 32° 4′, the excellence of the climate, joined to its proximity to the great Keang and the canal, still renders it a populous place with a very considerable trade, however fallen from its former splendour. Besides its silk manufactures, and the cotton cloth which takes its name, the Chinese highly esteem the paper and the squares of ink which are made here. The pithy substance, in England vulgarly called *rice-paper*, is likewise prepared in this neighbourhood from a plant called *Tung-tsaou*, which is now known to us, and has been named *Aralia papyrifera*. When the pirate Koshinga ravaged the eastern coasts, he sailed easily up the mouth of the Keang to Nanking; and there is reason to suppose that to a European fleet it would be one of the most vulnerable parts of the empire, as the canal opens into the great river a little below the city towards the sea. To blockade at once the mouth of the canal and of the Yang-tse-keang could scarcely fail to distress the empire, and especially Peking, which is fed by supplies from the southern provinces.*

Nanking stands pretty nearly midway between Peking and Canton, the two most important extremes of China

* This was the precise mode in which our treaty of peace was imposed in 1842.

on the north and south Notwithstanding the very considerable difference of climate which must be produced by no less than seventeen degrees of latitude, the general character of the cities and towns throughout the empire, and of the houses which they contain, is surprisingly uniform The most striking features are the lowness of the houses and the narrowness of the streets, which are usually paved with flag stones, and calculated only for the passage of people on foot, or of those who are carried in sedan-chairs The way is sometimes crossed by those triple gateways of an ornamental structure, which have been improperly styled triumphal *arches*, but which are of a square construction, and appear to have been usually erected to the memory of individuals celebrated for their talents or virtues Another species of memorial of the same kind, is a large stone slab called *She-pae*, being about eight feet in height, two in breadth, and half a foot in thickness, covered with inscriptions, which record some honour conferred by the emperor, or the merit of some eminent person. These are always erected perpendicularly on the figure of a tortoise, of the same stone from which the slab is cut

The portion of Canton in which the European factories are situated, being a mere suburb, does not contain any of the decorations above described, but the arrangement and architecture of the streets and shops is precisely the same as within the walls of the city The shops are commonly quite open towards the street,—that is, those appropriated to Chinese customers, for the few streets devoted to European trade are rather on a different plan, the shops being of a closer structure, and less exposed to external observation. The several streets are commonly devoted to distinct trades There is *Carpenter street*, or rather square, as it is carried round a parallelo-

gram; *Curiosity*-street (as the English call it) is devoted to the sale of antiques, real and factitious; and *Apothecary*-street is full of druggists' shops, the drawers in which are neatly arranged and lettered, but filled principally with simples. By the side of each shop is suspended from on high a huge ornamental label of wood, varnished and gilded, on which are inscribed the particular calling of the tenant, and the goods in which he deals. This label, being hung like the sign of one of our inns, with its *edge* towards the street, and inscribed on both sides, can be read by all who approach the shop in either direction; and the vista of these numerous variegated signboards, glittering with gold and varnish, gives to the better streets a very gay appearance.

The inscriptions in the shops are sometimes amusing, and at the same time highly characteristic of the keenness and industry of the people as traders. We have seen the following:—"Gossiping and long sitting injure business." "Former customers have inspired caution—no credit given." "A small stream always flowing." "Goods genuine, prices true." "Trade circling like a wheel," &c. Either the police must be very good, or the populace tolerably abstemious; for some of the shops which are pretty richly supplied appear to be much exposed towards the street. But the inhabitants of each division generally combine into a system of watch and ward for the common protection; and during the night the streets are closed at each end by doors, which are guarded by the regular police. Commissioner Lin made a complete revolution in the streets adjoining the European factories during the year 1839, converting these into a sort of prison by blocking up several of the principal thoroughfares, and leaving but one or two outlets. In this manner the foreigners could be shut up and starved at the shortest

notice, and their condition was rendered quite as degrading as that of the Dutch at Nagasaki in Japan. Yet the Americans found trade profitable under these circumstances, and the war changed everything again.

The principal shops connected with European and American trade are those occupied by dealers in silks, lackered and carved ware and all those smaller articles that were not restricted to the Hong merchants, who formerly had the *exclusive* privilege of trading in tea, cotton, and other chief commodities. When the latter felt occasionally inclined to push their monopoly beyond its established limits, and to encroach on the sufficiently narrow trade of the shopmen, these usually combined for the purpose of opposing them with some chance of success. At the close of 1834 the Hong merchants showed a disposition to exercise the whole weight of their exclusive privileges against the English free trade, and even to *add* to them by depriving the shopmen of their accustomed dealings. A considerable ferment was created among the latter, which gave rise to a species of trades unions, composed of manufacturers and dealers who combined to plague the Hong merchants and petition the government, and succeeded, at length, in retaining such portion of the trade as they had before possessed.

The silk-weavers and dealers are much in the habit of forming combinations to maintain the rules of their trade, and the prices of work as well as goods. The forfeit for violating the laws of the combination is, to be at the sole expense of a dramatic exhibition, which lasts for three days, and to pay half the value of the commodity sold contrary to rule, for the support of the tradesmen's hall, of which there is generally one in every principal city, belonging to each wealthy *corporation* of traders, if they may be so termed. The embassy of 1816 observed a

a principal city of Keang-sy province, that by far the most considerable buildings were the commercial halls, belonging to the associated merchants and dealers. The principal room in the exchange of the green-tea merchants (who pass by this on their way to Canton) was named *Hychun Tâng*, or "Hyson hall." In the appropriation of these edifices, observes a private journal of the embassy, there is a singular combination of religious with commercial objects. They generally contain a temple of Budh, or some local divinity, and at the same time are used as an exchange, and house of entertainment and lodging, for the society of merchants to whom they belong.

The worshipful corporation of silkmen of Canton, having been of opinion in 1833 that some of their fraternity had been unfairly dealt with by an American, in a contract for silk piece-goods, forthwith exhibited a rather amusing placard against him. "In conducting commercial transactions (said the paper) the Chinese and foreigners are generally the same; in buying and selling with justice and equity there is no difference between them. When the goods are delivered, the money is immediately paid; there are no perverse difficulties made, nor cutting deductions inflicted. But there is now living in the Swedish factory, No. 2, an American devil, named *Hot*,* to whom a wolfish voracity has become nature. He monopolizes silks and various goods for the Americans. A gluttonous avarice fills his heart. There is long procrastination and money unpaid,—contracting for *much*, and then requiring *little*; with the concealed and villanous intention of picking and choosing. He would point at a *gem*, and call it a *stone*,† and then advance to administer the deadly potion of cutting down the price! And, again, when the

* Chinese corruption of the real name.
† Figuratively.

time of payment arrived, he would enforce discounts He scraped and peeled off from the trader both skin and fat. **** He, knowing that when the goods were once prepared there was none to take them but himself, forced his reductions upon us, and the Chinese brokers likewise servilely complied with his wish, joining and assisting in his wickedness, so that we have been torn by the wolf, and swallowed by the whale! We have become fish and flesh to him—our property is wasted without a return—all our hearts unite in detesting him, and therefore we have issued this song of our discontent All the weavers of satin, silk, and crape publicly unite in the above declaration '

The greatest risk to which the houses and shops of Canton are exposed is that of fires, which in frequent instances are not the results of mere accident The Chinese have very generally adopted the use of our engines, which they themselves occasionally manufacture sufficiently well to answer the purpose The foolish notion of fatalism which prevails among the people makes them singularly careless as regards fire, and the frequent recurrence of accidents has no effect upon them, although the fearful conflagration of 1822 went far to destroy the whole city When the dry northerly winds of the winter season have set in, the viceroy annually issues a notice to the people, calling on them to beware of the acts of incendiaries, who purposely set fire to buildings with a view to rob and plunder in the confusion and that there is sufficient ground for the apprehension seems proved by the fact, that fires break out most frequently at the season when they are most likely to spread, and most difficult to extinguish

Vagabonds and beggars are very numerous in Canton, but not more so than in many large cities of Europe In

all cases of dislocation, fracture, or diseased limbs, the ignorance of anatomy, and abhorrence of amputation, render some of the cripples very pitiable, as well as disgusting objects. They have no levy of rates for the poor, but some small charitable institutions, which "are few in number and small in extent," according to the observation of the writer in a detailed description of the city of Canton, published at that place. The following account of them is from the same little work:*—1. The "foundling hospital" stands without the walls of the city, on the east. It has accommodations for two or three hundred children, and is maintained at an annual expense of 2522 taëls, or about 840*l.* 2. *Yang-tse-yuen* is a retreat for poor aged and infirm or blind people, who have no friends to support them. It stands near the foundling hospital, and, like it, enjoys imperial patronage, receiving annually 5100 taëls. These sums are chiefly derived from the foreign ships that bring rice to Canton. 3. *Ma-foong-yuen*, a hospital for lepers, is also on the east of the city. The number of patients in it exceeds 300, and these are said to be maintained on 300 taëls a-year! The situation of lepers is peculiarly wretched in China, as they become outcasts from society, and from their families, from the first appearance of the disease. The object is probably to prevent its propagation.

The best maintenance of the poor, and the best provision for the due distribution of wealth, consists in the manner in which both law and custom enforce among them the claims of kindred. Public opinion considers it the duty of well-conditioned relatives to support or assist those who are allied to them by consanguinity, and the state refuses to maintain those who can work for themselves, or have friends able to relieve them. The atten-

* Page 57.

tion bestowed by the Chinese on their deceased ancestors, and the prevalence of clanship, or extensive societies claiming a common descent, gave to the lower orders some of that feeling which in England belongs only to persons of family but which has characterized the Scotch people very generally The natives of Canton province, and of Fokien are the most remarkable in China for the extent to which this feeling of clanship is carried, and for the inconveniences to which it gives rise In Fokien two clans fell out in this manner in 1817 The name of one was *Tsae*, and of the other *Wang*, and, a gathering of each having taken place, they fought until many were killed and a number of houses destroyed by fire. The police seized the most violent, but the worsted clan again attacked the other, and killed several of them, until the government called in the military to restore order The Chinese even carry this feeling *abroad* with them Their skill as cultivators occasioned some hundreds to be employed at St. Helena, and when Sir Hudson Lowe was governor of that island, he informed the writer of this that two clans from different provinces of China, having quarrelled in 1819, met together to have a battle royal A serjeant's party turned out to quell the disturbance, but the stronger side, running up the side of one of the steep ravines began to roll down stones, while the weaker one joined the soldiers, who were at length compelled to fire in their own defence, by which several Chinese were killed, and order soon restored

But the fraternities which are most dreaded by the government of China are those secret associations, under various mysterious names, which combine for purposes either religious or political, or perhaps both together Of the first description, the sect of the "Water Lily" (a sacred plant), and that of the "Incense-burners," are both

denounced in the 7th section of the Shing-yu; and with them is confounded the Romish worship under the same prohibition. The late weak state of the government has rendered it particularly jealous of all secret societies whatever, as well as cruel and unrelenting in punishing their leaders. But the chief object of its dread and persecution is the *San-hŏ-hoey*, or Triad Society, of which some description was given in 1823 by Dr. Milne. The name seems to imply that, when *Heaven*, *Earth*, and *Man* combine to favour them, they shall succeed in subverting the present Tartar dynasty, and that, in the mean while, every exertion is to be used to mature that event. They have naturally had some share in the recent insurrections.

In October, 1828, a paper, of which the following is an exact translation, was found in the Protestant burial-ground at Macao, by a gentleman of the Company's service, who, understanding the meaning of it, sent the production immediately to the mandarin of the district, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and who entreated that the matter might not be made public, as he should be severely punished for the mere discovery of such a seditious paper within his district:—

> "Vast was the central nation—flourishing the heavenly dynasty,
> A thousand regions sent tribute—ten thousand nations did homage;
> But the Tartars obtained it by fraud—and this grudge can never be assuaged.
> Enlist soldiers, procure horses—display aloft the flowery standard,
> Raise troops and seize weapons—let us exterminate the Manchow race."

Dr. Milne's account of the *Triad Society*, whose nature and objects he took some pains to investigate, is so curious as to deserve particular notice. The name of this association means, "the Society of the Three united," that is, of Heaven, Earth, and Man, which, according to the imperfect notions and expressions of Chinese philosophy, imply

the three departments of Nature There is a well-known Chinese cyclopædia, arranged under these three heads In the reign of Kea-king, about the commencement of the present century, the Triad Society, under another name, spread itself rapidly through the provinces, and had nearly succeeded in overturning the government In 1803 its machinations were frustrated, and the principal leaders seized and put to death, the official reports stating to the emperor that "not a single member of that rebellious fraternity was left alive" But the fact was otherwise, for they still existed, and, with a view to secrecy, adopted the name which they at present bear

The objects of the association appear at first to have been allied to something like freemasonry, and to have aimed simply at mutual aid and assistance, but as the numbers increased, their views degenerated from the laudable ends of reciprocal benefit to violence and robbery, the overthrow of government, and the acquisition of political power by the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty In foreign colonies, as at Batavia, Sincapore, and Malacca, the real or pretended branches of the association exist, and their objects are mutual defence, as well as plunder and other dishonesty They engage to defend each other from the attacks of police-officers, and to assist members of their society in escaping from justice If any one feels himself injured, the others take part in his quarrel and help him to revenge himself. Still the *professed* design is merely benevolent, as appears from their motto, which is a distich with this meaning —

"The blessings mutually share,
The woe reciprocally bear

The management of the combination is vested in three persons, who are denominated *ko*, elder brethren, in the

same manner that freemasons style each other "brothers." Of their internal discipline Dr. Milne could obtain little information. The Society's regulations are said to be written for greater security on cloth, which, on any emergency, may be thrown into a well, or otherwise concealed for a time. They have not been tolerated at Hongkong.

The ceremony of initiation is said to take place at night. The oath of secrecy is taken before an idol, and a sum of money given to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony called *kuo-keaou*, "passing the bridge," which bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables, or else set up on the hilts and meeting at the points, in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath take it under this bridge, and the *yeh-ko*, or chief brother, reads the articles of the oath, to each of which an affirmative response is given by the new member, after which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating, "Thus perish all who divulge the secret." Some of the marks by which they make themselves known to each other consist of mystical numbers, of which the chief is the number *three*. Certain motions of the fingers constitute a class of signs. To discover if one of the fraternity is in company, a brother will take up his teacup, or its cover, in a particular way with three fingers, and this will be answered by a corresponding sign. They have a common seal, consisting of a pentagonal figure, in which are inscribed certain characters in a sense understood only by the initiated.

Except in their dangerous or dishonest principles, the *San-hŏ-hoey* bear a considerable resemblance to the society of Freemasons. They even pretend to carry their origin back to remote antiquity under another name. The members swear at their initiation to be fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds with the engagement of the free-

masons Another point of resemblance is in the ceremonies of initiation, in the oath and the solemnity of its administration These are so striking as to merit the attention of such as deem the history of freemasonry worthy of investigation Dr Milne goes on to observe that the signs, particularly the use of the fingers, as far as is known or conjectured, appear to bear a resemblance "Some have affirmed (says he) that the great secret of freemasonry consists in the words 'liberty and equality,' and if so, certainly the term *heung-te* (brethren) of the Triad Society may be explained as implying the same idea. Whether there exists anything in the shape of lodges in the San-hŏ-hoey the writer has no means of ascertaining, but he believes the Chinese law is too rigorous against this body to admit of any, nor does there appear to be a partiality for the masonic employment" Branches of this association have spread over most of the islands and settlements in the Malay archipelago They have sometimes impeded the execution of our laws at Sincapore against Chinese culprits, and the rapid increase of that portion of the population may hereafter render them dangerous, unless the most summary measures are adopted for their suppression

The cautious policy of the government of China, ever on the watch to prevent the possibility of political associations under a religious exterior, allows no temples or other institutions of that kind to be erected that are not strictly orthodox, or which come not either within the Confucian doctrine, or the tolerated sects of Fŏ and Taou. In 1824 the emperor issued this edict —"To delude the people with unorthodox opinions is a great contravention of the laws According to the report of the censor, a fane has again been erected to the superstition of Woo tung, at a place three miles to the west of Soo-chow-foo In the

reign of Kâng-hy the fane was destroyed and the idols burnt, and for a long series of years the superstition has been suppressed; but the sacrifices are now offered as before. The witches place a pretended confidence in the predictions of the spirits, and promise a fulfilment of hopes and desires." This was in fact an *oracle*, such as the weakness of human nature has given rise to in many other countries. The emperor goes on to say, "Let not the simple people be permitted to offer sacrifices or to associate with the votaries of the superstition. Let the magistrates issue instructions to the heads of families to exercise a rigid control over their dependents. Let the whole system of false worship, calculated only to delude the uninstructed populace, with its burning of incense, and collection of subscriptions, be followed up, whenever it is detected, with severe punishment, in order that the public morals may be preserved, and the minds of men set right."

The description of the city of Canton, already referred to, gives a short account of the principal licensed temples, which may be considered as samples of what are to be found in most other cities of the empire. "The Kuâng-heaou-tse, or temple of 'resplendent filial duty,' is one of the largest, and stands within the walls, near the north-west corner of the city. It is endowed with a considerable quantity of land for the support of its priests or inmates, who amount to 200 in number, and is said to have been built as long ago as the period of the 'Three Kingdoms,' A.D. 250. Another temple, having attached to it a lofty pagoda, or minaret, is in fact a Mahomedan mosque, built (as the Chinese say) by *foreigners* in the Tâng dynasty, when the Arabs traded to Canton, and still fully tolerated. The Mahomedans amount at present to as many as 3000, and are distinguished from the other inhabitants as per-

sons who have no idols, and who will not eat swine's flesh "*

Besides less considerable ones, there is a Budhist establishment at Canton, about three-quarters of a mile north of the foreign factories, in the suburb beyond the city walls, which contains 100 priests, who are maintained on an annual revenue of 7000 taels The temple, with its grounds, occupies some acres of land, and has several spacious halls, one of which was built by a son of Howqua, the Hong merchant. In one part of the temple is a large image of Budh, and in another an idol of *Kuân-yin*, the goddess who "regards the cries" of mortals, and assists them She is worshipped chiefly by women Another very large temple and monastery of the Budhist persuasion is to be seen on the opposite side of the river, nearly fronting the European factories, but a particular description and plan of this must be reserved to illustrate the sect of Fŏ, under the head of *Religions*

Among other temples, Canton, and indeed every principal city, contains one to the majesty and long life of the emperor, under the title of Wân show Koong, or the "Hall of Ten Thousand Years " the walls and furniture of this temple are yellow, and at the period when the emperor's

* The Chinese observe of the Mahomedans that "the people of that nation worship Heaven alone nor is there any other being or thing to [illegible] said) are liberal to the [illegible] country are received as [illegible] hospitality among the Arabs) Their funeral rites are simple in Canton they are buried without coffins The shell in which the deceased is carried to the tomb has a false bottom which draws out and lets the corpse fall into the grave If it fall with its face towards heaven, they regard the circumstance as an omen of future felicity if the corpse turn with its face to the earth, it is an unhappy sign In the times of *Chin and Tang* (about the seventh century) they first entered China, and afterwards came by sea to Canton After the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty they spread widely through the country and now they abound everywhere

birthday occurs in every year, the viceroy and all the principal officers of government, both civil and military, assemble there to pay him adoration. The solemnities practised are exactly the same as when he is present. No chairs are allowed; but every one takes with him a cushion, on which he sits cross-legged upon the ground, as the embassy and mandarins did at the imperial feast at Tien-tsin in 1816.*

Among the most respectable-looking buildings of Canton, inasmuch as the *fronts* at least are concerned, are the foreign factories, which occupy a very limited extent along the bank of the river in the south-western suburb. The confined state of these, and their utter inadequacy to accommodate an increased number of traders, at the same time that the government refused any increase of space, was a subject often debated with the local authorities. These factories, together with a large portion of the suburb in which they are situated, are built on a muddy flat which has been gained from the river, and they are consequently erected upon wooden piles, only just above high-water mark. The heavy rains, during the summers of 1833 and 1834, produced overflowings of the river, which inundated the whole of the European quarters to the height of several feet on their ground-floors. Boats plied from door to door along the streets, and from one European residence to another; and a net was seen to be cast for fish in the midst of a Hong merchant's grounds! This was succeeded, as might have been expected, by sickness among the natives and Europeans; and there can be little doubt that, if the inundations frequently recurred, the factories, both from that cause and from their crowded state, would become uninhabitable by the large numbers disposed to try their fortunes at Canton. There would be no remedy

* Chap. X., p. 360.

for these evils excepting permission to erect additional factories in a more healthy situation, and beyond the reach of the high tides, which never fail, during the rainy months, to inundate some portion of the space towards the river. The effect of this in a hot climate must, of course, be highly noxious.

The following account of the inundation in 1833 is from the 'Chinese Repository,' published at Canton:—"On the 5th and 6th of September the tide was at the highest, being from four to five feet at the eastern gates of the city, which are above the factories. On the night of the 5th, the weather being calm and serene, the low murmuring of the current, as it rolled along, was distinctly audible in the foreign factories * * * * On the 7th the water began gradually to abate, but it did not return to its ordinary level until after the 16th, when the spring tides had passed over. For upwards of a week, during the continuance of the inundation, the current rushed past with such rapidity, that all business with the shipping at Whampoa was entirely stopped, and even light gigs with European crews had the utmost difficulty in reaching Canton. To describe all that has come to our knowledge of the effects of this awful visitation would far exceed our limits." The distress occasioned in the province had a visible effect on the commerce of the European ships, as it lessened at once the demand for imports and the supply of exports. The inundations, so unprecedented in former years, are said to have been occasioned by the neglect of the government, or its inability, to repair the extensive ravages in the dikes and embankments between Canton and the high country to the north and west; and, as the floods were repeated in 1834, there is reason to fear their recurrence may be expected.

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have been shut up together, for the prosecution of their trading business at Canton, does not exceed between seven and eight hundred feet. Each front, of which there are about thirteen, extends backwards some hundred and thirty yards into a long narrow lane or thoroughfare, on each side of which, as well as over arches that cross it, are the confined abodes of the English, French, Dutch, Americans, Parsees, and others. Many of these spend a large portion, if not the whole, of their lives here in the worship of Mammon, formerly without the sight of a female face, and with no recreation but the jingling of dollars, as they are perpetually being weighed or examined by the Chinese money-changers in receipts or payments! Many years back a considerable number of flags, as the Danish, Swedish, and Austrian, were hoisted in front of the factories, besides the English, Dutch, and American; but for the last quarter of a century these three, with the French tricolor, which was erected soon after the revolution of 1830, have been the only foreign ensigns seen there.

The European factories are called by the Chinese "the thirteen *Hongs;*" the word Hong being always used by them to denote a commercial establishment or warehouse. According to their custom, each factory is distinguished either by some appellation denoting wealth and prosperity, or by its flag. Thus the Austrian or imperial factory was called the "Twin-eagle Hong," a name which it retains to this day; the Danish, the "Yellow-flag Hong;" the Company's, "the Hong that ensures tranquillity;" the American, "the Hong of extensive fountains;" and so on. To the east of all there is a narrow inlet from the river,—a fetid ditch, which serves to surround a portion of the city wall, as well as to drain that part of the town. This is crossed with a single arch, by a narrow street at the

back of the factories, that leads to the warehouses of the several merchants, all of them communicating with the river by wooden or stone stairs, from which the tea and other merchandise is shipped

The space occupied by the foreign factories is crossed by two well known thoroughfares, one of them named China street and the other very appropriately dignified with the descriptive title of Hog lane The former is rather broader than the generality of Chinese streets, and contains the shops of the small dealers in carved and lackered ware, silks, and other articles in common demand by strangers These are attracted to the several shops by inscriptions in the European character, which sometimes promise more than they perform as when the dauber of truculent likenesses calls himself a "handsome face painter," &c The shops, instead of being set out with the showy and sometimes expensive front of an English or French boutique, are closed in by gloomy black shutters, and very ill lit by a small skylight, or rather a hole in the roof The inmates, instead of showing the civility and alacrity of shopkeepers in London or Paris, and anticipating the demands of their customers in the display of their goods, slowly, and sometimes sullenly, produce the articles from their cases and cupboards as they may be asked for so that shopping at Canton is far from being an agreeable pastime

The alley called Hog lane it is not easy to describe by any standard of comparison, as nothing so narrow or so filthy exists in a European town The hovels by which it is lined were occupied by abandoned Chinese, who supplied the poor ignorant sailors with spirits, medicated to their taste with stimulating or stupifying drugs, and when the wretched men had been reduced to a bestial state by these poisonous liquors they were frequently set

upon by their wily seducers, and robbed as well as beaten; until those sent in search of the sailors arrived and carried them to their boat in this disgraceful condition. It was here that the affrays, which many years since so frequently led to homicides and discussions with the government, in general originated; until the Company's authorities invested the senior commander of the fleet with the complete regulation and control of all boats, with their crews, at Canton. Powerful influence was at the same time used to put down the spirit-shops, or bind their owners by heavy pains and penalties to good behaviour.

Those who anciently witnessed the fearful tumults generated in Hog-lane described them as something quite remarkable. A few straggling sailors, fresh from their ship, in passing a spirit-shop, would be greeted by some Chinese with "How you do, Jack?" which would be immediately followed by a general exchange of similar brief and familiar appellatives, as Tom, Bill, and Ned, be the person addressed Christian or Pagan. A pipe and repeated glasses of grog (all on the sailor's side) would immediately follow,—with what might be called their ulterior consequences; for when the Chinese at length made their singularly unreasonable demand for payment, as, perhaps, a few dollars for what might be worth a few pence, Jack would have just sufficient reason left to discern the extent of the enormity, without being at all in a condition to meet the case by a logical *reductio ad absurdum.* The place of reason would therefore be supplied by the fist, or by anything still harder that chanced to be grasped within it. The Chinese, not unprepared for the emergency, and in full possession of their wits, would discomfit by dint of numbers, and drive the drunken sailors down the lane; but these would presently return with strong reinforcements; and so the tumult would grow,

with successive charges and recharges, and wounds deep and broad, until several individuals on either side were maimed or killed. This dangerous thoroughfare was blocked up after the expedition of 1847, and the southern extremity made room for an English chapel.

The European commerce at Canton will be noticed specially hereafter. The amount of the native population of this city has been often discussed, but so little authentic information has ever been obtained on the subject that it still remains a question wholly undecided. The sweeping calculations, however, by which some persons have endeavoured to make it amount to a million, do not seem to deserve much credit. As the whole circuit of the city has been compassed within two hours by persons on foot, it cannot exceed six or seven miles, and considering that the houses are not more than a single story in height, it seems difficult to imagine how such a monstrous number as a million can be stuffed within its precincts, the whole of which are within range of the eye.

Indeed a large portion of the manufacturing business of the place is carried on, not upon the spot, but at a place called Fo-shan, about ten or twelve miles higher up the river. This stream, which is of such magnitude opposite to the city as to float the large tea-junks, some of them equal to eight hundred or a thousand tons burthen, loses much of its size at a town called San-shuey Hien, which is not more than thirty-six miles above Canton, and is so named from the river there forming "three streams," or branches, one of which conducts from the north, the other from the west, and the third, composed of the two united, leads down to the city. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the country along the sides of the river. The low country is interspersed with numerous well-wooded hills, planted chiefly with firs, which rise like islands above the culti-

vated flats by which they are surrounded. The banks of the stream are richly planted with fruit-trees, consisting of the peach, the orange, and the plantain: and experience has shown that their roots, imbedded in the rich mud which has been chiefly gained from the river, and constantly fed with moisture by the tides, succeed better in that situation than in any other.

Not the least remarkable objects on the water, near Canton, are the immense rafts of fir which are constantly floated down to that place from the north and west. These are frequently many hundred yards in length, and consist often of systems of rafts lashed together, and extending to an incredible distance. They are guided down the river by means of long bamboo poles, managed by a few persons who erect their huts on the rafts, and make them their temporary abodes. A family of young children may frequently be seen sporting fearlessly, and in perfect security, on these huge plains of floating timber.

It must be observed that no inconsiderable portion of what may be considered as the population of Canton exists upon the river, in the multitude that inhabit the junks, barges, and small boats. A very large majority of the latter (as remarked in the "Description" of the city) are Tân-kea, or "egg-house" boats, from their shape resembling the longitudinal section of an egg. They are generally not more than ten or twelve feet long, about six broad, and so low that a person can scarcely stand up in them. Their covering consists of a bamboo or mat tilt, shaped like that of a waggon, which is very light, and serves tolerably as a defence against the weather. Whole families live in these boats, and are considered as a distinct part of the population, being under a separate regulation, and not allowed to intermarry with those on shore.

But for the method already described of *sculling* the river craft, it would be physically impossible for such multitudes of vessels, large and small, to move about among each other without mutual impediment and confusion The extreme order which reigned on the Canton river, notwithstanding its crowded state, particularly struck Captain Laplace, whom we have already quoted, and whose remarks on the subject are here translated, as the impressions of an individual altogether new to the place —"The greatest tranquillity, a perfect harmony, reigns amid t this aquatic population All these boats, of forms and dimensions so varied, move peaceably about No fights, and rarely any quarrels Each boat, carrying either passengers or goods, and sculled by a female surrounded by her little ones, meets everywhere with a good humoured accommodation, in consequence of which, notwithstanding the rapid current of the river, accidents are extremely rare What a lesson for the lower orders, so brutal, so coarse, among nations who pretend at the same time to be the most civilized in the world! In China, the knowledge and the arts which have given such an impulse to the industry of France and England are much as they were in Europe above a century ago, but I repeat that the Chinese are very much our superiors in *true* civilization—in that which frees the majority of men from the brutality and ignorance which, among many European nations, place the lowest classes of society on a level with the most savage beasts" Monsieur Laplace is quite right; the lower classes of the Chinese people are better educated, or at least better trained, in their conduct to each other at least, than in most other countries.

The long experience of European residents, who have been daily accustomed to sail or row upon the Canton river, either for business or pleasure, has gone to corrobo-

rate the observations introduced in a former chapter against the alleged *frequency* of the custom of female infanticide, the *existence* of which to a limited extent nobody pretends to deny. That the practice is disapproved by the Chinese themselves will be best shown by the following extracts from a native work, which serve to prove, at the same time, that it is partly the result of the jealousies arising from the vicious system of legal concubinage. "The drowning of infants, though it be the work of cruel women, yet results from the will of the husband; if the husband be determined against drowning the infant, the woman can have nothing in her power. If the child be born of a *handmaid*, and the *wife* will not endure it, you may pass it over, after the first month, to some other family, and give it a name different from your own; by which means its life will be happily preserved.

"The nature of the tiger is most cruel, yet it knows the relation between parent and offspring. Shall man, who is the superior essence of all things, be surpassed by the tiger? I have heard that, when female children are killed, the pain inflicted is beyond comparison—long suffering ere they die. Alas! the hearts of parents that can endure this! The disposition of daughters is most tender. They love their parents better than sons do. Many sons go from home; daughters cleave to their parents. Many sons disobey their parents; daughters are obedient. Sons have little feeling; daughters always mourn for their parents. Daughters love their virtuous husbands, and in many cases increase their parents' honour. The magistrates sometimes wrote tablets in their praise; and the emperor graciously conferred presents on them. Some were made ladies of the palace; others wives of great men. If you preserve the lives of your daughters, a sure reward will be the consequence."

As far as general demoralization (the most natural of all causes) can tend to promote the practice of infanticide, Canton is considered by the Chinese themselves as the most licentious city in the whole empire, from the concurrent influence of its climate and of the vast circulation of wealth produced by its foreign commerce. To be appointed to an official employment at that place was emphatically called 'being *promoted* to Canton,' so superior were the opportunities of enriching oneself in every way, though it must now give way to other places. The number of dissipated and idle vagabonds proves the comparative viciousness of this provincial metropolis; and a singular discovery, made in 1820, showed at once the character of the place, and the evil effects resulting from the practice of domestic slavery, as well as of legal concubinage. It was on that occasion found that a system of kidnapping male and female children had long prevailed, and been carried on to a great extent by an associated gang, and the following is an abstract of the circumstances which were detailed at the time in the 'Chinese Gleaner.'

The discovery was effected by the persevering efforts of a silk-weaver, who[illegible] apprentice, the only son of a friend, had been kidnapped soon after entering on his service. The man walked the streets of Canton in search of the lad, until by his daily wanderings and want of success he became half distracted. When all hope of finding [illegible] had nearly vanished he came by mere accident [illegible] object of his search, who being, according to the Chinese account, stupified by drugs or otherwise [illegible] master. The weaver, however, conveyed [illegible], and then to the lad's father, and after [illegible] with the practice of some [illegible] was restored to his senses and [illegible]

immediately reported to the government, by whom the rendezvous of the kidnappers, ascertained from the lad's information, was surrounded, and all escape prevented. In the house were found six men and three women, who had for a long course of years carried on a successful system of kidnapping children, and sending them to other provinces to be sold as domestic slaves. Several hundreds had been thus stolen by them, and ten were actually found in the house. The gang were put to the torture, under which two died, and the remaining seven were chained together and paraded through the streets, receiving lashes from the youths whom they had kidnapped; after which they were either put to death or transported to Tartary.

There is a peculiar turbulence about the character of the people on the sea-coast of this province, as well as the adjoining one of Fokien, which distinguishes them from other Chinese, and has frequently been noticed in the government proclamations, especially in regard to that spirit of *clanship* which is a frequent source of so much disorder. This difference may be perhaps attributed to the seafaring habits which distinguish them from the rest of the empire. The most notorious place for these excesses is the district of *Chaou-chow*, on the frontiers of Canton and Fokien, but still in the former province. One of the inhabitants some years since carried his appeal even to Peking against the magistrates, who either would not, or dared not, restrain the outrages, which resembled, in many respects, the horrors so frequently enacted formerly by the Papists in Ireland. His kindred, having refused to assist two other clans in that neighbourhood to fight in their feuds, suffered the most shocking cruelties in consequence. Their houses were laid in ruins; several hundred acres of land seized and devastated; money plundered; temples of ancestors thrown down; graves dug up; and the water cut

off from the rice fields. Many persons were killed; more still were maimed and crippled for life; and, notwithstanding the large rewards offered for the apprehension of the leaders, such was the organization which bound them together that they escaped unpunished.

The immense fleets of pirates who have often continued for years to infest the southern coasts, and who at length have been put down only by a compromise on the part of the government, may partly account for the existence of a maritime population in these two provinces distinguished by a ferocity of character so different from the peaceable mildness of the other Chinese. To repress these, as well as to provide a safeguard against the European traders, was probably the object of the unusually large amount of Chinese troops and of war junks which were kept up in the Canton province. At a short distance below the foreign factories is the dockyard, which seems continually engaged in building or repairing the vessels of the emperor's squadron, whose inefficiency against European ships the Chinese never pretend to dispute. The sovereign of China himself not long since issued a paper, in which he inveighed against "the falling off" of his navy, as he declared had been proved on several occasions. "There is the *name* of going to sea," he observed, "but not the *reality*. Cases of piracy are continually occurring, and even barbarian barks anchor in our inner seas,"—alluding to the European vessels on the eastern coasts.*

The land force retained about the city of Canton has

* The defeat of Admiral Kuan and his twenty-nine war vessels by the Volage and Hyacinth (a small frigate and sloop) in 1839 extorted an admission even in a paper from Peking that the European ships were too strong to cope with; but the admiral was rewarded, and a victory claimed at Canton. Whole fleets have been since destroyed.

been estimated at 7000; but a considerable portion of these are a mere municipal police, and not regular soldiers, though the same term *ping*, in contradistinction to the common people, is applied to all alike. One of the viceroys of the province, subsequently to the ill conduct of the Canton troops in the operations against the independent mountaineers, published a curious summary of the duties of a Chinese soldier in warfare:—"Whoever runs away is to be decapitated. When an enemy advances, he who shrinks, or whispers to his comrade, shall suffer death. On commencing a fight, powder, shot, and arrows must not be thrown away at a distance, but reserved for closer action, as the want of them, when needed, is like waiting to be slain with the hands tied. When a mandarin is wounded or taken, the men must make every effort to save him, and, if they neglect this, they are to be put to death. The soldier who bravely kills an enemy shall be rewarded, but he who *lies* concerning his own merits, or usurps those of others, shall be decapitated. He who hears the drum and does not advance, or who hears the gong and does not retire, shall suffer the same punishment. Strict adherence to the severities of martial law is the only way to make brave men of cowards."

It may be reasonably doubted whether the above rules are the best that could be devised for such a purpose, and the proof is that the Chinese generally effect the objects of force by trickery and compromise. But after this enumeration of the chief duties of a common soldier, it may be as well to give, from another quarter, the virtues of a good general in the selection of his men; some of which, it must be remarked, are rather of a *speculative* than of a practical nature. "The covetous he appoints to guard his treasure; the uncorrupt, to dispense his rewards; the benevolent, to accept submission; the discriminating and astute, to be

envoys; the scheming, to divine the enemy's plans; the timid, to guard the gate, the brave, to force the enemy, the strong, to seize an important pass; the alert, to gain intelligence, the *deaf*, to keep a look-out; and the *blind*, to listen As a good carpenter throws away no blocks, so a good general has no men unemployed Each is selected according to his capacity but favour (it is added), and interest, and secret influence subvert the order of things, sending the blind to look out, and the deaf to listen" Until 1841 it had never yet, by any chance, happened to Chinese soldiers to be engaged with European troops on land, but, by the admission of the natives themselves, they had always failed entirely, and always must fail, against ships, and it could scarcely be doubted that they would be as easily discomfited in the other instance, whenever any European power found it worth while to make the trial *

The Chinese government has expended very large sums in the vain endeavour to render the entrance of the Canton river impassable to European ships of war The 'Alceste' frigate forced her way, in 1816, almost without opposition, but, after that period, additional forts were built, and all the guns that could be collected were placed in them, with something like a determination to succeed in the object When Lord Napier, in September, 1834, despatched a requisition to his Majesty's ships 'Imogene' and 'Andromache' to proceed to Whampoa and join the merchant shipping at their anchorage, it met of course with a prompt compliance, and a fair experiment of their strength and means was afforded to the batteries at the Bocca Tigris, as they had been long preparing themselves † Their proved inadequacy on that occasion

* The trial was first made in our war and fully confirmed this anticipation

† See Chap II

led to additional defences being constructed, until the long lines of stone works, bristling with cannon in hundreds, were sufficiently formidable, to the eye at least. These have been repeatedly taken and disarmed, in 1841, in 1847, and 1856.

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F.R.S., &c.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—Vol. II.

With Illustrations.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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CHINA.

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It has been observed that the very errors of the human mind form a part of its history, and it is on this ground that the different religious or philosophic persuasions into which the vast population of China has been divided, claim a portion of our attention; while it may be added, of the doctrines of Confucius in particular, that they form the basis of the whole system of government. These last, perhaps, owe some of their better traits to the circumstance of having originated during a period when the country was divided into a number of small states, nominally dependent on one head, but each ruled by its own laws; a condition more favourable to liberty and good government than its subsequent union under one absolute master

Confucius, as his name has been Latinized by the Jesuits (being really Koong-foo-tse), was born about 550 B.C., in the state Loo, within the district now called Keofow Hien, just to the eastward of the great canal, in

Shantung province. It will be observed, from the date, that he was a contemporary of Pythagoras. From his earliest age, Confucius is said to have been indifferent to the ordinary amusements of youth, and devoted to grave and serious pursuits. Being the son of a statesman, the chief minister of his native kingdom, he employed himself entirely on moral and political science, and neither investigated any of the branches of natural knowledge, nor meddled with the common superstitions of his country. His doctrines, therefore, constitute rather a system of philosophy in the department of morals and politics, than any particular religious persuasion.

It was the chief endeavour of the sage to correct the vices which had crept into the state, and to restore the influence of those maxims which had been derived from the *ancient kings*, as Yaou, Shun, and others, celebrated in history or tradition. That he was sincere, and that his professed love of reform was not a mere stepping-stone to his personal ambition, or an instrument to serve his private ends, was proved by the readiness with which he abandoned the station to which his talents had raised him, when he found that his counsels were unavailing, and his influence inadequate to the restoration of order. That portion of modern China which lies to the north of the great Keang was then divided into a commonwealth of states, of which the native kingdom of Confucius formed only a constituent member; and through these various countries he journeyed in a condition of simplicity and comparative indigence, devoting himself to the instruction of all ranks, and to the propagation of his precepts of virtue and social order. Such was the success of his endeavours, and the weight of his influential character and good example, that he is said to have reckoned, at length, as many as three thousand

disciples or proselytes, of whom seventy-two were more particularly distinguished by their devotion to their master, and their practice of his precepts. He was now sought after by the rulers of the several states, and employed in high offices tending to mature his knowledge and experience, but at length retired to the company of his chosen disciples, to study philosophy, and compose or compile those celebrated works which have handed down his reputation to after-ages, and become the sacred books of China.

Among the moral doctrines of this great oriental teacher might be noticed some which have obtained the universal assent of mankind, and which cannot be surpassed in excellence as rules of conduct. He taught men "to treat others according to the treatment which they themselves would desire at their hands," and "to guard their secret *thoughts*," as the sources and origin of action. In common, however, with every other scheme of philosophy merely human, there is much to condemn in the principles of the Chinese sage. He carried his inculcation of filial duty to so absurd and mischievous an extent as to enjoin it on a son "not to live under the same heaven" with the slayer of his father; or, in other words, to exercise the *lex talionis*, and put him to death. This pushing to extremes of the paternal claim has (as we have before hinted) been the constant device of Chinese statesmen and rulers; the tendency being to strengthen the authority of the *emperor*, founded as it is in the rights of a father over his children. Confucius was renowned for his unpretending humility and modesty; but this portion of his mantle has not descended on his disciples of the present day; for if distinguished occasionally by some of the virtues of *Stoics*, they resemble that sect still more in the high tone of self-sufficiency and

pride which marks the conduct of the Confucians to all who have not the honour to profess the state religion of China.

By the marriage which he had contracted at the early age of nineteen, the sage had but one son, who died before his father, leaving, however, a grandson to Confucius, who inherited the talents and virtues of his progenitor, and distinguished himself in high stations. The founder of another sect, calling themselves *Taou-sze*, or "Doctors of reason" (whom we shall hereafter describe), was contemporary with the great philosopher, and perhaps has been indebted, in some measure, for the consideration in which he is held, to the attention bestowed on him by Confucius, who is said to have repaired to his dwelling for the purpose of conferring with him, and exploring his tenets. After completing his last work, the *Chun-tsieu*, which was a history of the times in which he had lived, Confucius died at the age of seventy-three, much regretted by the rulers of the states whose government and morals he had contributed mainly to ameliorate. Time has but added to the reputation which he left behind him; and he is now, at the distance of more than two thousand years, held in universal veneration throughout China by persons of all sects and persuasions, with shrines and temples erected to his worship.

Dr. Morrison, in the first part of his Dictionary, has quoted various particulars relating to the life of the sage from several Chinese works. Confucius is said to have been more than nine cubits in height; and whatever may have been the cubit of those days, he was universally called "the tall man." Various prodigies, as in other instances, were the forerunners of the birth of this extraordinary person. On the eve of his appearance upon earth, two dragons encircled the house, and celestial

music sounded in the ears of his mother. When he was born, this inscription appeared on his breast—"The maker of a rule for settling the world." The pedigree of Confucius is traced back in a summary manner to the mythological monarch *Hoang ty*, who is said to have lived more than two thousand years before Christ. The morality of his family, however, notwithstanding this high descent, and even of himself, was in one respect open to censure: for he divorced his legal wife, and the example was followed by his son and grandson.

When he had concluded his travels through the various states, and retired to his native kingdom, which was at the age of thirty, disciples began to flock to him in great numbers. "At fifteen (says the sage in the *Lun-yu*) I commenced my application to wisdom, and at thirty my resolution was immovably fixed." The close of his life was far from tranquil, and he was either employed in the affairs or implicated in the disputes of the petty states of his day. A quarrel in which the sovereign of Loo was defeated, obliged Confucius to flee northward to the kingdom Tsy, situated in the modern gulf of Pechely. Between his fiftieth and seventieth years he was absent from home fourteen years together. When seventy years of age, his favourite disciple Yen-hoey died. Confucius, being greatly concerned for the continuance and propagation of his doctrines, and having entertained great hopes of this person, was inconsolable for his loss, and wept bitterly, exclaiming, "Heaven has destroyed—Heaven has destroyed me!" In his seventy-third year, a few days before his death, he moved about, leaning on his staff, and sighed as he exclaimed—

"The mountain is crumbling,
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He observed to a disciple that the empire had long been in a state of anarchy, and mentioned a dream of the previous night, which he regarded as the presage of his own departure; and so it came to pass, for after seven days of sickness he died. The 18th day of the second moon is kept by the Chinese as the anniversary of their sage's death. In the Hân dynasty, long subsequent to his existence, Confucius was dignified with the highest title of honour, *Koong;* and he was subsequently styled the Sovereign Teacher. The Ming, or Chinese dynasty, which succeeded the Mongols, called him "The most holy teacher of ancient times," a title which the present Tartar family has continued.

Though only a single descendant (his grandson) survived Confucius, the succession has continued through sixty-seven or sixty-eight generations to the present day, in the very district where their great ancestor was born. Various honours and privileges have always distinguished the family. The heads have enjoyed the rank of nobility; and in the time of Kâng-hy the total number of descendants amounted to eleven thousand males. In every city, down to those of the third order, styled Hien, there is a temple dedicated to Confucius. The emperor himself, the magistrates, and all the learned of the land do him homage. The philosopher in his lifetime sometimes spoke as if persuaded that he had received a special commission to instruct the world. In a moment of apparent danger he exclaimed, "If Heaven is resolved that my doctrine shall not fail, the men of Kuâng can do nothing to me."

Dr. Morrison justly observes that "Confucius was engaged in politics all his life; and even his ethics dwell chiefly on those social duties which have a political bearing. A family is the prototype of his nation or

empire, and he lays at the bottom of his system, not the visionary notions (which have no existence in nature) of *independence* and *equality*, but principles of *dependence* and *subordination*—as of children to parents, the younger to the elder, and so on These principles are perpetually inculcated in the Confucian writings, as well as embodied in solemn ceremonials, and in apparently trivial forms of mere etiquette It is probably this feature of his doctrines that has made him such a favourite with all the governments of China for many centuries past, and down to this day These principles and these forms are early instilled into young minds, and form the basis of their moral sentiment the elucidation and enforcement of these principles and forms is the business of students who aspire to be magistrates or statesmen, and of the wealthy who desire nominal rank in the country, and it is, in all likelihood owing chiefly to the influence of these principles on the national mind and conscience that China holds together the largest associated population in the world It is certain that no pagan philosopher or teacher has influenced a larger, if so large, a portion of the whole human race, or met with more unalloyed veneration Whatever the other opinions or faith of a Chinese may be, he takes good care to treat Confucius with respect and, as we have before observed that Confucianism is rather a philosophy than a religion, it can scarcely be said to come into direct collision with religious persuasions The Catholics got on very well until they meddled with the civil and social institutions of China

A summary view of the original works or compilations which have come down from the age of Confucius and his disciples will perhaps enable us to form some judgment respecting that school of philosophy and literature of which he was the head, and which constitutes, at this

day, the standard of Chinese orthodoxy. The classical or sacred works consist in all of nine: that is to say, the 'Four Books,' and the 'Five Canonical Works.' In the course of a regular education, the former of these are the first studied and committed to memory, being subsequently followed up by the others; and a complete knowledge of the whole of them, as well as of the standard notes and criticisms by which they are elucidated, is an indispensable condition towards the attainment of the higher grades of literary and official rank. The original text of these works is comprised within a very moderate compass; but the numerous commentaries, which from time to time have been added, contribute to swell the whole to a formidable bulk. The art of printing, however, which gives the Chinese such an advantage over other Asiatic nations, together with the extreme cheapness of paper, has contributed to multiply the copies *ad infinitum*, and to bring these and most other books of the country within the reach of almost everybody.

1. The first of the 'Four Books' is the *Ta-heŏ*, which has been correctly rendered 'The School of Adults' by the Jesuits, meaning literally the *study of grown persons*. A later work, which has been named in contradistinction *Seaou-heŏ*, 'The Study of Youth,' commonly precedes the other in education. The Ta-heŏ proceeds to show that in the knowledge and government of *oneself* the economy and government of a family must originate; and going on thence to extend the principle of domestic rule to the government of a province, it deduces from this last the rules and maxims which should prevail in the ordering of the whole empire. The first section of the work is ascribed to Confucius himself, and the remaining ten to his principal disciple. The pithy and condensed style of these celebrated bequests of antiquity may be inferred

from the fact that the *text* of this work (however it may be swelled by commentaries) contains less than two thousand words, and its contents are briefly summed up as tending "to the improvement of oneself, the regulation of a family, the government of a state, and the rule of an empire" The end and aim of the work is evidently political, and in this instance, as in others, the philosopher and statesman of China commences with *morals* as the foundation of *politics*, with the conduct of an individual father in his family, as the prototype of a sovereign's sway over his people In the sixth section of this work "the beauty of virtue" is inculcated somewhat in the manner of the Stoics, and its practice recommended as a species of enjoyment There is some wisdom shown in pointing out the importance and utility of rectifying "the motives of action The following sentence, too, is remarkable —"He who gains the hearts of the people secures the throne, and he who loses the people's hearts loses the throne" There is every reason to believe that the recollection of this has tended to soften in practice the absolute theory of the Chinese government, and contributed to its general quiet and stability

A very detailed analysis of their classics cannot be attempted in a work of this popular description, and we therefore conclude our notice of the Ta heŏ by quoting a maxim from the tenth section, which might be recommended to the notice of European financiers "Let those who produce revenue be many, and those who consume it few, let the producers have every facility, and let the consumers practise economy thus there will be constantly a sufficiency of revenue,'—and (it might have been added) no national debts There is a fair translation of the Ta-heŏ, with the text, in Dr Marshman's

Clavis Sinica; and M. Pauthier has lately published a Latin version at Paris.

2. The title of the second of the 'Four Books' is *Choong-yoong*, which means the 'Infallible Medium,' or the *juste-milieu*. It is an application of the Greek maxim—

ἡ δε μεσοτης εν πασιν ασφαλεστερα,

that "the middle is in all things the safer course." Whatever vicissitudes a man may undergo, he is taught to be always equal and moderate; never haughty or elate in an exalted station, nor base in an humble one. It must not, however, be supposed that the thirty-three sections into which this work is divided are always of a practical nature, for they contain much that is extremely obscure, and sometimes almost unintelligible. The work serves generally to expound the ideas of the Chinese respecting the nature of human virtue. They commonly divide mankind into three great classes:—1. The *Shing*, perfect or inspired, who are wise or virtuous independently of instruction—the saints of China. 2. The *Hien*, good or moral, who become so by the aid of study and application. 3. The *Yu*, vicious or worthless, who degenerate into that state in spite of teaching. The Chinese consider that the nature of man is originally pure and inclined to virtue, and that it becomes vitiated only by the force of evil example, and by being soiled with what they call "the dust of the world." The old Greek poet Hesiod has four lines which define with surprising exactness the above triplicate classification of mankind. He says that—

"He indeed is the BEST of men who of himself is wise in all things;
Though he is GOOD who follows a good instructor;
But he who is neither wise of himself, nor, in listening to another,
Remains mindful of advice—this is the WORTHLESS Man."

The best translation of the *Choong-yoong* is that by Abel Remusat, late professor of Chinese at Paris but his version has been properly censured for being rather too verbal, and for too close an adherence to the mere letter of the text, in a work which, of all others in that language, requires to be illustrated with some degree of freedom in order to make it intelligible

3 The *Lun-yu*, the conversations or sayings of Confucius recorded by his disciples, together with the most remarkable actions of his life, is in all respects a complete Chinese *Boswell* There is the same submissive reverence towards the great master of letters and morals, and the same display of self devotion in erecting the fabric of his greatness The conversational style is preserved alike throughout, as may be seen from these examples —

LUN YU

A disciple inquired, "What must the sage do to deserve renown?" *Confucius* asked, "What do you call renown?" The other replied, "To be known among the nations, and at home" *Confucius* said, "That is merely notoriety, and not true renown Now this consists in straightforward and honest sincerity, in the love of justice, in the knowledge of mankind, and in humility," &c

BOSWELL

Talking of Goldsmith, he said, "Sir, he is so much afraid of being unnoticed, that he often talks merely lest you should forget that he is in the company" *Boswell*, "Yes, he stands forward" *Johnson*, "True, sir, but if a man is to stand forward, he should wish to do it, not in an awkward posture, not in rags, not so as that he shall only be exposed to ridicule," &c

The advantage, however, to our taste, is much on the side of the modern philosopher. The Chinese work consists in all of twenty chapters, divided into two equal parts—the *Shang* and *Hea* (upper and lower), first and second. The maxims turn chiefly upon private or public conduct, morals or politics. The demeanour and habits of the sage are diligently recorded:—"He was mild, yet firm; majestic, though not harsh; grave, yet agreeable." He seems to have been fond of a simple and retired life. "The virtues of country people (he observes) are beautiful: he who in selecting a residence refuses to dwell among them, cannot be considered wise." The following is a specimen of the style of the Lun-yu. Being asked by a disciple to define the man of superior virtue, Confucius replied, "He has neither sorrow nor fear." "Does that alone constitute the character?" observed the other, surprised. "If a man," rejoined the sage, "searches within and finds nought wrong, need he have either sorrow or fear?" This is nothing more than the sentiment of Horace:—

"Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ."

The Chinese philosopher is stated to have been an enthusiastic lover of music, and to have done something to improve it. Certain it is, that whatever was said or done by him is made a rule of action at the present day, even to his personal demeanour. It has been observed before that many of the provisions of the Penal Code are founded upon his maxims; and one instance in particular was noticed, wherein it is enacted, "that children and near relations, or dependents, shall not be punishable for concealing the faults of those with whom they dwell." The object of this seems to be the strengthening of kindred and domestic ties, founded on that precept of

Confucius—"The father may conceal the faults of his son, and the son those of his father—virtue consists with this" The most remarkable passage of the 'Four Books,' and the best maxim of the Chinese teacher, is the following:—Being asked if any *one word* could express the conduct most fitting for one's whole life, he replied, "Will not the word *Shoo* serve?" and he explains this by "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you" This word must be admitted to be one of comprehensive import.

"There are three things," said Confucius, "to beware of through life When a man is young, let him beware of his appetites; when middle-aged, of his passions; and, when old, of covetousness especially" The following passage deserves notice —"How can a mean man serve his prince? (asked the sage)—When out of office, his sole object is to *attain* it, and when he has attained it, his only anxiety is to *keep* it In his unprincipled dread of losing his place, he will readily go all lengths"* The extreme conciseness of the language in which these books are written makes it sometimes very difficult to render their true meaning into English, except by some degree of paraphrase and circumlocution, and hence the apparent absurdities that have been justly ridiculed in some of the Protestant missionary translations Those honest but injudicious men seemed to imagine that a verbal rendering was the one best calculated to convey the import of the original, whereas the very reverse is often the fact. The language of China is so much altered in point of copiousness, since the 'Four Books' were composed, that the *native editions consist chiefly of commentaries and amplifications* which are found to be absolutely necessary towards elucidating the text. This, it must be admitted,

* Chap xvii sec. 15

may occasionally lead the rulers of China to interpret their great oracle in the manner best calculated to suit their own purposes, and such was the opinion of a correspondent of ours, who had spent half his life at Peking:—"Confucius est toujours grave, sentencieux, laconique, mystérieux—les lettrés y trouvent tout ce qu'ils veuillent."

4. Ranking next to Confucius (*similis aut secundus*) is the celebrated Mencius, so called by the Jesuits, from his Chinese name Meng-tse. He lived about a century after his great predecessor, whose doctrines he still farther illustrated and promoted, and left behind him the *fourth* of the sacred books, bearing his own name. His birth was, as usual, said to be attended with prodigies, but the less fabulous part of the legend attributes the virtues and learning of Mencius to the excellent precepts and example which he received from his mother. Such was her care of the boy, that she three times removed her dwelling on account of some fault in the neighbourhood. Satisfied at length on this point, she sent her son to school, while she, a poor widow, remained at home to spin and weave for a subsistence. Not pleased with his progress, she learned, on inquiry, that he was wayward and idle, upon which she rent the web, which she was weaving, asunder, partly from vexation, and partly as a figurative expression of what she wished him to remember; for when the affrighted boy asked the reason of her conduct, she made him understand that, without diligence and effort, his attending school would be as useless to his progress in learning, as her beginning a web, and destroying it when half done, would be to the procuring of food and clothing. He took the hint, addressed himself to learning with all diligence, and became a sage second only to Confucius himself. One anecdote of the mother of Mencius deserves notice. The boy, on seeing some

animals killed, asked her what was going to be done with them She in jest said, "They are killed to feed you," but, on recollecting herself she repented of this because it might teach him to lie, so she bought some of the meat and gave it to him, that the fact might agree with what she had uttered The Chinese hold her up as the pattern of mothers

The first book of Mencius opens with a conversation between him and the king of the state called Leang The latter had usurped the title, and, when he invited the worthies and philosophers of the day to his court, Mencius went among the rest On his entering, the king accosted him, saying, "I suppose you come to increase the gains of my country?" To which he replied, "What need is there to speak of gain? Benevolence and justice are all in all," —and he illustrated this by showing that, if a spirit of selfish avarice went abroad among all ranks from the prince downwards, mutual strife and anarchy must be the result, upon which the king, as if convinced, reiterated his words, and said, "Benevolence and justice are all in all" Mencius lived to the age of eighty four, and his memory remained without any particular marks of honour, until an emperor of the Soong dynasty, A D 1085, reared a temple to him in Shantong province, where his remains had been interred He then obtained a niche in the temple of Confucius Kea-tsing, an emperor of the Ming dynasty, which expelled the Mongols, established the memory of the sage in its ancient honours, and made one of his real or supposed descendants in the *fifty sixth* generation a member of the Han lin College, which title was to remain hereditary in the family for the performance of the requisite sacrifices "If," as Dr Morrison* observes, "the persons who now profess to

* Dictionary part I p 73

be the posterity of Confucius and Mencius be really so, their families are probably the most ancient in the world." It would certainly be difficult to find even a Welsh pedigree to compete with them.

The contents of the book of Mencius exceed the aggregate of the other three, and the main object of the work is to inculcate that great principle of Confucius—philanthropic government. To our taste it is by far the best of the whole; and while it must be confessed to contain a great deal that is obscure, and perhaps worthless, there are passages in it which would not disgrace the productions of more modern and enlightened times. It is curious to find in the text-book of an absolute government sentences which savour much more of the rights of humanity, and a regard to the general good, than could have been expected. Nothing indeed is more remarkable, in the 'Four Books,' than the freedom with which Confucius and Mencius give their advice to kings. An instance occurs in the sixth chapter of the work under consideration. In reply to a proposition from the sovereign, that certain severe or unjust taxes should be only lightened this year, and abolished the next, Mencius replies, "This is like a man who should steal his neighbour's goods, and, on being censured, should answer, 'I will take so much less every month, and stop next year.' If you know the thing to be unjust, give it up instantly."

"The hearts of the people" are stated to be the only legitimate foundations of empire, or of permanent rule.* "If, when with an equal strength (it is said) you invade a country, the people come to welcome you with supplies,

* "This obvious truth has been much insisted on in every period of Chinese history; and, being more or less acted on, has ameliorated the condition of the people, who, though not formally represented in any legislative assembly, have always found other means of making their voice heard."—*Morrison.*

can this be on any other account than because you are about to rescue them from fire and water? * but if you deepen the water and increase the fire, they will turn from you.' Were any European power ever disposed to gain an influence in China by expelling the Tartars, this would be the language to hold; and as a secret association actually exists, whose object is the restoration of the Chinese dynasty, this seems to be the mode in which the end might most easily be attained. In fact, the Tartars are at all times extremely jealous of any intimate connexion arising between their Chinese subjects and foreigners, and this lies at the bottom of their rigid system of exclusion. It was *prior* to the Tartar conquest that Europeans had access to various commercial marts on the eastern coast, and only after that event that they were shut out in the most effectual manner.

"He who subdues men by force (says Mencius) is a tyrant; he who subdues them by philanthropy is a king. Those who subdue by force do not subdue the heart; but those who subdue men by virtue gain the hearts of the subdued, and their submission is sincere." He at the same time explains very well the necessity for governments, as well as for the inequalities in the conditions of different orders of society. It may be questioned whether the argument could be better put than in his fourth book, where the illustration he makes use of demonstrates, at the same time, the advantages resulting from the *division of labour*. Let it be remembered that this was all written more than two thousand years ago. In reply to the objection that one portion of the community is obliged to produce food for the other,† "Does the farmer (asked

* Explained in the Commentary as *tyranny*.
† Chap. v. ver. 4.

Mencius) weave the cloth or make the cap which he wears?—No; he gives grain in exchange. Why does he not make them himself?—It would injure his farming.—Does he make his own cooking-vessels or iron implements for farming?—No; he gives grain in barter for them: the labour of the mechanic and that of the husbandman ought not to be united. Then (says Mencius), are the government of the empire and the business of the farmer the only employments that *may* be united?—There are employments proper to men of superior station, as well as to those in inferior conditions. Hence it has been observed, some labour with their minds, and some with their bodies. Those who labour with their minds *rule*, and those who labour with their bodies are *ruled*." This is exactly Pope's line—

"And those who think still govern those who toil."

The commentary appended to the foregoing in the Chinese work proceeds to add,—"The mutual benefit derived by these different classes from each other's exertions resembles the advantage that results to the farmer and mechanic from the exchange of their respective produce. Hence it is proved that the exemption of some from manual labour is beneficial to the whole community." It appears from the book of Mencius that the Chinese have always considered the ground as the original source of all wealth, and the principal subject of taxation. Agriculture is called the *root*, and manufactures and trade the *branches*, and hence the higher honours and attention bestowed on the former.

After the 'Four Books' come the 'Five Canonical Works,' called *King*, of each of which Confucius was either the author or compiler. 1. The *Shy-king*, or Book of Sacred Songs, has been described by the author of this

work in the Royal Asiatic Transactions,* is a collection of about three hundred short poems selected by Confucius himself, after rejecting the licentious pieces which were numerous. The earliest poetry of China, like that of all other nations, appears to have consisted of songs and odes, intended occasionally to be accompanied by music. They have the following notion of the nature of poetical language: — "The human feelings, when excited, become embodied in words; when words fail to express them, sighs or inarticulate tones succeed; when these are inadequate to do justice to feeling, then recourse is had to song." The Book of Songs is divided into four portions, of which the first, the largest and most interesting, is called *Kuo-foong*, "the manners of different states," that is, of the states into which a portion of the present empire was then divided. These had all of them a kind of feudal dependence on one sovereign, who, in order to possess himself of the best means of estimating the character and sentiments of the various people more or less under his sway, was furnished with the songs and odes most popular in each of them. This agrees in a singular manner with the following remark of a writer in the Spectator.† — "I have heard," says he, "that a minister of state in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had all manner of books and ballads brought to him of what kind soever, and took great notice how much they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present disposition, and of the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes." The bulk of these curious vestiges of antiquity in China do not rise beyond the most primitive simplicity, and their style and language, without the minute commentary that accompanies

* [illegible] II., On the [illegible] of the [illegible]

† No. [illegible]

them, would not be always intelligible at the present day. This commentary, however, explains and elucidates their meaning, and, by means of the historical associations which it serves to convey, renders these songs the favourite study of the better informed at the present remote period. Every well-educated Chinese has the most celebrated pieces by heart, and there are constant allusions to them in modern poetry and writings of all kinds.

The second and third parts of the ancient Book of Songs are said to have been composed for the purpose of being sung or recited on state occasions. They treat of the great and virtuous actions of heroes and sages, or express their sentiments. The fourth and last portion of the ancient poetical canon is called *Soong*, that is, eulogies or panegyrics on the ancestors of the dynasty Chow, then filling the throne, and on the great personages of antiquity. They appear to have been a species of hymn, sung before the emperor when he sacrificed as *pontifex maximus* (always the peculiar office of Chinese sovereigns) in the temples of Heaven and Earth, or in the hall of his ancestors. Whatever may be the real character of the Shy-king on the score of poetical merit, it is at least curious as having been compiled more than twenty centuries prior to our time, and some portion of it composed at a still earlier period.*

2. The *Shoo-king*, which is the next of the 'Five Canonical Works,' is considered by the Chinese as imperfect, and accordingly obscure in many parts, only fifty-eight sections remaining out of one hundred. The rest were perhaps destroyed in the great bonfire of books, by which the first universal emperor, Chy-hoang-ty, made himself so celebrated. The Shoo-king is a history of the deliberations between the two emperors Yaou and Shun, and those

* Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. ii. p. 422.

persons whom Confucius styles the *ancient kings* (rulers of petty nations or states) whose maxims are quoted by him as the models of perfection Their notions of good government are founded on certain principles, sufficiently good in themselves, and "which being observed, there is order,—if abandoned there is anarchy" "It is vain to expect (they add) that good government can proceed from vicious minds Here again one is occasionally surprised (as in the precepts of Confucius and Mencius themselves) to meet with maxims which could be hardly anticipated as the groundwork of a mere Asiatic despotism They rather prove in fact that if administered and preserved in strict accordance with its theory, the government of China is based in a great measure on public opinion * When the people (in the Shoo-king) rise against the tyranny of him with whom the *Hea* dynasty closed, they are justified by the maxim, that "the *people's hearts* and *Heaven's decree* are the same, which is nothing else, in fact, than *vox populi vox Dei*

We have before had occasion to notice the account contained in the Shoo-king of a general inundation (by some identified with the universal deluge), whose waters were drained off by the exertions of the great *Yu* in the course, it is said, of nine years This, together with other circumstances attending the Chinese account of the event, leads rather to the inference that it was only an aggravation of those fearful inundations to which the extensive country watered by the Yellow River (descending at once from the hills of Tartary into an immense and nearly level plain) is even now constantly liable There is, indeed, fair ground for concluding that the course of that great

* A philosopher of a [illegible] held [illegible] those [illegible] maxims [illegible] —"Lord, [illegible] the wishes of the people [illegible] to the Lord"

stream near the sea has, at some remote period, been changed, and that it must once have emptied itself into the gulf of Pechely, north of the Shantung promontory.* The unparalleled quantity of mud which its waters hold in suspension is now forming deposits, impeding its exit into the sea, and annually causing inundations by throwing the stream back upon the flat country. It is more than possible that the choking of the ancient embouchure caused the deluge of *Yaou;* and a second deluge may be caused by the stoppage of the present exit.

3. The Book of Rites, *Ly-king* which is the next in order, may be considered as the foundation of the present state of Chinese manners, and one of the causes of their uniform unchangeableness. Exterior forms were highly estimated by the earliest teachers of the country, on the ground of their being calculated to soften men's manners, and restrain their natural proneness to excess and violence. They observed that, the tempers and dispositions of all being different, the *Ly* (or rules of propriety in relation to external conduct) became necessary in order to harmonize such opposite characters, and reconcile their differences. Hence it has been the constant endeavour of Chinese moralists and rulers to stifle everything like passion in its birth, and to reduce all to a tranquil dead level. The ceremonial usages of the country are com-

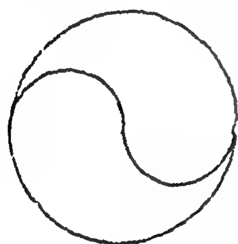
* In the book of Mencius it is stated (chap. v. sec. 4) that Yu, in the course of eight years, removed the obstacles which choked several rivers, so that they flowed into the sea, and that he opened a vent for others into the Keang. Mr. Collie, the Protestant missionary, who translated the Four Books, remarks that (according to this account) the country had been overflowed from the creation of the world down to the period in question, and that the water was put into proper channels by human efforts. "These circumstances (he adds) deserve the consideration of such persons as have supposed that the Chinese writers alluded to the universal deluge." Mr. Collie seems quite right, *except* in the supposition that the inundation was primæval: it was more likely to be accidental.

monly estimated to amount to *three thousand*, as prescribed in the ritual; and one of the Six Boards or tribunals at Peking, called *Ly poo*, is especially charged with the guardianship and interpretation of these important matters, which really form a portion of the religion of the Chinese.

4. The *Chun tsew*, a history of his own times and of those which immediately preceded them, was the last, and perhaps, strictly speaking, the only *original* work of Confucius. Its object appears to have been to afford warnings and examples to the rulers of the country, reproving their misgovernment, and inculcating the maxims of the "ancient kings" for their guidance. This work commences about 750 years before our era, and concludes with the events which immediately preceded the death of the philosopher. Having been commenced in spring and concluded in autumn, the *Chun tsew* derives its name from this circumstance; and such are the fanciful names frequently given by the Chinese to their literary productions. We believe that this work has never yet been wholly translated into any European language. The opinion given by Père Prémare of the Chinese histories in general is perhaps the real reason why they do not bear the labour or expense of a detailed version. *In ultimo gradu pono historicos, non quod male scribunt, sed quia non admodum curo scire facta quæ referunt*—"I rank their historians the last in order, not on account of any intrinsic inferiority, but because I do not take the same interest in the facts which they relate."

5. The last that we have to notice of the Canonical Works is the *Yĭ-king*, which is a mystical exposition of what some consider as a very ancient theory of creation, and of the *changes* that are perpetually occurring in nature, whence the name of the work. The system may

doubtless be extremely ancient in its origin, but little can be gathered from the *Yĕ-king*, the most oracular of performances; and this philosophy has been greatly added to in later times by the commentator *Choo-tsze*, and others who flourished in the eleventh century of our era, when the learned dynasty of Soong governed China. The arithmetic diagrams of Fo-hy, as we find them in the Yĕ-king, bear some resemblance to the mystical numbers of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras, who, although he enlarged the bounds of science, appears to have allowed his speculations to be perverted by dreams of mysterious virtue in certain numbers and combinations. In the same way the Chinese make use in divination, and various other branches of their mock philosophy, of the *Pa-kua*, or eight diagrams of Fo-hy, which, if they mean anything, may be supposed to represent a system of binary arithmetic. Chinese philosophers speak of the origin of all created things, or the *premier principe matériel* (as it has been called in French translations) under the name of *Tae-keih*. This is represented in their books by a figure, which is thus formed:



On the semidiameter of a given circle describe a semicircle, and on the remaining semidiameter, but on the other side, describe another semicircle. The whole figure represents the *Tae-keih*, and the two divided portions, formed by the curved line, typify what are called the *Yâng* and *Yin*; in respect to which, this Chinese mystery bears a singular parallel to that extraordinary fiction of Egyptian mythology, the supposed intervention of a masculo-feminine principle in the development of the *mundane egg*.* The *Tae-keih* is said to have produced the *Yâng* and

* This idea seems to have been very general. "In a mysterious

Yin, the active and passive, or male and female principle, and these last to have produced all things. The Heaven they call *Yang*, the Earth *Yin*—the Sun is *Yang*, the Moon *Yin*,—and in the same manner the supposed analogy is carried throughout all nature. One might sometimes be led by their definitions of the *Tae keih*, to suppose it an intelligent being; but the general drift of the system is plainly material, as it does not discriminate between the creature and the Creator. This dogma of materialism, however ancient it may be in its first origin, became especially cultivated, or, according to some, *originated* in China, during the *Soong* dynasty, which preceded the Mongol Tartar conquest. The learning and science of the Chinese, such as it was, being then much in vogue, some celebrated commentators on the ancient books appeared about that time, the most famous of whom was the *Choo-tsze* before named. At length under Yoong lo of the *Ming* dynasty, and in the fourteenth century, a joint work was composed by name *Sing ly ta tseuen*, or a complete exposition of nature, in which the mystery of a Tae-keih was fully treated of. Choo-tsze thus expressed himself:—"The celestial principle was male, the terrestrial female: all animate and inanimate nature may be distinguished into masculine and feminine; even vegetable productions are male and female, as, for instance, there is female *hemp*, and male and female *bamboo*. Nothing exists independent of the *Yin* and *Yang*." Although the Chinese do not characterise the sexes of plants, and

passage of the Yajur veda, Brahma is spoken of, after his emanation from the golden egg, as experiencing fear at being alone in the universe; he then ... will ... the existence of another, and instantly he became of masculo-feminine kind. The two sexes thus existing in one god were immediately, by an act of volition, divided in twain, and became man and wife. This tradition seems to have found its way into Greece, for the Androgynus of Plato is but another version of this Oriental tradition.—*The Hindoos*, vol. I. p. 1...

arrange them systematically as we do after Linnæus, they use the above phraseology in regard to them; nor do they confine it to the vegetable and animal creation only, but extend the same to every part of nature.* *Numbers* themselves have their genders: a *unit* and every odd number is male; *two* and every even number female.

The above might, with no great impropriety, be styled "a sexual system of the universe." They maintain that, when from the union of the *Yâng* and *Yin* all existences, both animate and inanimate, had been produced, the sexual principle was conveyed to, and became inherent in, all of them. Thus heaven, the sun, day, &c., are considered of the male gender; earth, the moon, night, &c., of the female. This notion pervades every department of knowledge in China. It exists in their theories of anatomy and medicine, and is constantly referred to on every subject. The chief divinities worshipped by the emperor, as high-priest of the state religion, are Heaven and Earth, which in this sense appear to answer in some degree to ουρανος and γη in the cosmogony of the Greeks.

Of *Tien*, or Heaven, they sometimes speak as of the Supreme Being, pervading the universe, and awarding moral retribution: and it is in the same sense that the emperor is styled "the Son of Heaven." At other times they apply the term to the visible sky only. Heaven stands at the head of their *moral* as well as *physical* system, and most of the attributes of the Deity are referred to it. The common people colloquially apply to it a term of respect, equivalent to *venerable father*, or *Lord*; and *Choo-tsze* himself says on one occasion, that "Heaven means God." *Ty*, the earth, is called by the Chinese

* Chinese Gleaner, vol. ii. p. 141.

mother, in the same way that *Tien*, heaven, is styled *father*; and between these two all sublunary things are said to have been produced.

The combinations of double and single lines contained in the Yĕ-king, and denominated *Kua*, may be seen depicted on the circles of the Chinese mariner's compass. Of these Dr. Morrison observed that they are called the signs, forms or species of all things in nature, and seem somewhat like the intelligible numbers of Pythagoras, as the monad, duad, and so forth, of which nothing either certain or important is now known. Some have spoken of these numbers as "the archetype of the world;" others, in language much more like that of the Chinese, call them "the symbolical representations of the first principles and forms in nature." But what is meant in either case it is not easy to determine. Whatever use Pythagoras made of his "intelligible numbers," the only intelligible use that is made of them in China is for the purposes of imposture in fortune-telling or divination.

The same writer remarked that, with the Confucians of China, the gods appeared to hold by no means an undivided supremacy, the saints or sages (*shing-jin*) seeming to be of at least equal importance. Confucius admitted that he did not understand much respecting the gods, and therefore he preferred being silent on the subject; and Choo-foo-tsze (or Choo-tsze) affirmed that sufficient knowledge was not possessed to say positively that they existed; but he saw no difficulty in omitting the subject altogether. Though the sages in China did not claim for themselves an equality with heaven, they yet talk of each other in a way that sounds like blasphemy. Heaven and earth (they say) produced man, but the work was incomplete; men were to be taught the

principles of reason, which heaven and earth could not do; the work of the sages was equally great, and therefore heaven, earth, and the sages form a triad of powers equal among themselves.* The Chinese division of human knowledge (it may be remarked) is into *Heaven*, *Earth*, and *Man*. "The *Joo-keaou*, or sect of the learned (adds Dr. Morrison), which is so miserably deficient respecting the Deity, is almost entirely silent respecting the immortality of the soul, as well as future rewards and punishments. Virtue is rewarded, and vice punished, in the individuals, or in their posterity, on earth; but of a separate state of existence they do not speak." †

Among the sages of China, none perhaps holds a much higher rank in general estimation than the celebrated commentator Choo-foo-tsze. In the embassy of 1816 we visited the spot which had been consecrated by the abode of this person, and which, from the natural beauties of the situation, possesses attractions of no ordinary kind. On the west of the Poyang lake, near the city *Nan-kang-foo*, is a range of mountains, consisting principally of mica-slate, in which are embedded great quantities of garnets, the whole in a state of rapid disintegration. The mica existed in such abundance, that our entire pathway, as the sun shone upon it, was in a blaze of light. At no great distance the Chinese were working large quarries of fine granite. Near the bottom of a beautiful cascade,

* "Then," says Confucius, "the sage is united with heaven and earth, so as to form a triad. To be united with heaven and earth means to stand equal with heaven and earth. These are the actions of the man who is by nature perfect, and who needs not to acquire perfection by study." It may be observed that the emperors of China are principally included in this list.

† Their philosophy makes man consist of a *hing*, figure, or visible body, and *ky*, spirit, or animating principle. While the union continues, the body remains sensible, and their separation is death.

which fell in a crystal column from a great height, was the commencement of a most romantic valley, in which, at a little distance from the foot of the mountains, was the spot formerly inhabited by the philosopher: it was called "the Vale of the White Deer," from a circumstance in his history. The most remarkable object, in the Temple there erected, was a figure of Confucius, of whom the complexion was represented as quite black. On the tablet below his feet was inscribed, "The altar of the deified Confucius, the most holy teacher of ancient times." In one of the halls, at present used as a school-room for young students, were five large tablets, inscribed with the most noted precepts of the sage. There were also the two following inscriptions on either side of the entrance:— "Since the time of Choo-tsze, learning has flowed as from an authentic fount." "By studying in the retirement of the mountains and waterfalls, man returns to the primitive goodness of his nature."

That the Chinese believe in the existence of an *innate moral sense*, seems implied in this passage from Mencius: —"If you remark the natural dispositions, you may see that they are towards virtue, hence I say that man's nature is virtuous. All men have (originally) compassionate hearts; all men have hearts that feel ashamed of vice; all have hearts disposed to show reverence and respect; and all men have hearts that can discriminate between right and wrong. A compassionate heart implies benevolence; one ashamed of vice, rectitude; one which respects and reveres, a sense of propriety;* and one that clearly distinguishes right from wrong, wisdom. Now the principles of benevolence, rectitude, propriety, and wisdom are not infused into us from without; we certainly possess them of ourselves." It will be remarked that these

* *Ly*, the word applied to their ceremonies.

notions are quite opposed to our own doctrine of original sin and human depravity.

This notice of the state religion of China may be concluded by the following sketch of the principal objects of worship, and other points connected with it, abstracted from the detailed account contained in the 'Chinese Repository,' a work printed at Canton.* The state-worship is divided into three classes:—first, the *Ta-sze*, or great sacrifices; secondly, the *Choong-sze*, or medium sacrifices, and lastly, the *Seaou-sze*, or lesser sacrifices. Under the first head are worshipped the Heaven and the Earth. In this manner they would seem to adore the material and visible heaven, as contrasted with the earth; but they at the same time appear to consider that there *exists an animating intelligence* which presides over the world, rewarding virtue and punishing vice. *Tien* and *Shang-ty*, "the supreme ruler," appear always to be synonymous in the Shoo-king. Equal with the above, and like them restricted to the worship of the emperor and his court, is the great Temple of Imperial Ancestors. If the Chinese sovereigns are thus deified, we may recollect similar examples of madness and folly in the Roman emperors, one of whom, still farther to outrage the common sense of mankind, made his horse a consul; and even the "conquering son of Ammon" himself was not exempt from those disorders of the brain which infest the giddy heights of human prosperity. In China, however, this extravagance is rather the part of a *system*, calculated by design to work upon the feelings and opinions of the multitude, than the mere result of individual caprice and vanity.

The objects of worship entitled to the "medium sacrifices" are (among others) the gods of the land and grain. The former are generally represented by a rude stone,

* Vol. iii. p. 49.

placed on an altar with matches of incense burning before it, which is commonly seen in every street and corner. The Sun and Moon, otherwise called the "Great light" and the "Evening light," come under this head. The rest are various—gods, genii, sages, and others, the inventors of agriculture, manufactures, and useful arts. The God of letters stands principal among these. The "lesser sacrifices" include a still larger class, among which is the ancient patron of the healing art, together with innumerable spirits of deceased statesmen, eminent scholars, martyrs to virtue, &c. The principal phenomena of nature are likewise worshipped, as the clouds, the rain, wind, and thunder, each of which has its presiding god. The *five mountains*, the *four seas*, are rather figurative than exact expressions for the land and the ocean in general. Like the Romans, they worship their military flags and banners; and *Kuan ty*, a deified warrior of ancient times, much honoured by the military, is especially adored by the present dynasty for his supposed assistance. Their right being that of conquest, they properly worship the god of war. *Loong wang*, the Dragon king, who represents rivers and the watery element, receives much sacrifice from those who have charge of the Yellow River and Grand Canal, both of which so frequently burst their banks; and his temples were constantly recurring during the progress of the embassies through the country.

Among others of the same class of gods is "the Queen of Heaven," *Tien how*,* concerning whom the legend says that she was a native of the province of Fokien, and distinguished in early life for her devotion and celibacy. She became deified during the thirteenth century under the Soong dynasty, and having originated in a maritime province she is the peculiar patroness of seafaring people,

* Worshipped also by the Buddhists.

who erect altars and temples to her on shore, and implo her protection on the water. She is supposed to have th control of the weather; and in seasons of severe drough the government issues proclamations, commanding a general fast and abstinence from animal food: the local magistrate, in his official capacity, goes to the temples, and remains fasting and praying for successive days and nights, supplicating for rain. In no country are the vicissitudes of the seasons more irregular, nor the inconveniences resulting from them more severe, than in some parts of China.

That the material universe is the object of worship appears not only from the names of those several parts which have been given above, but also from other circumstances. Thus the imperial high-priest, when he worships heaven, wears robes of an azure colour, in allusion to the sky. When he worships the earth, his robes are yellow, to represent the clay of this earthly sphere. When the sun is the object, his dress is red; and for the moon, he wears a pale white. The kings (*wâng*), nobles, and crowd of official hierophants, wear their court dresses. The altar of sacrifice to heaven is round, to represent the sky; that on which the sacrifices to earth are laid is square, but whether for a similar reason is not stated. The priests of the Chinese state religion, subordinate to the emperor himself as *pontifex maximus*, are the kings, nobles, statesmen, and the crowd of civil and military officers. The *Joo-keaou*, or philosophic sect, monopolize both the civil and sacred functions. At the grand state-worship of nature, neither priests nor women are admitted; and it is only when the especial sacrifice to the patroness of silk takes place that the empress herself, and the several grades of female rank at Peking, may take a part.

"It is required of the Chinese hierophants that they be

free from any recent legal crime, and not in mourning for the dead For the first order of sacrifices they are required to prepare themselves by ablutions, a change of garments, a vow, and a fast of three days During this time they must occupy a clean chamber, and abstain—1, from judging criminals, 2, from being present at a feast, 3, from listening to music, 4, from cohabitation with women, 5, from intercourse with the sick, 6, from mourning for the dead, 7, from wine, 8, from eating onions or garlic, for," says the annotator, "sickness and death defile, while banqueting and feasting dissipate the mind, and unfit it for holding communion with the gods"

The victims sacrificed consist of oxen, sheep, and pigs, and the other offerings are principally silks* It is required that the victims be whole and sound, and a black colour is preferred The times of sacrifice are specified thus —those to heaven are offered at the winter solstice, those to earth at the summer solstice, and the others at regularly appointed periods The punishment annexed to the neglect of due preparation, imperfect victims, &c., is either forfeiture of salary for a month or longer, or a specified number of blows with the bamboo, which may be commuted for the payment of a very small sum of money, according to the *number of blows* adjudged to the delinquent, which as in other cases throughout the penal code, may often be considered rather as a *measure of the offence* than as a specification of the *real penalty* inflicted The case is far different if the common people presume to arrogate the right of worshipping heaven, for they are punished in such cases with eighty blows, and even with strangulation

Notwithstanding the general aspect of materialism that

* These as well as the flesh of the sacrifices are probably divided among the worshippers eventually

pertains to the Chinese philosophy, it is difficult to peruse their sentiments regarding *Tien* (heaven) without the persuasion that they ascribe to it most of the attributes of a supreme governing intelligence. The work above quoted contains, in another place, the translation of the prayer of the reigning emperor Taou-kuâng, on the occasion of a long drought with which the whole country had been afflicted in the year 1832.* The following extract will show at once the responsibility which attaches to the conduct and administration of the emperor, and the notions of a Supreme Being associated with the Chinese ideas of *Tien:*—"I, the minister of heaven (says the emperor), am placed over mankind and made responsible for keeping the world in order, and tranquillizing the people. Unable as I am to sleep or eat with composure, scorched with grief, and trembling with anxiety, still no genial and copious showers have yet descended. * * * * * I ask myself whether in sacrificial services I have been remiss? whether pride and prodigality have had a place in my heart, springing up there unobserved? whether from length of time I have become careless in the affairs of government? whether I have uttered irreverent words, and deserved reprehension? whether perfect equity has been attained in conferring rewards and inflicting punishments? whether, in raising mausoleums and laying out gardens, I have distressed the people and wasted property? whether, in the appointment of officers, I have failed to obtain fit persons, and thereby rendered government vexatious to the people? whether the oppressed have found no means of appeal? whether the largesses conferred on the afflicted southern provinces were properly applied, or the people left to die in the ditches? * * * * Prostrate, I beg Imperial Heaven to pardon my ignorance and dulness, and to grant me

* Chinese Repository, vol. i. p. 236.

self-renovation; for myriads of innocent people are involved by me, a single man. My sins are so numerous that it is hopeless to escape their consequences. Summer is past, and autumn arrived—to wait longer is impossible. Prostrate, I implore Imperial Heaven to grant a gracious deliverance," &c.

It was the opinion of some among the Jesuits in China that the better portion of the learned in that country had not given way to the material and atheistical system current during the Soong dynasty, but adhered strictly to the ancient religion, in which a supreme and creative intelligence was acknowledged under the title of *Tien*, or *Shang-ty*.* The Confucian philosophers consisted, according to them, of two sects. First, of those who disregarded the modern commentators and philosophists, and retained the same notions regarding the Creator of the universe that had been handed down from remote antiquity. Secondly, of those who puzzle themselves with the speculations of Choo-tsze and his school, as they appear in the work before mentioned, and endeavour to explain the phenomena of nature by the operation of material causes. Others of the Romish missionaries were persuaded that *all* the Chinese learned were no better than atheists, and that, notwithstanding the express declaration of the Emperor *Kang hy*, in his communications with the pope, wherein he averred that it was *not* to the visible and material heaven that he sacrificed, but to the true Creator of the universe, no faith could be placed in their explanations. We have before remarked that the Romish fathers, however much they may have extolled the wealth, civilization, and resources of China, have generally viewed the moral and religious character of the people in a somewhat pre-

* The supreme ruler. Keying in his correspondence frequently appealed to this power in proof of his sincerity.

judiced light; and the commercial adventurers from Europe, confined in their communications with the people to the neighbourhoods of seaports, unable commonly to gain correct information from books, and treated by the government as barbarous intruders, have been sufficiently predisposed to give way to unfavourable impressions.

CHAPTER XV.

RELIGION.—BUDHISM.

Three systems of religion or philosophy — Indian history of Budhism — Its introduction into China — Its five precepts — Its resemblance to popery — Monastery near Canton — Pagodas — Chinese objections to Budhism — Debtor and creditor account in religion — Present condition of Budhism in China — Pagan and Romish practices — Chinese account of Christ — Sacred language — Paradise and hell — Budhist doctrines — Chinese Budhism.

WHEN a Chinese is asked how many systems of philosophic or religious belief exist in his country, he answers, *Three*—namely, *Yu*, the doctrine of Confucius, already noticed; *Fŏ*, or Budhism; and the sect of *Taou*, or "Rationalists." It must not, however, be inferred that these three hold an *equal rank* in general estimation. Confucianism is the orthodoxy, or state religion, of China; and the other two, though tolerated as long as they do not come into competition with the first, have been rather discredited than encouraged by the government. "First (it is observed in the Sacred Instructions) is the honourable doctrine of the *Yu*, and then those of *Fŏ* and *Taou*. Respecting these latter, Choo-tsze has said the doctrine of Fŏ regards neither heaven nor earth, nor the four regions. Its only object is the establishment of its sect, and the unanimity of its members. The doctrine of Taou consults nothing more than individual enjoyment and preservation."

The religion of Fŏ,* or, as it is pronounced at *Canton*,

* This has been constantly confounded with the name of the ancient emperor *Fo-hi*.

tion for elephants in Siam and Pegu. Budha's character as a *reformer is indicated* by the Chinese legend, that he aimed at instructing men "to amend their conduct and practise virtue."

The five principal precepts, or rather interdicts, of Budhism must be understood as being addressed to the priests alone, or to those who devote themselves to the god. They are the following:—1. Do not kill living creatures. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not marry. 4. Speak not falsely. 5. Drink no wine. The *Shamans*, *Hoshângs*, or priests, are associated together in monasteries attached to the temples of Fŏ. They are in China precisely a society of mendicants, and go about like the monks of that description in the Romish church, asking alms for the support of their establishments. How much their costume resembles that of the Romish priesthood, may be seen by the annexed cut, from original Chinese drawings done at Canton.



Mendicant Priest of Budha.

Their tonsure extends to the hair of the whole head. There is a regular gradation among the priesthood, and, according to his reputation for sanctity, his length of service, and other claims, each priest may rise from the lowest rank of *servitor*, whose duty it is to perform the

menial offices of the temple, to that of officiating priest, and ultimately of *Tae Hoshang*, abbot or head of the establishment The curious resemblance that exists between the observances of the Budhist priests of China and Tartary, and those of the Romish church, has excited the surprise of the missionaries from the latter; and the observations and surmises of Pere Gerbillon, who was intimately acquainted with the subject, may by some be considered as worthy of attention He questioned a well-informed Mongol as to the time when his countrymen had first become devoted to the Lama of Thibet, who is a spiritual sovereign closely resembling the pope. The reply was, that priests first came into Mongol Tartary in the time of Koblai Khân, but that these were really persons of holy and irreproachable lives, unlike the present The father supposes that they might have been religious Christians from Syria and Armenia, the communication with which countries being subsequenty cut off by the dismemberment of the Mongol empire, the Budhist priests mixed up their superstitions with the Romish observances Certain it is (and the observation may be daily made even at Canton) that they now practise the ordinances of celibacy, fasting, and prayers for the dead, they have holy water, rosaries of beads which they count with their prayers, the worship of relics, and a monastic habit resembling that of the Franciscans They likewise kneel before an idol called Tien-how, *queen of heaven* These strange coincidences led some of the Romish fathers to conjecture that the Chinese had received a glimpse of Romish Christianity, by the way of Tartary, from the Nestorians, others supposed that St Thomas himself had been among them, but Pere Premare was driven to conclude that the devil had practised a trick to perplex his friends the Jesuits To those who admit that most of

the Romish ceremonies and rites are borrowed directly from paganism* there is less difficulty in accounting for the resemblance.

Chinese history relates that, about the middle of the tenth century, the emperor Kien-tĕ, who founded the Soong dynasty, sent three hundred Shaman or Budhist priests into India, on purpose to procure the books and relics of the god. After passing the river *Heng-ho* (Gunga, or Ganges) they saw a large image of Fŏ in the south. In the homilies of the priests there often occurs this sentence: —"Oh Fŏ, existing in forms as numerous as the sands of the *Heng-ho.*" Their books mention a country called *Sy-lân* (Ceylon), in which, near the sea, there is on a certain mountain (Adam's Peak) the print of a foot three cubits in length. At the base of the hill is a temple, in which the real body of Fŏ is said to repose on its side; and near it are teeth and other *relics* of Budha, called by the priests *Shay-ly*. It is but justice to the Chinese to say that, in importing some of the Indian deities and their superstitions, they have wisely left behind *all* the indecencies and fanatic madness of Indian worship, and that such horrors as those enacted at Juggernath and elsewhere could never in the slightest degree be practised under a government like that of China.

One of the principal objects of curiosity at Canton is a temple and monastery of Fŏ, or Budha, on a very considerable scale, situated upon the southern side of the river, just opposite to the European quarter. It is said that towards the close of the last Chinese dynasty, and about A.D. 1600, a priest of great sanctity raised the reputation of the temple which had been for some time before established in that place; and a century afterwards, when the Manchows had taken possession of Peking, the

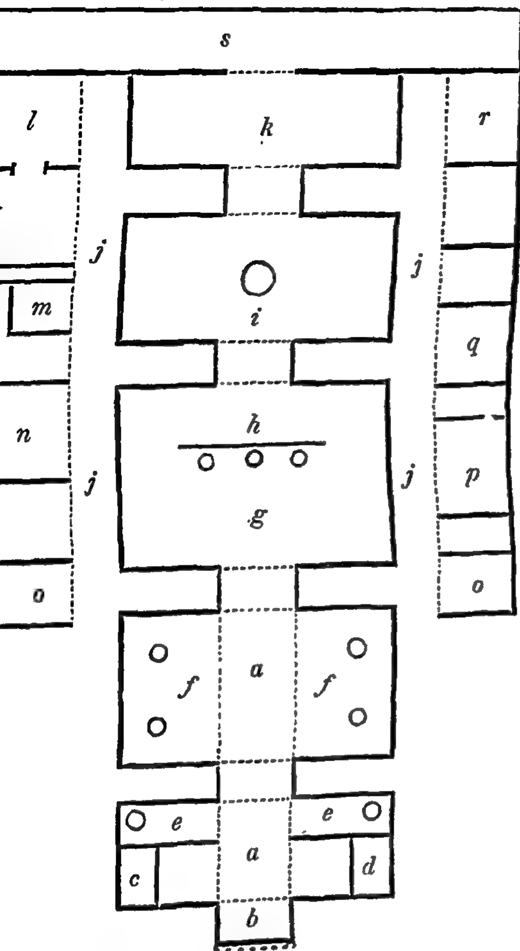
* See Dr. Conyers Middleton's Letter from Rome.

son in law of Kâng hy, who had been sent to subdue Canton, and was therefore called "Subjugator * of the South," took up his residence in the temple, which he at length patronized and greatly enriched The funds soon sufficed to maintain a crowd of priests who established themselves there with their monastic discipline, and it has been a place of consideration ever since "I visited one evening," says Mr Bennett,† "the temple, situated at a short distance on the opposite side of the river to that on which the factories are built Having crossed with my companions in a boat, we proceeded a little way down the river, and landed at a dirty causeway near some timber yards, in which a quantity of fir timber of various dimensions was piled with an extreme degree of regularity The entrance to the temple or temples, and extensive grounds about them, was close to the landing place, and passing some miserable fruit and eating stalls adjoining, we noticed a large clean open space planted with trees, and having in the centre a broad pavement of granite kept very clean The quietness that reigned within formed a pleasing retreat from the noise and bustle without This paved way brought us to the first portico, here we beheld on huge granite pedestals a colossal figure on each side, placed there as guards of the entrance to the temple of Budha, *the one on the right in entering is the warrior Chin ky*, and on the left is Chin loong After passing these terrific colossal guards we entered another court somewhat similar to the first, also planted with trees, with a continuation of the granite footpath, which led (through several gateways) to one of the temples At this time the priesthood were assembled, worshipping, chanting, striking

* *P ng-nan* For the true meaning of *Tae-p ng* the title assumed by the insurgent leaders of 1850 see Chap V p 1,5

† Wanderings &c vol ii p 107

yellow robes of their religion, appeared to go



Plan of Budhist Monastery near Canton.

handsome paved way of considerable breadth, leading ... middle of the space occupied by the temple, and com... ...ge slabs of granite, well laid down;—*b*, the *hill gate*, as it

is call... given... with... figure... the f... fact of the the... the... wh...

through the mummery with devotion. They had the lowering look of bigotry, which constant habit had at last legibly written upon their countenances. * * * * *
As soon as the mummery had ceased the priests all

is called, though erected on a dead level, the Budhist temples being generally in the recesses of mountains,—c, d, two raised recesses, with various inscriptions in gilt letters on the walls —e e, two colossal

serve, in this temple, to *awaken the attention* of the gods to their worshippers —h, a single image of Omito Fŏ or Amida Budha,—i, temple containing a very well-executed monument of a vase-like shape and

psum, and sacred
surrounded by
the sides of the
monument stand bowls of consecrated or holy water, said to be a specific for various
passages or cloister
k, temple of Kuan
apartments of the
Amherst's embassy was
ing and evening —n ap
seen an idol with many
pavilions, containing images of Kuan foo-tsze, and another warrior demigod, to whom the present dynasty attributes its success;—p, a place devoted to the preservation of animals, principally pigs, presented

containing, besides, a mausoleum, where are seen a number of jars in which are deposited the ashes of the priests after their bodies have been burned Here, too, is the building in which the act of cremation is performed To the left of the temple are a variety of offices as the kitchen, common room, &c &c

flocked out of the temple, adjourned to their respective rooms, divested themselves of their official robes, and the senseless figures were left to themselves with the lamps burning before them."

The annexed ground-plan of the temple and monastery may serve to convey some idea of the nature and extent of this old establishment.

The nine-storied pagodas of China, of which that in Kew Gardens is a poor copy (the originals being more lofty, if not more substantial), are connected with the religion and worship of Fŏ, bearing about the same relation to a temple that the *campanile*, or bell-tower, does to a church in Italy. Images of that deity, and of the various gods and saints associated with him, are found in niches of the wall, in mounting the spiral staircase which conducts to the summit. Although Budha is not now worshipped in India, he is at least considered as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. It may therefore be conjectured that the *nine* stories of the pagodas in question have some reference to this circumstance, the real meaning of the number never having been exactly ascertained. Again, in our progress through the interior, with Lord Amherst's embassy, pagodas with only *seven* stories were met with; and it is possible that this number may convey a mystical allusion to the *seven* Budhas who are said to have existed at different periods. Wherever these pagodas are in good repair (for many are mere ruins), they are found attached to extensive establishments partaking of the nature of foundations, with a portion of their revenues derived from land adjoining. They are enriched by the contributions and bequests of their votaries, and most of them support a crowd of idle and ignorant priests; but the government has nothing to do with their maintenance. The books of the Budhist religion, which are read and chanted in these establish-

ments, are partly translated into Chinese from the originals in the Pali language, a dialect of the Sanscrit and in the person of the Grand Lama of Thibet (whose soul on quitting the body is supposed instantly to animate that of an infant) the doctrine of transmigration is said to be practically illustrated.

The indifference, and even repugnance, which is displayed by the government of China Proper towards the professors of Budhism,* becomes quite altered on the other side of the Great Wall towards Mongol Tartary When Gerbillon was sent by the emperor in company with a Chinese mission beyond the wall, one of the principal Lama priests did not come out of his tent, nor even send a civil message to the representatives of the emperor, who (no doubt with authority from the sovereign) performed a sort of adoration to the living idols. These, in their swinish laziness and stupidity, are supposed to display a kind of mystical abstraction from mundane affairs, and an absorption into the divine nature of Fŏ The truth seems to be, that a faith which is good enough for the barbarous and ignorant nomades of Tartary is not so well suited to the comparatively enlightened and sensible Chinese, with whom the rational system of Confucius (with all its faults and imperfections) must ever hold the supreme rank, even under a Tartar dynasty who■ native religion ■ Budhism.

It is specifically urged against the doctrines of Fŏ by the Confucians, that they unfit men for the business and duties of life, by fixing their speculations so entirely on another state of existence as to lead some fanatics to hang or drown themselves in order to anticipate futurity, nay, two persons have been known to commit suicide together

* The *Tae-ping* insurgents made short work of all they fell in with professing as they did to exterminate idolatry

with a view to becoming man and wife in the next world. The priests are sometimes accused of employing their superstitious arts in seducing women; societies of women at least, called *Ny-koo*, a species of nuns or female devotees, are encouraged by them. The tricks occasionally made use of by the priests resemble the practices of the fakirs in India. Le Comte tells a story of a bonze who went about in a vessel stuck full of nails (something like that in which the Carthaginians are said to have shut up Regulus), and, pretending that it was a merit to relieve him from his pain, he sold these nails to the devout at so much per head.

Their notion of total abstraction, or quietism, seems to aim at getting rid of all passions, even of thought itself, and ceasing to be urged by any human desires; a species of mental annihilation. Certainly, to judge by its effects on the priests, the practice of Budhism appears to have a most debasing influence. They have, nearly all of them, an expression approaching to idiotcy, which is probably acquired by that dreamy state in which one of their most famous professors is said to have passed nine years with his eyes fixed upon a wall! They say, with reference to their system of moral retribution, that what a man receives now is an indication of his conduct in a former state; and that he may augur his future condition by his behaviour in this life. The merit, however, would seem to consist as much in inaction as action, in the abstinence from evil, or the mere self-infliction of pain, as the practice of good. They make up an account with heaven, and demand the balance in bliss, or pay it by sufferings and penances of their own, just like the papists of Europe.

Independently, however, of Budhism, the Chinese have a great idea of the efficacy of charitable and merciful acts, and of the merit of alms-giving. "The good and evil

deeds of the fathers (they say) will be visited on the children and grandchildren. The emperor himself, on occasions of drought and public calamities, or when some of the imperial house are ill, grants general pardons and amnesties. The same ideas are attached to public fasts, when a severe interdict is laid on the slaughter of animals, and no meat can be offered for sale. Such was the case at Canton in 1834, on the occurrence of the inundations. The system of promiscuous almsgiving is one principal encouragement to beggary. It has been mistakenly asserted that there are no beggars in China, while there are, in fact, a great many, notwithstanding the religious attention paid to the claims of kindred. Beggars are seldom turned away from houses and shops without a trifle, which they extort by their whining and persevering importunities.

In a work of some note on morals, called 'Merits and Demerits examined,' a man is directed to keep a debtor and creditor account with himself of the acts of each day, and at the end of the year to wind it up. If the balance is in his favour, it serves as the foundation of a stock of merits for the ensuing year; and if against him, it must be liquidated by future good deeds. Various lists and comparative tables are given of both good and bad actions in the several relations of life; and benevolence is strongly inculcated in regard, first to man and, secondly, to the brute creation. To cause another's death is reckoned at one hundred on the side of demerit; while a single act of charitable relief counts as one on the other side. This method of *keeping a score* with heaven is as foolish and dangerous a system of morality as that of penances and indulgences in the Romish church. To save a person's life ranks, in the above work, as an exact set off to the opposite act of taking life away; and it is said that this deed of merit

will prolong a person's life twelve years. A pretty correct idea of Chinese moral sentiment might be gathered from the scale of actions there given. To repair a road, make a bridge, or dig a well, ranks as ten; to cure a disease, as thirty; to give enough ground to make a grave, as the same; to set on foot some very useful scheme or invention, ranks still higher. On the other hand, to reprove one unjustly counts as three on the debtor's side; to level a tomb, as fifty: to dig up a corpse, as one hundred; to cut off a man's male heirs, as two hundred; and so on. These notions are not peculiar to the Budhist sect, but prevail universally among the Chinese, who are as little troubled with sectarian divisions and animosities as any people in the world, simply from a feeling of general indifference.

A paper by the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, in the second volume of the 'Chinese Repository,' contains a very correct account of Budhism as it now exists in the celestial empire. He observes of the priests, that they scarcely address themselves to the understanding, "but are content with repeating the prayers delivered to them in the Pâli, to them an unintelligible language; and they pay their adoration to an indefinite number of images, according to the traditions of their religion. In China, where the peculiarity of the language precludes its being written with alphabetic accuracy, the Pâli degenerates into a complete jargon," wherein the sound is imperfectly preserved, and the meaning wholly lost. Mr. Gutzlaff tried in vain to decipher the hard words, and, after all his inquiries among the priests, succeeded so little in satisfying himself, that he was obliged to relinquish the point. They seem, in fact, to repeat their prayers altogether by rote, and to be ignorant of the meaning of a very considerable portion of their sacred books.

Budhism having been as before observed, invited into China about the middle of the first century of our era, the progress of its professors is thus explained by the same writer —"Accommodating their system to all the existing superstitions they opened the door to every sort of converts, who might retain as many of their old prejudices as they chose They were by no means rigorous in enforcing the obligations of men to morality To expiate sins, offerings to the idols and to the priests were sufficient A temple built in honour of Fŏ and richly endowed, would suffice to blot out every stain of guilt, and serve as a portal to the blessed mansions of Budha When death approached, they promised to every one of their votaries speedy promotion in the scale of the metempsychosis, till he should be absorbed in Nirupan or Nirvana—nonentity With these prospects the poor deluded victim left the world To facilitate his release from purgatory, they said mass and supplied the wants of the hungry departed spirit by rich offerings of food, which the priests in reality devoured As Confucius had raised veneration towards ancestors into idolatrous* worship, they were ready to perform the office of priests before the tablets of the dead

"But notwithstanding their accommodating creed, the Chinese government has at times disapproved of it As the importance of marriage has been acknowledged in China from time immemorial, and almost every person at years of maturity been obliged to enter that state, the celibacy of the priesthood of Fŏ was considered a very dangerous custom Budha regarded contemplation and exemption from worldly cares as the nearest approach to bliss and perfection, therefore his followers passed lives of indolence, and practised begging as the proper means

* Not exactly idolatrous They sacrifice to the invisible spirit and not to any representation of it in the figure of an idol

of maintaining themselves. This was diametrically opposed to the political institutions of China, where the emperor himself sets the example of holding the plough. If such a system prevailed extensively, the immense population of the empire must be reduced to starvation, for it is only by the utmost exertion that it can subsist. These serious faults in the foreign creed gave occasion for its enemies to devise its extirpation. It was proscribed as a dangerous heresy, and a cruel persecution followed, but it had taken too deep root to be easily eradicated. Then again some emperor would think more favourably of its tendency, and even adopt it himself. Yet the natural consequence of its tenets was, that it could never become a religion of the state, and that the priests were never able to exercise any permanent influence over the populace. Besides, the Chinese are too rational to believe implicitly all the absurd Budhistic fables, nor can they generally persuade themselves that those numerous images are gods. When we add to this their national apathy towards everything concerning religion, from their being entirely engrossed by the affairs of this life, we can easily account for the disesteem in which they hold Budhism."

The present condition in China of the religion of Fŏ is very far from flourishing, and the extensive and magnificent establishments, which have been founded in former times, are evidently in a state of dilapidation and decay. It is rarely that one meets with any of their nine or seven storied pagodas in tolerable repair, though one or two of these striking and elegant objects occur in almost every landscape. Between Macao and Canton there are no less than four or five nine-storied pagodas on elevated points by the river-side, and every one of them is in a state of ruin. They serve, however, as admirable landmarks in the navigation of the river. The monasteries, or establish-

ments of mendicant priests, are generally found in the most romantic spots of the hilly country One of these particularly attracted the attention of both our embassies from its remarkable situation, and Lord Macartney has given a description of it which must be admitted to be somewhat beyond the reality This temple of the goddess *Kuan yin* (one of the principal idols of the Budhists) is seated in the face of a perpendicular limestone cliff, at least five hundred feet in height, and can be approached only by boats, as it rises abruptly from the side of the river about three or four days' journey above Canton The natural fissure or cavern in the rock has been enlarged by human labour, and the abodes of the priests and idols consist of several chambers, one above the other, which are severally approached by stairs and shelving portions of the limestone In front of the middle story hangs an enormous mass of stalactite, at least a ton in weight threatening destruction to all who approach the temple from below

The resemblance which we have already noticed between the ritual of Fo in these temples, and the Roman Catholic ceremonies, had excited the attention of Mr Gutzlaff "That they should count their prayers by means of a rosary, and chant masses for both the living and the dead, that they should live in a state of celibacy, shave their heads, fast, &c, might be perhaps accounted for as a mere coincidence of errors into which men are prone to fall but their adoration of *Tien how*, 'the Queen of Heaven' (called also *Shing moo*, 'the Holy Mother') must be a tenet engrafted upon Budhism from foreign traditions We are unable to fix the exact date of the adoption of this deity There is a legend of modern date among the people of Fokien, which tells us that she was a virgin of that province, who in a dream

saw her kindred in danger of being wrecked, and boldly rescued them; but this affords no satisfactory solution. It is likely that some degenerate Nestorian Christians amalgamated with their faith and ceremonies the prevailing errors of China, and caused the priests of Budha to adopt many of their rites." In one instance that missionary saw a marble bust of *Napoleon*, before which incense was burnt in a temple; hence, he adds, it would not be extraordinary if they had also adopted among their other idols *so conspicuous an object* of worship as the Virgin is among Romanists.

In corroboration of this surmise may be adduced a very curious account of Christ, taken by Dr. Milne from the *Chinese mythological history, in which Jesus is ranked among the number of the gods.** That the account was received by the Chinese from the Romish mission seems indisputably proved by the epithets applied to the Virgin, and the virtues and powers attributed to her. The work in which it appears is called 'A Complete History of Gods and Genii,' and was compiled in two-and-twenty thin octavo volumes by a Chinese physician, during the reign of Kâng-hy, at a time when many priests of Rome were in China. "The extreme western nations say, that at the distance of ninety-seven thousand *ly* from China, a journey of about three years, commences the border of Sy-keang. In that country there was formerly a virgin named Ma-le-a. In the first year of Yuen-chy, in the dynasty Hân, a celestial god reverently announced to her, saying, 'The Lord of heaven has selected thee to be his mother.' Having finished his discourse, she actually conceived, and afterwards bore a son. The mother, filled with joy and reverence, wrapped him in a cloth, and placed him in a horse's manger. A flock of celestial gods

* Chinese Gleaner, p. 105.

(angels) sang and rejoiced in the void space Forty days after, his mother presented him to the holy teacher, and named him Yay-soo When twelve years of age, he followed his mother to worship in the holy palace Returning home they lost each other After three days' search, coming into the palace, she saw Yay soo sitting on an honourable seat, conversing with aged and learned doctors about the works and doctrines of the Lord of heaven Seeing his mother, he was glad, returned with her, and served her with the utmost filial reverence When thirty years of age, he left his mother and teacher, and, travelling to the country of Yu-teh a, taught men to do good The sacred miracles which he wrought were very numerous The chief families, and those in office in that country, being proud and wicked in the extreme, envied him for the multitude of those who joined themselves to him and planned to slay him Among the twelve disciples of Yay-soo there was a covetous one named Yu tah sze. Aware of the wish of the greater part of his countrymen, and seizing on a proffered gain, he led forth a multitude at night, who, taking Yay soo, bound him and carried him before Ana sze in the court house of Pelah to Rudely stripping off his garment, they tied him to a stone pillar, inflicting on him upwards of 5400 stripes, until his whole body was torn and mangled, but still he was silent, and like a lamb remonstrated not The wicked rabble, taking a cap made of piercing thorns, pressed it forcibly down on his temples They hung a vile red cloak on his body, and hypocritically did reverence to him as a king They made a very large and heavy machine of wood, resembling the character *ten*,* which they compelled him to bear on his shoulders The whole way it sorely pressed him down, so that he moved

* The Chinese write ten with an upright cross

and fell alternately. His hands and feet were nailed to the wood, and, being thirsty, a sour and bitter drink was given him. When he died, the heavens were darkened, the earth shook, the rocks, striking against each other, were broken into small pieces. He was then aged thirty-three years. On the third day after his death, he again returned to life, and his body was splendid and beautiful. He appeared first to his mother, in order to remove her sorrow. Forty days after, when about to ascend to heaven, he commanded his disciples, in all a hundred and two, to separate, and go everywhere under heaven to teach, and administer a sacred water to wash away the sins of those who should join their sect. Having finished his commands, a flock of ancient holy ones followed him up to the celestial kingdom. Ten days after, a celestial god descended to receive his mother, who *also* ascended up on high. Being set above the nine orders, she became the empress of heaven and earth, and the protectress of human beings."

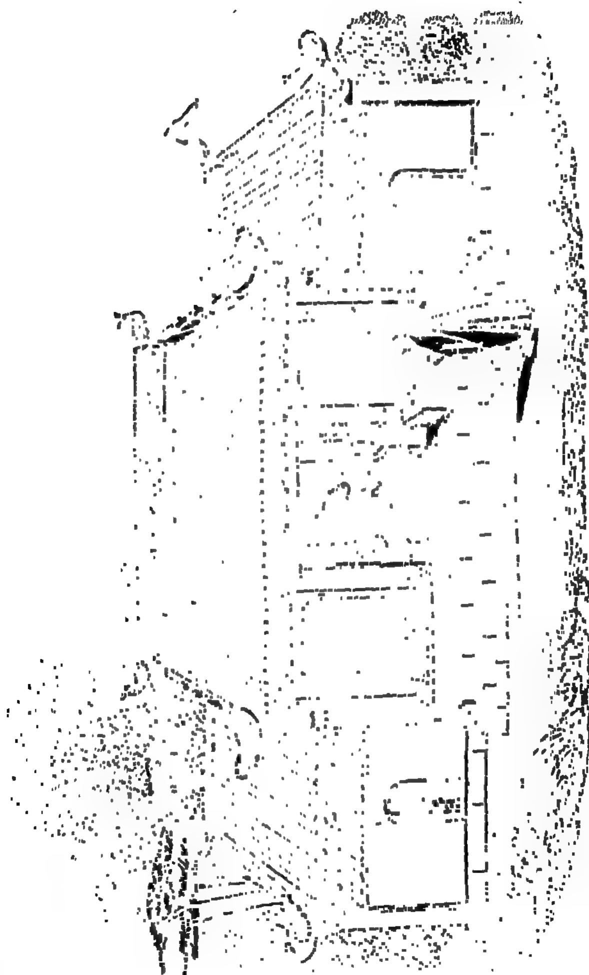
There appears, upon the whole, some ground for supposing that the legend of Fokien province, concerning the *Queen of Heaven*, may have had its origin in the Romish accounts of the Virgin Mary, since the title by which the Chinese designate their goddess is *Tëen-how Neang*, " Our Lady the Queen of Heaven." On the other hand, the Chinese at Canton, who are fond of finding parallels and resemblances of the kind, give the name of the Virgin (in conversing with Europeans) to their Budhist idol *Kuân-yin;* and in the same way apply the name of *Kuân-yin* to the Romish idols of the Virgin. To every saint who has a church at Macao they contrive to give a name, founded on some supposed analogy in their own idols. St. Anthony they call " the fire god." There is nothing in the Romish worship at that place, or in the character of the priests, that is

calculated to give the Chinese a very exalted idea of this corruption of Christianity. In the former, they witness graven or molten images, processions, tinkling of bells, candles and incense, exactly resembling their own religious rites; in the latter, a number of ignorant and idle monks, professing celibacy, but with indifferent moral characters, shaving their heads and counting beads, very much after the fashion of the Budhist priests. A few Romish missionaries still make converts of the lowest and poorest Chinese; who occasionally appear at the churches, and receive each of them a small donation of rice; for which reason they are sometimes called in Portuguese "rice Christians."

The curious resemblance between the practices of Budhism and the Romish church goes still farther. Dr. Milne, whose zeal and talents accomplished much in a little time, but whose labours were cut short by an untimely death, supplied the following observations to the 'Chinese Gleaner.'*—"There is something to be said in favour of those Christians who believe in the magic powers of foreign words, and who think a prayer either more acceptable to the Deity, or more suited to common edification, because the people do not generally understand it. They are not singular in this belief. Some of the Jews had the same opinion; the followers of Budha and the Mahomedans all cherish the same sentiment. From the seat of his holiness at Rome, and eastward through all Asia to the cave of the Jammaboos of Japan, this sentiment is espoused. The bloody Druids of ancient Europe, the naked gymnosophists of India, the Mahomedan Hatib, the Hoshang (Budhist priests) of China, the Romish clergy, and the bonzes of Japan,—all entertain the notion that the mysteries of religion will be the more revered the

* Vol. i. p. 141.

less they are understood, and the devotions of the people (performed by proxy) the more welcome in heaven for their being dressed in the garb of a foreign tongue. Thus


Gateway of Budhist Temple near Canton.

the synagogue, the mosque, the pagan temple, and the Romish church seem all to agree in ascribing marvellous efficacy to the sounds of an unknown language; and as

they have Jews, Mahomedans, and Pagans on their side, those Christians who plead for the use of an unknown tongue in the services of religion have certainly a host, as to number, in support of their opinion. That Scripture, reason, and common sense should happen to be on the other side, is indeed a misfortune for them, but there is no help for it

"The sacred language of the Budhists is called 'The language of *Fan*,' which is the name of the birthplace of Budha It is totally unknown to the Chinese generally, and the priests themselves know nothing of it, beyond the sound of a few favourite words and phrases. There are, it is true, glossaries attached to some of their religious books, which are designed to explain these technical shibboleth, but the definition is sometimes given in other technical terms equally unintelligible and from their general ignorance of letters very few of the priests are capable of consulting such helps. Among them there may now and then be found a scholar, and some have written books, but as a body they are extremely ignorant Beyond the stated and occasional lessons of their Liturgy, which they have learned to repeat by rote, they have very little knowledge of books, and many of them cannot read As a sect, however, they profess to cherish the most profound veneration for the language of Fân They ascribe miraculous effects to the use of the written character and of the oral language, and consider both to be of celestial origin To the repetition of the bare sounds, without regard to the meaning, they attach the highest importance, hence they occasionally go over the same words hundreds and thousands of times I once asked a priest, 'What advantage can you expect to derive from merely repeating a number of words, with the sense of which you are entirely unacquainted?' His answer was, 'True, I do not know the sense—it is

profound and mysterious; yet the benefit of often repeating the sounds is incalculable; it is infinite!'

"Let us now attend for a moment to the sentiments of the Malays on the same subject. Their religious opinions are derived from the Korân, the principles of which they profess to imbibe, and daily observe its ceremonies. No language but the Arabic is allowed in their public religious services, and, though there be *not one* in a hundred Malays that understands it, they tenaciously stick to it, and consider worship as profaned by the use of any other. Let them speak for themselves. 'The Arabic language possesses superlative glory in the Islam religion, and no other can be allowed in the Mahomedan mosques. If prayers be offered *in the Malay, Javanese, Buggis, Bornean, Hindoostanee, or other languages, they are rendered* profane and useless. The Arabic is that in which the Mahomedan faith was first given. The angel Gabriel was commanded by God to deliver the words of the Koran exclusively in Arabic to the prophet Mahomed.'"

But to return to Budhism. The paradise of Fŏ includes those circumstances of sensual indulgence which the founders of most false religions have promised to their votaries; but unlike the elysium of Mahomed, no *houries* are to be supplied to the saints of Budhism, for even the women that are admitted there must first change their sex. "The bodies of the saints reproduced from the lotus* are pure and fragrant, their countenances fair and well formed, their hearts full of wisdom, and without vexation. They dress not, and yet are not cold; they dress, and yet are not made hot. They eat not, and yet are not hungry; they eat, and yet are not satiated. They are without pain, irritation, and sickness, and they become not

* The lotus is a favourite type of creative power, and representations of it perpetually occur in connexion with Budhism.

old * * * * * * They behold the lotus flowers and trees of gems delightfully waving, like the motion of a vast sheet of embroidered silk On looking upwards, they see the firmament full of the To lo flowers, falling in beautiful confusion like rain The felicity of that kingdom may justly be called superlative, and the age of its inhabitants is without measure This is the place called the paradise of the west.'

The hell of the Chinese Budhists may be described from a translation,* made by Dr Morrison, of the explanatory letterpress on ten large woodcuts, which are exhibited on particular occasions in the temples, and copies of which have been mistaken sometimes in Europe for the criminal punishments of China giving rise to very unfounded notions of penal jurisdiction in that country Prior to their final condemnation, the souls are exposed to judgment in the courts of the *Shĕ ming wang*, "the ten kings of darkness"† The proceedings in these courts are represented exactly after the manner of the Chinese judicial trials with the difference in the *punishments*, which in these pictures of the infernal regions are of course sufficiently appalling In one view are seen the judge with his attendants and officers of the court, to whom the merciful goddess *Kuan-yin* appears, in order to save from punishment a soul that is condemned to be pounded in a mortar Other punishments consist of sawing asunder, tying to a burning pillar of brass, &c Liars have their tongues cut out, thieves and robbers are cast upon a hill of knives, and so on After the trials are over, the more eminently good ascend to paradise, the middling class return to earth in other bodies to enjoy riches and honours, while the wicked are

* Chinese Gleaner vol i i p 288

† There is a festival to the honour of these about the month of August See Festivals vol i p 354

tormented in hell, or transformed into various animals, whose dispositions and habits they imitated during their past lives.

One of the emperors of the Ming dynasty, who was much attached to the Budhist tenets, and who meditated sending, about the commencement of the 16th century, an ambassador with expensive presents to India, for the purpose of bringing some of the most learned of that sect to court, to explain their doctrines, was addressed by one of his ministers in the following strain:—"That for which the people of the world most honour and love *Shakia* himself amounts to this, that he continued to teach his doctrines during the space of forty years, and that he died aged eighty-two. This was indeed a great age, but the years of Shun were a hundred and ten; those of Yaou a hundred and twenty. Supposing that your majesty's extreme affection for the sect of Fŏ springs from a genuine wish to discover the good way, I venture to entreat your majesty not to love the name merely, but to seek diligently the reality; not to regard the end only, but carefully to search for the principle; and not to seek them from Fŏ, but from the spotless sages; not from foreigners, but in our own country. Could your majesty be persuaded to regard our sacred sages with the same ardour with which you love Fŏ, to seek the doctrines of Yaou and Shun with the earnestness which leads you to those of Shakia, there will be no need to send many thousand miles to the happy land of the west, for the object is at hand, and before your eyes.* * * * I adduce the testimony of Confucius, who says, 'The very moment that I desire to be virtuous, the attainment is made.'" &c. It is by arguments allied to these that the introduction of foreign innovations has perpetually been restrained and checked in China, although occasionally, as in the case of Budhism, they

have been tolerated, and for short periods gained some strength

We may include within our sketch of Chinese Budhism some extracts from Mr Hodgson's account* of that religion, as he found it in the Bauddha Scriptures of Nipal' much nearer to its source and greatly better understood, than it is in China. The primary motive for doing good, and worshipping Budha, according to these scriptures is the hope of obtaining absorption into the nature of the god and being freed from transmigrations Between the highest class of votaries and Budha there is no difference, because they will eventually become Budhas Those who do good from the fear of hell are also above the class of sinners, and their sufferings will be lessened, but they will be constrained to suffer several transmigrations, and endure pain and pleasure in this world, until they obtain *mukti*, or absorption

The mystic syllable AUM is not less reverenced by the Budhists than the Brahmins, but the latter apply it to their own *Trimurti* or Triad of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*, while by the former it is applied to *Budha*, *Dharma*, and *Sanga*, which is the Triad represented by the three gilded images in the Canton temple, described at pages 44 45, and alluded to in the Chinese books when they say that "Fŏ is one person, but has three forms' Their scriptures contain in native characters, which imitate as nearly as possible the Sanscrit sounds the following invocation to the Triad, *Namo Buddhaya*, *Namo Dharmaya*, *Namah Sangaya—Om'* that is to say, "Adoration to Buddha adoration to Dharma, adoration to Sanga—AUM! concluding thus with the mystical monosyllable which represents the three terms united in

* Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol ii p 239

one sign.* The three divinities are called by the Chinese "the three pure, precious, or honourable Fŏ," concerning whom Rémusat has given the following explanation:—"According to the interior doctrine, *Buddha*, or the Intelligence, produced *Dharma*, the Law, and the two united constituted *Sanga*, the Union, or combination of several. According to the public doctrine, these three terms are still the Intelligence, the Law, and the Union; but considered in their external manifestations, the intelligence in the Buddhas to come, the law in the writings revealed, and the union in the multitude of the believers, or the assembly of *priests*. Hence it arises that the last have, among all the Buddhist nations, the title of *Sanga*, united, which, being abridged in the Chinese pronunciation, has formed the word *Seng*, rendered by the missionaries 'bonze,' but which signifies literally, ecclesiastic. Such are the sense and the origin of this well-known word, the etymology of which has not before been investigated."

The same writer has the following observation concerning the goddess *Kuân-yin*, one of the most important divinities in the Budhist mythology:—"De Guignes (he says), wishing to explain the Chinese names of *Poo-sa* and *Kuân-she-yin*, adduces a passage from Kircher, who supposes that the being to whom these names are applied is Nature, and calls her the Cybele of the Chinese. He remarks that she is also called *Lotus-eyed, and born of the lotus flower*. Kuân-yin, then, he concludes, is the Lakshmi of the Indians. Rémusat, with apparent reason, combats this notion, and gives his own explanation in the following terms:†—The supreme intelligence (Budha) having by his thought (Dharma) produced union or multiplicity (Sanga), from the existence of this Triad arose

* Abel Rémusat, sur la Doctrine Samanéenne, p. 27.
† Observations, p. 51.

five abstractions or intelligences of the first order, that is, Budhas, each of which produced an intelligence of the second order *Bhodisatua* * It is from this name that the Chinese have, by abbreviation, formed that of *Poo-sa*, common not only to these five secondary intelligences, but to all the souls which have attained the same degree of elevation *Kuan she yin*, or *Kuan yin*, is placed in the first rank, but *Padmanetra* (Lotus eyed) is the name of another divinity of the same kind The Sanscrit name of the former (Kuan yin) is Padmapani, who represents, on account of her productive power, the second term of the Triad and in the exterior doctrine is characterized by several signs of a female divinity It is certain that no idol in China is more honoured than Kuan yin †

In the name of *Poo ta la*, a temple, or rather monastery, described in Lord Macartney s mission, may be recognised the Chinese pronunciation of Budha This extensive establishment, which was found in Manchow Tartary beyond the Great Wall, is described as a quadrangular structure of considerable height, each of its sides measuring two hundred feet, and the whole building affording shelter to no less than eight hundred priests or lamas ‡ In the square court or quadrangle within is a gilded chapel, with representations of the Triad, and the whole description assimilates it, though on the largest scale, to the monasteries in Nipal, as they are described by Mr Hodgson "The vihar is built round a large

* *Poo-te-sa to* an Indian word introduced with the Budha sect now according to the genius of the Chinese language contracted to *Poo-*

texts and thus combining two departments of learning which have not as yet been united in the same person

‡ Staunton vol ii p 208

quadrangle or open square, two stories high; the architecture is Chinese. Chaitya properly means a *temple* of Budha, and vihar an abode of his cœnobitical followers. In the open square in the midst of every vihar is placed a chaitya; but those words always bear the senses here attached to them, and vihar can never be construed temple; it is a convent or monastery, or religious house." Poo-ta-la, then, is a vihar, with a chaitya within the quadrangle.

The Chinese pronunciation of Budha seems also apparent in the name *Poo-to,* applied to an island of the Chusan group, in latitude 30° 3′, and longitude 121°, where Mr. Gutzlaff* visited one of the largest establishments dedicated to Fŏ and his priests; a place of such note as to be the resort of numerous votaries from remote parts. "At a distance (says he) the island appeared barren and scarcely habitable; but as we approached it we observed very prominent buildings and large glittering roofs. A temple, built on a projecting rock, beneath which the foaming sea dashed, gave us some idea of the genius of its inhabitants in thus selecting the most attractive spot to celebrate the orgies of idolatry. We were quite engaged in viewing a large building situated in a grove, where we observed some priests of Budha walking along the shore, attracted by the novel sight of a ship. Scarcely had we landed when another party of priests, in common garbs and very filthy, hastened down to us chanting hymns. When some books were offered them, they exclaimed, 'Praise be to Budha!' and eagerly took every volume that I had. We then ascended to a large temple, surrounded by trees and bamboos. An elegant portal and magnificent gate brought us into a spacious court, which was surrounded with a long range of buildings

* Journal of a Voyage along the Coast of China, 1832-33.

not unlike barracks, being the dwellings of the priests. On entering it, the huge images of Budha and his disciples, the representations of Kuân-yin, the goddess of mercy, and other idols, with the spacious and well-adorned halls, exhibit an imposing sight to the foreign spectator.

"The high-priest requested an interview. He was a deaf old man, who seemed to have very little authority, and his remarks were commonplace enough. We afterwards followed a paved road, discovering several other



Officiating Priest of Budha

smaller temples, till we came to some high rocks, on which we found several inscriptions hewn in very large letters.* One of them stated that China has sages. The excavations were filled with small gilt idols and superscriptions. On a sudden we came in sight of a still larger temple, with yellow tiles, by which we immediately

* This is a common practice of visitors, who employ artists to cut these gigantic letters very deep into the face of the rocks The embassy of 1816 met with them near the Poyang lake

recognised it as an imperial endowment. A bridge, very tastefully built over an artificial tank, led to an extensive area paved with quarried stones. Though the same architecture reigned in the structure of this larger building as in the others, we could distinguish a superior taste and a higher finish. The idols were the same, but their votaries were far more numerous; indeed, this is the largest temple I have ever seen. The halls, being arrayed with all the tinsel of idolatry, presented numerous specimens of Chinese art.

"The colossal images were made of clay, and tolerably well gilt. There were great drums and cylindrical bells in the temple. We were present at the vespers of the priests, which they chanted in the Pâli language, not unlike the Latin service of the Romish church. They held their rosaries in their hands, which rested folded upon their breasts. One of them had a small bell, by the tinkling of which their service was regulated; and they occasionally beat the drum and large bell to rouse Budha's attention to their prayers. The same words were a hundred times repeated. None of the officiating persons showed any interest in the ceremony, for some were looking around, laughing and joking, while others muttered their prayers. The few people who were present, not to attend the worship, but to gaze at us, did not seem in the least degree to feel the solemnity of the service. Though the government sometimes decries Budhism as a dangerous doctrine, we saw papers stuck up, wherein the people were exhorted to repair to these temples in order to induce Heaven to grant a fertile spring; and these exhortations were issued by the emperor himself. What inconsistency!

"On the island are two large and sixty small temples which are all built in the same style; and the idol of

Kuân-yin holds a prominent station We were told that upon this spot, not exceeding twelve square miles, 2000 priests were living No females are allowed to live on the island, nor any layman suffered to reside there, except in the service of the priests To maintain this numerous train of idlers, lands on the opposite island have been allotted for their use, which they farm out, but as this is still inadequate, they go upon begging expeditions, not only into the surrounding provinces, but even as far as Siam From its being a place of pilgrimage, also, the priests derive great profits To every person who visits this island it appears at first like a fairy land, so romantic is everything that meets the eye Those large inscriptions hewn in solid granite, the many temples that appear in every direction, the highly picturesque scenery itself, with its many-peaked riven, and detached rocks, and, above all, a stately mausoleum, the largest which I have ever seen, containing the bones and ashes of thousands of priests, quite bewilder the imagination" *

* As the Poo-to island closely adjoins Chusan, it was a place of frequent resort to the British during our five years occupation

CHAPTER XVI.

RELIGION—TAOU SECT.

Laou-keun, the Chinese Epicurus — His sect — Fragment of old romance — 'The philosopher and his wife' — Origin of Voltaire's 'Zadig' — Superstitions — Fatalism — Illustrative tale — Charms and talismans — Belief in ghosts illustrated — Omens — Divination.

THE *third* religious or philosophic persuasion that has established itself in China is that of *Taou*, or of *Laou-keun*, which was the name, or rather title, of the founder. This person appeared nearly simultaneously with Confucius, by whom he is mentioned about 560 years before the Christian era. As far as can be gathered of the real drift of his doctrines, he seems to have inculcated a contempt of riches and honours, and all worldly distinctions, and to have aimed, like Epicurus, at subduing every passion that could interfere with personal tranquillity and self-enjoyment. As death, however, was something that they could not pretend to despise, his disciples and successors set themselves to work to invent an elixir of long life, or of immortality, and thus became in time a species of *alchymists.* They have been alternately favoured and persecuted at different periods of Chinese history, but seem to have flourished most under the Soong dynasty, subsequent to the tenth century of our era, a period when all speculative opinions, and every species of spurious learning, were most in vogue.

The principal commentator on the works of Confucius speaks of *Laou-keun*, or, as he is sometimes styled, *Laou-tsze*,* with little respect, and calls him "an ignorant good man." He is there described as a recluse, who was distinguished by his humility, uprightness, simplicity of life, and exemption from cares and passions He taught and practised a weak inactivity and neglect of the world and its concerns, loving neither fame, nor pleasure, nor business It is reasonable to suppose that the principal fabric of that doctrine which now distinguishes the professors of the Taou sect was the work of those who succeeded Laou-keun, and made use of his name as the foundation of their system They call him "the original ancestor, or founder honoured of heaven," and the account given of him in popular books is, that he was an incarnation of some superior being, and that there is no age in which he does not come forth among men in human shape They tell the various names under which he appeared, from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down as late as the sixth century, making in all seven periods † In imitation, perhaps, of the Budhist Triad, the followers of Taou have also their own Triad, which they denominate "the Three pure ones" This threefold source and supreme ruler is represented as presiding in heaven among the assembled gods, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations, and delivering his name, accompanied by many epithets of benevolence and mercy, to the "great barefooted angel," to be promulged in the lower world, that, amongst men, all who see and recite that name may attain infinite happiness and complete deliverance from all evil Their principal scripture is the *Taou-tĭ king*, a Latin version of which exists in the library of the Royal Society

* The legend says he was born with white hair and thence called *Laou tse* the old infant

† Morrison's Dictionary Part I p 582

to baffle which the latter mounted his horse, and, with dishevelled hair and waving sword, betook himself to magic arts The wind arose with loud peals of thunder, and there descended from on high a black cloud, in which appeared innumerable men and horses as if engaged Lew pei immediately drew off his troops in confusion, and, giving up the contest retreated to consult with Choo-tsien The latter observed, 'Let him have recourse again to magic, I will prepare the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, and, placing a party on the heights in ambush, wait until the enemy approaches, when his magic will be all dispersed by projecting the same upon him' Lew pei assented to this, and directed two of his leaders, each with a thousand men, to ascend the highest part of the mountain, supplied with the blood of swine, sheep, and dogs, and other impure things

"On the following day, Chang paou, with flags displayed and drums beating, came to offer battle, and Lew-pei proceeded to meet him, but scarcely had they joined before Chang paou put his magic in exercise, the wind and thunder arose, and a storm of sand and stones commenced A dark cloud obscured the sky, and troops of horsemen seemed to descend Lew pei upon this made a show of retreating, and Chang-paou followed him, but scarcely had they turned the hill when the ambushed troops started up and launched upon the enemy their impure stores The air seemed immediately filled with men and horses of paper or straw, which fell to the earth in confusion, while the winds and thunder at once ceased, and the sand and stones no longer flew about When Chang paou saw his magic thus baffled, he would have retreated at once, but Lew-pei's two leaders made their appearance on either side, while himself and his lieutenant pursued in the rear The rebels were defeated with great

slaughter. Lew-pei, on seeing the flag inscribed 'Lord of Earth,' ran full speed on his horse towards Chang-paou, who took to flight, and in his retreat was wounded in the left arm with an arrow discharged at him by his enemy."

In regard to the word *Taou*, Reason, which serves as the denomination of the sect under consideration, and with reference to which they style themselves "doctors of reason," it would seem that the ancient term *philosopher* in use among ourselves had very much the same origin. Some persons have spent much time in discussing the mysterious and recondite meanings which in Chinese metaphysics have been attached to the words *Taou* and *Ly;* but it would be useless to enter upon such a discussion in a work like the present, and we shall content ourselves with the popular meaning of those terms in connexion with each other, which is simply *reason.* One of the missionaries of the Romish church supposed that *Taou* corresponded to the Greek λογος; but it has been objected to this, with some truth, that what several of the Chinese books affirm of *Taou* being the original source and first productive cause of all things, does not so well comport with the definition of the *Logos* given in the philosophical systems which have adopted that term, and where it has been considered not as the *first cause*, but rather the first emanation from the Deity.

Laou-keun had four principal disciples, the chief of whom was *Chuâng-tsze*, concerning whom the Chinese possess an agreeable tale, which has been translated into French by Père Dentrecolles. It may be a relief to the dry dulness of Chinese philosophy, and at the same time illustrative of this sect, if we give an abstract of the story, which is the more particularly deserving of notice, as it has supplied ample materials for the *Zadig* of Voltaire.

The whole, it will easily be perceived, is a satire on the female sex and on marriage, and might perhaps be meant as an indirect dissuasive against that state The story commences with an enunciation of the principles of the Chinese Epicurus "Riches, and the advantages which they bring, are but a short and agreeable dream honours and reputation resemble a brilliant cloud, which soon vanishes The affection of those united by blood and other ties is commonly but a vain appearance, the most tender friendships may convert themselves into the bitterest strifes Let us not wear a yoke because it is of gold, nor bear the burden of chains because they consist of jewels Let us purify our minds, moderate our desires, and detach ourselves from worldly affections let us, above all things, preserve ourselves in a state of liberty and joy, which is independent of others

Chuâng-tsze, the story proceeds to say, having married a young and beautiful wife, retired to his native country of *Soong*, the present Shantong, to lead the life of a philosopher He declined the offer of the sovereign of a neighbouring state, who had been led by the fame of his wisdom to seek his services as minister, with the following apologue —"A heifer, prepared for sacrifice with high and luxurious feeding, marched in state, arrayed in all the ornaments with which victims are adorned In the midst of her triumph she perceived some oxen at the plough, and her pride was redoubled But when, on entering the temple, the victim saw the knife raised in readiness for her immolation, she would gladly have exchanged lots with those whose condition had only just before been despised as inferior to her own"

One day, as Chuang tsze was walking, immersed in thought, at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, he on a sudden found himself among a multitude of tombs, and

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One day, as Chuâng-tsze was walking, immersed in thought, at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, he on a sudden found himself among a multitude of tombs, and

being struck with the vast number of them, "Alas!" exclaimed he, "here then all are equal; here there is neither rank nor distinction, but the most ignorant and stupid of men is confounded with the sage himself. The sepulchre is at last the eternal abode of all, and, when we have once taken up our place in the habitations of the dead, there is no possibility of return." After spending some time in these gloomy reflections, he proceeded along the tombs, and soon found himself near a newly-constructed sepulchre. The hillock of tempered earth was not yet entirely dry. On one side of the tomb sat a young woman in deep mourning, holding in her hand a large white fan, with which she constantly fanned the surface of the ground. Surprised at this sight, he ventured to ask whose tomb this might be, and why the lady took such pains in fanning it? She, however, without rising, continued to wave her fan as before, but muttered some words in a low tone, and at the same time let fall



The Chinese Widow fanning the Grave.

a few tears—a proof (thought the sage to himself) that shame rather than timidity prevented her from speaking out When he had pressed her a little farther to explain herself, she made him this reply —"You see a widow at the tomb of her husband, from whom death has unhappily severed her He whose bones rest in this sepulchre was very dear to me when alive, and loved me in return with an equal tenderness Even in dying he could scarcely bear to part with me, and his last words were these 'My dear spouse, if you should hereafter think of marrying again,* I conjure you to wait at least until the earth of my grave is entirely dry; after which you have my sanction to espouse whom you please' Now, as it occurred to me that the surface of this ground, which has been newly tempered, would not very soon dry, I thought I would just fan it a little to assist in carrying off the moisture"

The philosopher had much ado to avoid laughing outright at this plain avowal "The woman,' thought he to himself, "is in a monstrous hurry! How could she have the face to boast of the mutual affection between herself and husband? If this be love, I wonder what would have happened if they had hated each other!" Then turning to her he said, "You wish that the surface of this tomb should dry with all speed, but, delicate as you are, this exercise will soon tire you, let me, therefore, give you some assistance" The young woman immediately rose, and, making him a profound reverence, accepted his offer by presenting him with another fan exactly like her own The philosopher, who had the power of invoking spirits, now called them to his aid He struck the tomb several times with the fan, and all

* Second marriages (as before stated) are rare on the part of women and reflect some discredit on the widows

appearance of moisture presently vanished. The lady upon this gaily thanked her benefactor, and, taking a silver bodkin from her hair, presented it to him with her fan, begging he would accept the same as a small mark of her gratitude. Chuâng-tsze declined the bodkin, but kept the fan, and the lady retired much satisfied with her adventure.

As for the philosopher, he remained altogether in astonishment; then abandoning himself to the reflections that naturally arose out of such an incident, he returned towards his home. Once seated in his chamber, he regarded the fan for some moments in silence, and presently broke out with such sentences as the following: "Would not one suppose, from this, that when two persons marry, it is only from some hate conceived in a former state of existence; and that they seek each other in wedlock solely for purposes of mutual torment?"—His wife had crept behind him without being perceived, but on hearing his words she came forward. "Might one know," she asked, "the cause of your sighing, and where it was you obtained that fan which you hold in your hand?"—Chuâng-tsze immediately related to his spouse the history of the young widow, as well as all that had passed at the tomb where he fell in with her.

Hardly had he finished his recital, when this lady, with a face that beamed with wrath and indignation, loaded the young widow with a thousand maledictions, calling her the opprobrium of the human race, and the shame of her own sex! Then, looking at her husband, "I say it again," exclaimed she, "this woman must be a monster of insensibility." The philosopher, however, went on with the following reflections:—"While her husband is alive, where is the wife that does not flatter and praise him? Is he dead? see her ready to

take her fan and dry up his tomb with all haste So in a picture you see an animal s exterior, but not the inner parts, you see the face, but not the heart" This put his wife into a great passion "How can you talk to me in that style?' cried she, "thus to condemn the whole sex in a heap, thus unjustly to confound the virtuous with wretches who are unfit to live! Are you not ashamed to pass such an unjust sentence, and have you no fear of being punished for it hereafter?'

"To what purpose are all these ejaculations?" said the philosopher calmly, "but confess the truth,—were I to die to-day, surviving me as you would in the flower of your age, with so much beauty and such attractions, do you pretend that you would allow three years to slip by without accepting another husband?' *—"Is it not the maxim," rejoined the lady, "that a faithful minister never serves another prince,† that a virtuous widow never thinks of a second husband? Did one ever see a woman of my condition, who, after being once married, transferred herself to another family, and deserted her nuptial bed on her husband s first decease! If, for my misfortune, you were to reduce me to the widowed state, know that I should be incapable of such an act, which would be the disgrace of our whole sex, nay, I should not even dream of marriage for the rest of my life"

"Such promises," observed he, "are easily made, but not often kept!" an observation which turned the ill-humour of his wife upon himself—"Know," cried she, "that women have often minds more noble and more constant than men of your stamp What a perfect model

* The longest period of mourning

† Certain it is that in practice a new Emperor of China often repudiates his father s favourite ministers Thus Keying was disgraced by the present sovereign

of fidelity have *you* been! Your first wife dead, you took a second; her you repudiate, and marry myself, who am your third. You judge of others by yourself. As for us women who marry philosophers, we are much less at liberty than any others to form a second marriage. But you are quite well in health; why then torment me with such remarks?" So saying, she snatched the fan out of her husband's hand, and tore it into twenty pieces. "Be quiet," said the philosopher; "your resentment gives me pleasure, and I am delighted to see you take fire upon such a subject." The lady became calm, and they talked of other matters.

In a few days more Chuâng-tsze became dangerously ill, and, to all appearances, at the very last extremity. His wife never quitted the bedside, where she sat bathed in tears, and continually sobbing. "From what I can see," said the philosopher, "I shall hardly recover from this attack. To-night or to-morrow morning we must part for ever. Alas, that you should have torn up the fan I brought you; it would have served so well to dry up the earth at my tomb!"—"Ah," exclaimed his wife, "do not, in your present state, let such distressing suspicions enter your mind; suspicions, too, so injurious to myself! I have studied our books, and I know what our rites demand. My faith having been once sworn to yourself, it shall never be transferred to another; and if you doubt my sincerity, I consent, nay, I demand, to die before you, in order that you may be persuaded of my truth."—"That is enough," replied he; "I feel assured of your constancy: but, alas! I find myself dying, and my eyes are closing for ever upon you." So saying, he became breathless, and lay without a symptom of life.

The despairing widow, with loud cries of distress, now

embraced the body of her deceased husband, and held it long locked within her arms She then dressed herself in a long mourning habit, and made the neighbourhood resound with the expressions of her grief and desolation She would indulge neither in food nor sleep, and, in short, seemed to be at her wits' end The neighbours presently came to do honour to the remains of the deceased, whom they knew to be a sage of the first rank As soon as the crowd began to withdraw, a youth was perceived, of fair exterior and an elegant habit, who gave himself out to be descended from the sovereigns of that particular state "It is some years," said he, "since I announced to the philosopher Chuâng-tsze my intention of becoming his disciple I came hither with that express design, and now find, alas, that he is dead! What a loss have I sustained!"

He now discarded his coloured clothes, and put on a habit of mourning, then prostrating himself before the coffin of the departed, he touched the earth four times with his forehead, and exclaimed with a voice broken by sobs, "Wise and learned sage, your disciple grieves that he can no longer profit by your lessons, but he may at least mark his attachment and respect by remaining here a hundred days to mourn for you" He then renewed his prostrations, and watered the earth with his tears After this, he desired to see the lady, that he might make her his compliments, but she sent several excuses The youth, however, represented that, according to the ancient rites, a woman might allow herself to be seen by the former friends of her husband "I have," added he, "an additional title to this privilege, since I am here as the disciple of the departed sage" At these pressing instances the widow could not do otherwise than allow herself to be persuaded She therefore issued from

her chamber, and proceeded with slow steps into the hall, to receive her guest's compliments of condolence, which were few, and made in the usual terms.

When, however, the lady had observed the elegant manners, the wit, and the other numerous attractions of this young gentleman, she was altogether charmed, and began to feel all the symptoms of a rising passion, which she durst not yet confess to herself, but which led her nevertheless to hope that the young man would not very soon quit the neighbourhood. He, on the other hand, anticipated her by saying, "Since I have had the misfortune to lose my master, whose memory must be ever dear to me, it is my wish to seek a temporary abode here, wherein to spend the hundred days of mourning; after which I may assist at the funeral ceremonies. At the same time I may take occasion to peruse the works of this illustrious philosopher: they will in some measure supply the want of those lessons of which I have been robbed by his death."—"It will be an honour to our house," replied the lady; "and I can see no objection to it." So saying, she ordered a slight repast to be served up, and at the same time caused to be laid out, on a commodious table, the compositions of the philosopher, to which was added a copy of the celebrated *Taou-tĕ-king*, which had been a present from Laou-keun himself, the master sage. The youth received the whole of these with the politeness natural to him, and the respect due to the deceased.

On one side of the hall, where the coffin was laid out, were two chambers which opened into it: these were destined for the accommodation of the young stranger. The widow came frequently to the hall to weep over the remains of her husband, and, on retiring, never failed to say something civil to the youth, who always presented

himself to pay his respects. In these frequent interviews many a glance escaped them which betrayed the hearts of either party. If the youth himself was half smitten, the young widow was wholly so. It was lucky for her that, the house being in the country, the negligence of the customary funeral rites was not likely to be noticed. To satisfy her curiosity, she sent quietly for the old domestic who had accompanied the young man to her house, and inquired of him if his master was yet married? "Not yet," replied he. "And what sort of person would he wish his wife to be?" inquired the lady. "I have heard him declare," said the other, "that, if he could only find one who resembled yourself, he should be at the height of his desires."—"Very well, then," added the widow, "you may speak to him of me, and if you perceive that he loves me, tell him from myself that I shall be very well satisfied to be his wife."

"It is needless to sound him on that article," said the old man, "since he has frankly confessed to me that such a union would make him perfectly happy. 'But (observed he at the same time) that can hardly take place, as I am a disciple of the defunct, and such a marriage would scandalize the world.'"—"But that is no hindrance at all," exclaimed the lady, "your master was no real disciple of Chuâng tsze, for he had only *promised* to become one, and that, you know, is quite another thing. Go, and should any other objection equally trivial occur, you can easily remove it, and I shall recompense you handsomely for your services." He promised to obey her. "Stop!" said she, as he was going, "if the young gentleman desire that this marriage take place, you must come and inform me immediately, at whatever hour it may be." On his departure she remained in a state of no ordinary anxiety, and went repeatedly to the hall

of mourning under different pretexts, the real object being to discover what might be going on in that quarter.

On one of these excursions, as she passed by the coffin of her husband in the dark, she heard a slight noise, which made her start aside with fear and surprise. "It cannot surely be the deceased coming to life?" thought she to herself. Having repaired to her apartment for a lamp to investigate the mystery, the lady found her messenger stretched at full length on the table, which served as an altar for incense and offerings before the corpse. He was sleeping off the effects of the wine which he had drunk on his late visit. Another woman would have broken out in indignation at such an act of irreverence to the dead; she however ventured neither to complain nor even to wake the sleeping sot, but retired to her chamber, where she found it impossible to rest.

On the following morning the widow met her messenger walking at his ease, and apparently without thinking of the commission with which he had been charged. Perplexed by this cold silence, she called him, and, when they had retired to her apartment, "How have you succeeded?" inquired the lady. "There is nothing more to be done," replied the other, very drily. "How is that?" said she; "did you not remember what I told you to say?"—"I forgot nothing," he answered; "my master is very anxious for the union, and thinks nothing more of the obstacle that occurred to him before, as the disciple of the deceased. 'But (said the young gentleman) there are still three in-urmountable objections, and I should be very unwilling o declare them to the widow herself.'" "Let us hear ese objections," interrupted the lady, "and I will tell ou what I think of them."—"You shall have them as ey were stated by my master," said he. "In the first

place, then, the coffin of the deceased being still laid out in the hall, this melancholy spectacle is of itself sufficient to interfere with the celebration of the nuptials Secondly, the illustrious Chuâng-tsze having so tenderly loved his wife, and she having evinced for him so strong an affection, founded on his virtues and great capacity, 'I am afraid (said the youth) that the heart of the widow must remain always devoted to her first husband, especially when she perceives my inferior merit Lastly, I am here unprovided with either money or any other kind of property Where, then, are the marriage presents, and other requisites, to be obtained?' These, madam, are the obstacles to his wishes '

"If those are all," observed the widow, "I can soon remove them. As to the first article, of what consequence is this melancholy piece of furniture? What does it contain?—an inanimate body, from which there is nothing to fear I have at the extremity of my grounds an old ruin, some countrymen, whom I employ, shall remove the coffin there out of sight. So much, then, for the first objection As to the second, my late husband was indeed a fine specimen of what he pretended to be!—Before marrying me, he had already repudiated his second spouse On the strength of his ill-founded reputation, the king of a neighbouring state wished to make him his chief minister He, however, conscious of his incapacity, and afraid of showing it, came to hide himself in this solitary spot Not a month since, he fell in with a young widow, who was trying to dry up, with her fan, the newly turned earth about her husband s tomb, because she could not marry until this had taken place The philosopher accosted her, and, taking her fan, did his best to please her by assisting to dry the tomb He then kept this fan as a remembrance of his new acquaintance, and brought it home with him, but I

took it from him and tore it in pieces. What great benefits, then, have I received from him, or what kindness did he ever show me? As for the last objection, I myself will provide everything requisite for the marriage. There, take these twenty taëls, offer them to your master; they will provide his dress. Make haste and inform him of all that I have told you. If he agrees, I am prepared to conclude the marriage this very day."

The messenger proceeded with the twenty taëls to the youth, who now agreed to the proposals. As soon as the young widow heard it, she was quite overjoyed. She quitted her mourning at once, and began to adorn herself; at the same time that the coffin was transported, by her directions, into the old ruin. The hall was presently made ready for the celebration of the nuptials, and a grand feast prepared, in order that nothing might be wanting to the occasion. Towards night all the lanterns were lit, and the nuptial taper adorned the principal table. When all was prepared, the youth appeared, habited in a dress which set off to the best advantage his features and figure. The lady herself soon joined him, dressed in a silk garment splendidly embroidered. They placed themselves near each other, opposite to the nuptial taper. Thus contrasted, they set off each other's attractions, as pearls and jewels serve to heighten the splendour of a golden tissue, and at the same time derive a brilliancy from it in return. Having made the accustomed* salutations, and wished each other all felicity, they proceeded hand in hand to the interior apartment, where they went through the ceremony of drinking out of the cup of alliance, and then sat down to table.

Towards the conclusion of the repast, what was the

* For all the details of a Chinese marriage, the reader has been before referred to the 'Fortunate Union.'

astonishment of the late widow, and new bride, when the bridegroom all on a sudden fell into the most terrible convulsions! His features became distorted, his brows knit together, and his mouth twisted into frightful shapes He could no longer hold himself erect, but fell at his full length on the floor There stretched out, he beat his breast with both hands, calling out aloud that he had a sickness which must destroy him Enamoured as she was to the last degree with her new spouse, the lady cried out loudly for help, and, without any consideration for herself, fell on the floor and embraced the unfortunate youth, entreating him to tell her what was the matter he, however, was in too great an agony to make any reply, and, in short, appeared just ready to expire

The old domestic, running in at the alarm, took his master up and shook him "Has this ever befallen him before?" inquired the afflicted lady "The distemper has seized him several times," replied the other,—"there seldom passes a year without such an attack, and but one remedy can save him!"—"Tell me quickly," she cried, "what it is."—"Our physician," continued he, "discovered the secret which is infallible let him take the brain of a man newly killed, and drink it in warm wine, the convulsions will immediately cease, and he will be as well as ever The first time that this illness attacked him, the prince, his father, ordered a condemned prisoner to be put to death on purpose, but, alas! where shall we find such a remedy at present?"—"Would the brain of a man who died naturally have the same effect?" inquired the lady. "Our physician," replied the other, "told us that in case of absolute need it might be used, provided that the person had not been too long dead"

"Oh," cried the lady, "my last husband has been dead only a few days, open his coffin, then, and take the

remedy from thence."—"I had thought of that," said the man, "but was afraid to propose it, lest it should offend you."—"A great matter truly!" exclaimed she. "Is not the present sufferer now my husband? and ought I not to expend my own blood in his service? Why hesitate, then, to use the dead for the sake of the living?" With that she left her new spouse in the servant's care, and, taking in one hand a hatchet used for cutting wood, while with the other she carried a lamp, away went the fair one to the old ruin where the coffin of her late husband had been last deposited. Arrived there, she tucked up her long sleeves, seized the hatchet with both hands, and, lifting it above her head, struck with all her force upon the lid of the coffin, which split immediately in two. A woman's strength would not have served to break the lid of an ordinary coffin; but the philosopher, being aware that people sometimes return to life after seeming to be dead, had purposely directed that the planks of his coffin should be made very slight. A few more blows drove off the lid, and our lady, being out of breath with her exertions, stood still a moment to recover herself. At that instant she heard a deep sigh, and, casting her eyes on the coffin, she saw her former husband move himself and sit up!

One may imagine her dismay at this apparition; she uttered a loud scream, her legs tottered under her, and the axe fell unnoticed from her hands.—"My dear wife," said the philosopher calmly, "lend me your hand to get out of this." Once upon his legs, he took the lamp from her and walked towards the hall. The lady followed him, but with faltering steps, and sweating big drops; for she felt that her new husband must be the first object that met the eyes of her old one! When they reached the apartment, everything looked gay and splendid, but the

youth and his attendant seemed luckily to have vanished. This gave her a little courage, and she now began to contrive some way of escaping from her embarrassment, so, casting a tender look at the philosopher, "Ah!" cried she, "my thoughts have been occupied day and night with your dear memory, at length, having heard a distinct sound issue from the coffin, and recollecting the stories that they tell of dead persons returning to life, I flattered myself that you might be of the number. So I ran as fast as I could, and knocked off the lid. Thank Heaven, my hopes did not deceive me! What happiness to recover my dear husband, whose loss I should for ever have bewailed!"

"I am much obliged by your kind attention," said the philosopher, "but have still one little question to ask you. How is it you are not in mourning, what is the reason that you are dressed out in this fine brocade?" The answer was ready. "I went," she replied, "to open the coffin, with a secret foreboding of my happiness: the joy of the occasion called for anything but a mourning dress, and it was inconsistent to receive you alive in a habit that relates only to the dead. I therefore put on my wedding clothes."—"Well, well," said he, "we will let that pass: but why was my coffin stowed away in the old ruin, instead of this hall, which was its proper place?" This question posed the lady, and she had nothing to say. Chuang-tsze, then casting his eyes on the dishes and bowls and other signs of rejoicing, considered them attentively without saying a word: he next called for some warm wine, and swallowed several cups in silence, while his wife stood by in the greatest confusion. "Look behind you!" at length said the philosopher, and on turning round she perceived her intended, with his follower, ready to enter the hall. This was a new subject of terror to her, but on looking

round again they had vanished.* In a word, this unhappy woman, finding all her intrigues discovered, and unable to survive her shame, retired to her chamber, and there, untying her silken girdle, hung herself by it to one of the beams. She soon became dead in earnest, without the chance of returning to plague her husband; who, finding her in that condition, cut her down very quietly, and, mending up his old coffin, laid her in it. Then striking up a mock dirge on the cups and bowls intended for the feast, he broke them all in pieces with great shouts of laughter, and ended by setting fire to the mansion, and burning his wife's body in the ruins, from which nothing was saved except the sacred book called *Taou-tĕ-king*.

After that, the philosopher set out on his travels, quite resolved never to take another wife. In his wanderings he fell in again with his master Laou-tsze, to whom he attached himself for ever after, and became the first of his disciples.

It remains for us to describe a variety of superstitious customs and observances which are practised by the Chinese, either with or without a particular relation to some *one* of the three sects, or persuasions, which have been already noticed. In common with a considerable portion of the rest of mankind, they are pretty generally fatalists, or believers in inevitable destiny; and the practical mischiefs of such a creed cannot be more strongly displayed than in the consequences resulting from their apathetic carelessness in regard to the use of *fire*. Notwithstanding the repeated conflagrations which every year devastate the town of Canton and other cities, the same unaccountable negligence is perpetually apparent to the

* The whole had been an illusion, practised by the adept in philosophy and magic.

most casual observer, who, in perambulating their streets, or taking notice of their domestic habits, cannot fail to be struck by the extreme carelessness with which burning paper and lighted sticks of incense are left about their combustible dwellings, or pipes smoked, and bunches of crackers discharged, in temporary edifices constructed entirely of *matting* It has been already mentioned that, in the year 1822, the whole of the European factories were laid in ashes by a fire which originated in a small shop, and which, before it had run its course, destroyed a very considerable portion of the city Some of these fires are doubtless the work of incendiaries, who hope to profit in the confusion, but a large number must also be considered as the results of that stupid belief in fatalism which tends to paralyze effort and to banish caution Hence the thriving trade that is carried on by fortune tellers and calculators of destiny

That the wiser and better portion of the Chinese, however, are occasionally above the influence of this grovelling sentiment, seems proved by the existence of a treatise in their language, wherein it is shown that a man may " lay the foundation of his own destiny, or, in other words, that *conduct is fate* " The author relates that, being left by the death of his father without a guide at a very early age, he consulted an old man with a long beard, who professed the art of divination This person told him that in such a year he should attain a scholar's degree at the public examination within his district, and that, in some other year, he should succeed at the higher trial in the provincial capital It so happened that these events occurred as they had been predicted, and his faith became accordingly confirmed in the skill of the soothsayer, who next informed him, after predicting the various vicissitudes of his remaining life, that he would die at the age of fifty-

all enjoyed *in spite of fate.* The story seems to have been written for the express purpose of counteracting the general belief in the decrees of immutable destiny, and lessening the credit of astrologers.

The general proneness of the Chinese to superstitious practices (most of which pertain to the *Taou* sect) could not be more completely proved than by an account of the charms, talismans, and felicitous appendages hung up in houses, or worn about the person, specimens of which were sent home to the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. J. Morrison, a son of the late Doctor.* It will be sufficient if we describe a few of these. Among the principal are "*money-swords*," as they are called, consisting of a number of ancient copper coins, each with a square hole in the middle, fastened together over a piece of iron shaped like a sword with a cross hilt. These are suspended at the heads of sleeping-couches and beds, that the supposed guardianship of the sovereigns in whose reigns the coin was issued may keep away ghosts and evil spirits. They are chiefly used in houses or rooms where persons have committed suicide, or suffered a violent death; and sick people sometimes resort to them in the hope of hastening their recovery. Their efficacy is no doubt fully equal to that of a horseshoe nailed over a door, or any of those infallible devices formerly adopted in England against witches and ghosts. The Chinese have commonly a firm belief in, and consequently a great dread of, the wandering spirits of persons who have come to an unfortunate end, and which they denominate *kuei*. When Europeans first arrived in the country, their red or yellow hair, and high noses, were strongly opposed to the prevailing standard of Chinese comeliness. Mothers and nurses pointed them out as ogres and devils to their chil-

* *Royal Asiatic Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 285.

dren, and hence the present term for any Europeans, *fân-kuei*, "foreign ghost, spirit, or devil," with some allusion, perhaps, to their *wandering so far from their homes*

In illustration of the Chinese belief in ghosts, and what may be styled "demoniacal possession," may be adduced an occurrence which took place at Canton in 1817 The wife of an officer of government had occasioned the death of two female domestic slaves, from some jealous suspicions, it was supposed, of her husband's conduct towards the girls, and in order to screen herself from the consequences, she suspended the bodies by the neck, with a view to its being construed into an act of suicide As the parents of the girls appealed to the magistrate for satisfaction, bribes were offered, and with success, to stop the progress of inquiry, but the conscience of the woman tormented her to such a degree that she became insane, and at times personated the victims of her cruelty, or, as the Chinese supposed, the spirits of the murdered girls possessed her, and employed her mouth to declare her own guilt In her ravings she tore her clothes and beat her own person with all the fury of madness, after which she would recover her senses for a time, when it was supposed that the demons quitted her; but only to return with greater fury, which took place a short time previous to her death.

In her last fit she became worse than ever, and was confined to a room with an old [illegible]. But the avenging demons (according to the Chinese) being incensed at this attempt to [illegible], the old woman also, who, either from terror or sympathy, had become affected [illegible]. [illegible] and the affrighted husband [illegible] the distracted nurse, by telling [illegible]

one of the Budhist nunneries, where she would become at length absorbed into the divine nature of Fŏ. She consented to this, on condition that he would worship her, which he forthwith pretended to do. The demon (say the Chinese), speaking by the old woman's mouth, further insisted that the two daughters, who had assisted the mother in maltreating the girls, should also come and worship, which was accordingly done; and on the arrival of the woman at the place of her retirement the souls of the murdered females, having been appeased by the foregoing occurrences, left her in possession of her perfect senses. It may be reasonably supposed that a train of circumstances like the preceding, in themselves sufficiently explicable on natural grounds, were *magnified* by ignorance and superstition *into something preternatural.**

A common Chinese talisman † is the "hundred families' lock," to procure which a father goes round among his friends, and, having obtained from a hundred different parties a few of the copper coins of the country, he himself adds the balance, to purchase an ornament or appendage fashioned like a lock, which he hangs on his child's neck, for the purpose of *locking* him figuratively to *life*, and making the hundred persons concerned in his attaining old age. Another charm worn by children is a figure of the *Ky-lin*, a fabulous animal supposed to have appeared at the birth of Confucius, and therefore ominous of promotion and good fortune to the young. On the 5th day of the 5th moon, sprigs and cuttings of the *Acorus calamus*, and a plant called by the Chinese *gae*, are placed at the doors of houses to prevent all manner of evil from entering. The "peach charm" consists of a

* Chinese Gleaner, p. 144.

† Royal Asiatic Transactions, *ut supra*.

sprig of that tree covered with blossoms, which, at the new year, is placed at doorways for the same purpose as the foregoing The *pa-kua*, or eight mystical diagrams of Fo hy, cut in stone or metal, are often worn as charms, and the bottle gourd, a curious species of the genus *cucurbitus* closely resembling a bottle, is represented in ornaments as an emblem of longevity We have before stated that the dried gourd itself, hung round the waists of children living in boats, frequently saves their lives by floating them until picked up after they have tumbled overboard

One might be led to conclude that the Chinese were generally a very happy people, could this only be inferred from the value which they set on long life The thing may be partly explained, however, by the great reverence with which age is always treated, and by the fact that old persons commonly enjoy an unusually great share of comparative ease and exemption from toil, by the services which both opinion and law impose on their juniors The greatest favour and distinction that the emperor can bestow on one of his ministers is the word *show*, "long life," written in a peculiar manner with his own hand, and supposed, no doubt, to be one of the best promoters of longevity Persons of the lowest class who have attained to an unusual age, have not unfrequently been distinguished by the emperor; and Kien-lung, when himself a very old man, gave a feast to all his subjects, of *every rank*, who had passed the usual term of human life! No doubt the same tendency of their social and political system, on the patriarchal basis, has contributed to its steady duration

The written spells which are likewise [illegible] consist of mystical compositions of certain characters or words, in which astrology is generally introduced [illegible]

the eight diagrams of Fo-hy, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, the *five* planets, &c. Some of these spells are kept about the person, others are pasted on the walls of rooms. "Occasionally," observes Mr. Morrison, "they are used as cures for sick persons, by being either written on leaves which are then infused in some liquid, or inscribed on paper, burned, and the ashes thrown into drink, which the patient has to swallow." This is not much worse, however, than the *aurum potabile* of the old materia medica among ourselves. For some reason or other, bats (which the Chinese call *fei-shoo*, "flying mice") are looked upon as good omens, and constantly depicted as an emblem of felicity on various objects of use or ornament. Even in this, perhaps, there is as much reason as in the Roman notion of learning the secret of fate from the pecking of chickens, or in that zoological list of ill omens which Horace, either in jest or earnest, imprecates against the wicked:—

> "Impios parræ recinentis omen
> Ducat, et prægnans canis, aut ab agro
> Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,
> Fetaque vulpes;" &c.

The Chinese look upon rooks as unlucky birds, whose visits prognosticate visits still more unpleasant from the *mandarins*. There is, however, a species of white-necked crow for which they have a high veneration, as was proved in the last embassy. A gentleman of the party had carried a gun with him, in one of those long walks which we were accustomed to take at the frequent points of sojourn. The unusual appearance of this crow, with a white cravat, led to its being for once considered as fair game, and the bird was shot. The occurrence was reported to the emperor's legate, who conducted the embassy, and from him an earnest request was conveyed to the ambassador that

no more such birds might be killed. "But it was only a crow," was the natural answer "Only a crow!" exclaimed the legate "Of all the birds that fly it should have been spared, for it is a sacred animal" He then related a story respecting crows having once performed some essential public service, just as geese are said to have saved the Roman Capitol. This shows at least the utility of being acquainted with the most trivial superstitions of a country

But the strangest and most unaccountable of the Chinese superstitions is what they denominate *Foong-shuey*, "wind and water," a species of geomancy, or a belief in the good or ill luck attached to particular local situations or aspects, which we had occasion to notice before, and which, among the more rational classes of the people, is admitted to be nonsensical Before a house is built or a burial-place selected, it is necessary to consult certain professors of the occult science, who, at the price of adequate fees, proceed with much solemnity to examine the situation. After frequently perambulating and examining the ground, and even deferring their decision for months, they will fix on some particular place The lucky position of a grave is supposed to exercise some influence on the fortunes of a whole family, and if, after all the expense and trouble of consulting the cheats who profess the art, ill fortune rather than good should attend the parties, this is of course attributed to anything except the inefficiency of the *foong-shuey* This term may in general be construed by the word *luck*, and it has been supposed that in a country like China, where nearly all long journeys are performed by water, "good wind and water," or, in other words, good luck on a journey, has by degrees come to signify good luck in every circumstance and condition of life

It would seem scarcely possible that such fooleries as those above stated should meet with countenance or support in persons calling themselves Europeans; yet in 1821 a Portuguese of some local consideration in Macao contributed to the erection of a pagoda for improving the fortunes of the place! The following notice was exhibited, but it does not appear that the whole of the proposed scheme was ever accomplished. "The Chinese and foreign merchants have hitherto been prosperous, their wealth abounding, and the destinies of the place altogether felicitous. Of late, however, its fortunes have waxed lean, and the influence of the atmosphere been unlucky, so that the acquisition of riches has become less certain. A proposal is accordingly made to erect a pagoda and a pavilion, in order to renovate and improve the commercial fortunes of the island. The plan has fortunately met with the concurrence of the Portuguese magistrate, who has offered one hundred dollars to assist in its execution. Leang-ta-tseuen, whose skill is universally acknowledged, and everywhere attended by incontestable proofs, has visited Macao, in order to fix on a proper spot. He declares that a lofty pavilion should be erected on the sea-side, near the new village to the right of the temple of Ma-tsoo, and a high pagoda on the eastern arm of Monkey Island. He affirms that prosperity and riches will be the result—that both Chinese and strangers at Macao will share in the felicity. He has written a paper on the subject, and drawn out the plan, which has obtained the assent of the Portuguese magistrate; the permission of the *Keun-min-foo* (the Chinese magistrate of Macao) has also been graciously given. It is therefore resolved," &c.

The Chinese have a mode of divination by certain pieces of wood, in shape the longitudinal sections of a

flattish oval These are thrown by pairs, and, according to the mode in which they turn up, a judgment is formed of any future event by consulting the interpretation afforded by a Sibylline volume which is hung up in the temple If the throw, however, happens to be unlucky, they do not mind trying their chance *over again* until the answer is satisfactory A plan of divination, of somewhat the same kind, is decribed by Tacitus in his account of the ancient Germans "Sortium consuetudo simplex, virgam frugiferæ arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt "*

* Germ x

CHAPTER XVII.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Chinese characters symbols of ideas — Roots or radical characters — Written and spoken languages — Written characters — Rules for study — Literary habits — Ethics — Aphorisms — Histories — Account of Europe — Biographies — Civil code — European translations.

THE written language of China realizes to a great extent the theory of a universal medium for the communication of ideas, as conceived by Bishop Wilkins, and methodized by him into an elaborate treatise which he presented to the Royal Society. While the letters of our alphabet are mere symbols of *sounds*, the Chinese characters, or words, are symbols of *ideas*, and alike intelligible to the natives of Cochin-China, Japan, Loo-choo, and Corea, with those of China itself. The best practical illustration of a written character, common to several nations who cannot understand each other's speech, are the Arabic numerals common to all Europe. An Englishman, who could not understand what an Italian meant if he said *venti-due*, would comprehend him immediately if he wrote down 22. This advantage, which belongs to our *numerals* only, pertains to the *whole language* of the Chinese, and those other nations who use the same characters, without affixing to them the same pronunciation.

No connexion or resemblance whatever is to be traced between the written language of China and the Egyptian

hieroglyphics. The former, indeed, is a much more artificial and ingenious system than the last, which had not advanced beyond the rude representations of visible objects, while the Chinese, although it seems to have *originated* in something of the same kind, is now anything but a collection of mere pictures. They have no less than six different forms of writing or printing, just as we have the black letter, the roman, the italic, the written, and the running-hand forms. Indeed the Chinese running hand might very easily be taken for an alphabetic character, though it differs from most of these systems in being written in *perpendicular columns*, like the Manchow Tartar language.

The rumoured difficulties attendant on the acquisition of Chinese, from the great number and variety of the characters, are the mere exaggerations of ignorance, and so far mischievous as they are calculated to deter many from the pursuit whose business takes them to the country, and would no doubt be greatly promoted by some practical acquaintance with its language.* The roots, or original characters of the Chinese (or what, by a species of analogy, may be called its *alphabet*), are only 214 in number, and might indeed be reduced to a much smaller amount by a little dissection and analysis. To assert that there are so many thousand characters in the language is very much the same thing as to say that there are so many thousand words in Johnson's Dictionary, nor is a knowledge of the *whole* at all more necessary for every practical purpose than it is to get all Johnson's Dictionary by heart in order to read and con-

* Since the Treaty of 1842 a marked encouragement has been given by the Foreign Office to young men willing to qualify themselves as translators and interpreters at our consulates. Some of these have attained to a great proficiency in the language.

verse in English. Prémare very correctly observes,—"neminem esse qui non possit libros legere et Sinice componere, quando semel quatuor vel quinque millia litterarum (aut verborum) bene novit"—"that there is nobody who might not read and write Chinese after he had once acquired a good knowledge of 4000 or 5000 characters or words." A much smaller number might, in fact, suffice; and it is worthy of remark that the entire number of *different* words, apart from repetitions, in the Penal Code translated by Sir George Staunton, was under 2000.

The roots which we have mentioned serve, like our alphabet, for the arrangement of the words in the large Chinese Dictionary, compiled more than a hundred years since by order of the Emperor Kâng-hy; and so ingenious and lucid is the arrangement, that to a practised person there is little more difficulty in turning to a word than among ourselves in consulting Johnson. The main portion of Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary is arranged on the same principle. *One* part, however, is on a different plan, which requires that the searcher after a word should know its *pronunciation* before he can find it. This (which is an attempt to imitate the European method) is by far less certain than the proper Chinese mode, which requires no knowledge whatever of the *sound* of a word, but only of its *composition:* and this is obvious to any person who knows the roots. These roots answer the purpose of our alphabet in lexicographic arrangement, and may be considered, besides, as the foundation of the *meaning* of each word to which they serve as root.

From the principle on which the written language has been constructed, there has ensued to it a remarkable property, which did not escape the penetration of the late Professor Rémusat, in his paper on "the state of the natural sciences among the people of Eastern Asia." As

the 214 roots or radical characters (whose combinations with each other form the whole language) singly represent or express the principal objects or ideas that men have occasion to communicate in the infancy of their knowledge, they comprise within their number the heads of *genera* and *classes* in nature and thus afford the elements and means of a philosophical system of arrangement As their knowledge increased, "a fortunate instinct," as M Remusat calls it, guided the framers of the language, and led them, instead of forming characters altogether new, to express new objects by the ingenious combination of those elementary symbols which they already possessed Thus, for instance, among the roots we find *horse, dog, metal,* &c , and the *addition* of some *other* significant symbol, expressive of some peculiar property or characteristic, serves to designate the different species comprised under these principal genera In this manner, as M Remusat observes, each natural object becomes provided with a binary denomination, inasmuch as the complex character is necessarily formed of two parts, one for the class, order, or genus, the other for the species or variety Thus they express *horse, horse-ass, horse mule, dog, dog wolf, dog-fox, metal, metal-iron, metal-copper, metal-silver,* the *elementary* or *generic* words, horse, dog, metal, being those under which the compounds are arranged in the dictionary

Thousands of terms have been thus compounded, and thousands more may be constructed in the same way, for the process by which they are created, and which is strictly analogous to the principle of the Linnæan nomenclature, is one which cannot be exhausted by repetition, and from this simple sketch it may be conceived how much aid the understanding and memory may gain by the employment of signs of this rational nature, in a subject of

such immense compass, in which order and method constitute the first pledge of the progress of studies and the advancement of knowledge. M. Rémusat goes on to show that the Chinese have not derived the advantage which they might to their science from this happy constitution of their language; and that their naturalists have not made the progress which they should have done in the course traced out for them by the lexicographers. For it must be remembered that this systematic arrangement was a mere classification of written signs, brought together by the dictionary-makers, and distributed by them according to the component and elementary parts, with a view solely to facilitating the search for them. Persons who could avail themselves of signs so judiciously contrived and arranged, and including within themselves a principle of order and the elements of analysis, might have been expected to perfect in their scientific labours what the mere etymology of the characters suggested to them: but without denying the decided superiority of the Chinese, in this respect, to the other people of Asia, they must be confessed to have made but an imperfect use of their opportunities and means. The whole essay of M. Rémusat on this curious subject is deserving of perusal.

The highly artificial and philosophic structure of so singular a language entitles it to the attention of intelligent persons, as a part of the history of the human mind. But it has now other powerful claims to notice from being the medium through which at least *four hundred millions* of mankind, occupying countries which exceed the united extent of all Europe, communicate their ideas. With the growth of our commerce, and of our Protestant missions, the value and importance of its acquisition may no doubt increase in estimation. By only knowing how to write a few hundred Chinese words, a man can make himself

understood over an extent of 2000 miles of latitude, from Japan in the north to Cochin-China in the south As a portion of general literature alone, and without one half of the practical importance which attaches to it among ourselves, the French have long since thought it worthy of the endowment of a professor's chair and that nothing of the kind should as yet have existed in England is remarkable *

The uniformity in the *written* character has not prevented the existence of very considerable diversities in the *oral* languages of the different provinces of China, and especially the province of Fokien These diversities are analogous to the different pronunciation given to the same numerals in the various countries of Europe To adduce the example with which we set out, the number 22, which an Italian calls *venti due*, a Frenchman pronounces *vingt deux*, and, in like manner, the Chinese numerals expressive of the same amount are read *urh-she urh* by the native of Peking, while the Canton man calls them *ee-shap ee*, although both *write* them exactly alike It is in this way that the universality of the Chinese language extends only to the written character, and that the natives of the two extremities of the empire, who read the same books, and understand each other perfectly on *paper*, are all but mutually unintelligible in *speech*

There is, however, one mode of pronouncing the written language, that of Peking, or of the court, which is universally adopted in official translations, and in the intercourse of the higher orders all over the empire This has been termed by Europeans the Mandarin dialect, and is called in Chinese *Kuan hua*, which has the same

* Since the above was written a Chinese professorship has been instituted at the London University and one at King's College

meaning; and this of course is the proper dialect for strangers to learn, as being of most extensive use. The total number of different syllables does not much exceed four hundred, but these are varied by intonations sufficiently distinct to the ear of a native, so as to treble or quadruple that amount. The danger of misunderstanding in *speech* (for there can be none in *writing*) is obviated by joining two words together to express any particular object, thus making in fact a word of two syllables. For instance, in the oral language, *foo* means "father," but it also means "an axe," and the possibility of the equivoque is prevented by saying, in the first instance, *foo-tsin* (father-relation), and, in the second, *foo-tow* (axe-head), which circumstance tends to render the written language much more brief and concise than the spoken, as it has no need of such expletives.

The Chinese attach much consideration to the graphic beauty of their written character, and make use of inscriptions for ornamental purposes, as may be often seen on the specimens of porcelain brought to this country. The advantage of simplicity (and a very great advantage it is) constitutes the merit of our alphabetic writing; but that of variety and picturesque effect may fairly be claimed by the Chinese.* The importance of caligraphy as an accomplishment is naturally esteemed more highly among them than it is in Europe; and large ornamental inscriptions, or labels, are frequently exchanged as remembrances among friends, or used as pictures are among us, for purposes of taste and decoration. The two most usual forms of their character are, first, that in

* "The almost infinite variety of forms which the Chinese symbolical character is capable of receiving is certainly favourable to the beauty, and, it may almost be said, picturesque effect, of such inscriptions."—*Staunton.*

which books are commonly printed,* and which, being stiff and inelegant, lays claim only to clearness and accuracy, secondly, that in which all papers of consequence are written, and which combines correctness with elegance The last is at once the most useful and the most studied form of the Chinese character To attain skill in writing it is more or less the aim of every educated Chinese, and to impart that skill is the object of a work whose rules have been translated by the author of these pages, and its examples given in a series of lithographic plates in the Royal Asiatic Transactions †

Nothing can exceed the neatness and beauty of Chinese notes and letters, which are generally written on ornamental paper of various colours, called by them "flowered leaves" They sign with a cipher, which every man adopts for himself, being a few characters combined in a complicated manner into *one* Another mode of attestation is by affixing the stamp of a seal, not in wax, but in red ink It would be an error to suppose that the language, however calculated from its structure for durability, has *not* changed to a certain degree in the course of time Some characters or words have become obsolete, others have been gradually adopted, and, above all, the whole is much more copious than in ancient times In their earlier works (as in the sacred Classics noticed in our twelfth chapter) there is a much greater economy of words than in more modern literature A portion of the difficulty or obscurity of ancient authors arises from the same word being used, for example, in different senses, or as a different part of speech,—a defect which time, and the multiplication of the symbols of

* Analogous to our roman type
† Vol i p 304

ideas, have tended to supply. A great increase especially has taken place in those *particles* of speech which become the more necessary in a language in proportion as there is less inflexion, and which therefore abound more in the modern tongues of Europe than in the ancient sources whence they are derived. In Chinese there is no inflexion whatever, and therefore these particles become the more indispensable; indeed, native writers call them by the express term of *tsoo-yu*, "assistants of speech."

As we cannot go far into this subject in a work of the present description, it may suffice to observe, generally, that the grammar of the language is extremely limited. In the absence of all inflexion, the relation of words to each other in a sentence can only be marked by their *position*. The verb, for instance, must always precede its object, and follow its agent. The plural number is denoted by the affix of *mun* to nouns,—*jin-mun*, men, *t'ha-mun*, they; or by repeating the noun, as *jin jin*, men. Either of these is rendered unnecessary when a specific number is prefixed, as *san jin*, three men. The genitive or possessive case is generally denoted by the affix *che* succeeding the noun like our *'s*, as T'hien *che* gen, "Heaven's favour." The comparison of adjectives is marked by affixes, as *haou*, "good," *keng haou*, "*more* good," *ting haou*, "*most* good." The structure of Chinese phrases is often discoverable in the broken English of Canton, which is a *Chinese idiom in English words*. The tenses of verbs are denoted by auxiliaries or expletives, as *t'ha lae*, "he comes," *t'ha yaou lae*, "he shall come." The cases of nouns and pronouns are determined by prepositions, as *yu ne*, "to thee," which sometimes become postpositions, as *ty-hea*, "the earth below"—under the earth. They have a species of numeral

adjuncts which they join on to nouns, for the sake of perspicuity in speech, as *yĕ pun shoo*, "a *volume* book," *san kuân peih*, "three *reed* pencils," &c. The collocation of words must upon the whole be considered as of more importance in this than in those other languages where the relations of different words to each other are marked by the infallible distinctions of number, gender, case, and person, as shown by *inflexion*. The Chinese themselves divide their words into three great classes. first, "live words," or verbs—denoting action or passion; secondly, "dead words" or nouns, substantive and adjective—the names and qualities of things, thirdly, "auxiliaries of speech," or particles that assist expression

By far the best introduction to the language of China is the *Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ* of Premare, composed in the last century, but printed only a few years since at the Malacca college, at the expense of Lord Kingsborough Professor Neumann, of Munich, has fully shown that Remusat's French grammar was greatly indebted to this work. Where there is so little of what can strictly be called grammatical rules, the proper way to teach is by *examples* rather than precepts, and this is what Premare has done, illustrating the subject by quotations from the best works in the native character It is a pity, however, in the present disuse of the learned languages, that the work had not been printed in English rather than in Latin, with a view to general utility It consists of two parts, with an introduction giving a general account of Chinese books, and the method of studying them, and a treatise on the character and its pronunciation The first part is on the ordinary language of conversation and popular books The second treats of the more abstruse and condensed style of scholastic composition and of the ancient books, which forms, however, the basis of the

popular language. With the aid of Prémare's work, and Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, it is in the power of any one to learn Chinese as far as *books only* are concerned.* To be able to converse in it he must go to China.

Dr. Morrison has given a curious account, from original sources, of the rules which govern native scholars in the prosecution of their studies. The first thing needful is "to form a resolution," and this resolution is valuable in proportion as it is firm and persevering. It is received as a maxim, that "the object on which a determined esolution rests *must* succeed." The student is directed to keep by him a commonplace-book, and daily to record in it what he reads; then at intervals of ten or twenty days to recapitulate and con over what he has before learned; "thus the lover of learning daily acquires new ideas, and does not lose those he already possesses." The scholar who does not rouse all his energies is told to consider how he is to get through his task when locked up with nothing but pencils, ink, and paper, at the public examination. "Should a theme be there given him which he cannot manage, let him reflect what his distress will be."

When a man is reading a particular section of a work, he is directed, in this treatise *on the conduct of the understanding*, to give up his whole mind to that alone, and on no account to let it be diverted for the time by any other subject. "A caldron of water, for example, after fire has been long applied to it, will at last boil; but if, in the mean while, you change the water and put on fresh, though a great deal of water will be partially heated, none will be made boiling hot. I have seen (says the

* The first half of the present century has afforded all the effectual aids to the acquisition of the language; and the dictionaries, grammars, dialogues, and translations are now abundant.

Chinese writer) those men who covet much, and devote themselves to universal knowledge When they read, they presume on the quickness of their genius, and section after section passes before their eyes,—but when do they ever really apply their minds to the subject? Better a little and fine, than much and coarse The ancient military rule makes the power of an army to consist in its perfect training, and not in its mere numbers. I deem the same to be true in reference to reading"

In study, a main point is to get rid of extraneous thoughts, and matters foreign to the object before one The illustration of this subject of feeding the intellect is taken from the feeding of the body "If a man's stomach (they say) is filled with course and ordinary food, he can swallow nothing more, though the most precious dainties be placed before him In reading, the same is true of the mixed and vulgar thoughts of *every day life, which occupy and fill up the mind*" Another important point is the ready *application* of acquired knowledge A certain class of men, though they have read a great many books, are incapable of transferring and using the stores they have laid up "There is one convenient rule (it is added) for a man who has many worldly affairs to attend to it is to make a good selection of a volume of ancient literature, and another of modern composition, and to place them on his table When a little leisure is gained, let him study them If, instead of adopting this plan, he wait until he may be entirely at leisure for months, the expected period is likely never to arrive Time flies like an arrow, in the twinkling of an eye a month, and again a month, is gone, and behold the year is at an end! This loss and detriment arise entirely from putting off to the future"

Studies ought to commence (it is observed) during the fifth watch (before five in the morning), for these early hours are many times more advantageous than the subsequent forenoon and later portions of the day. The *attention* should be as intensely exerted as that of a general at the head of his army, or a criminal judge in a court. On no account should there be breaks of five and ten days in one's studies. "Do not fear being slow; only fear standing still—fear one day's ardent heat, followed by ten of cold." In prosecuting a journey on the road, he who walks fast and stops frequently does not get on so well as he who walks constantly and at a slower pace. Study, however, though it should not be intermitted or delayed, ought not to be followed with too great eagerness and precipitancy; for, admitting that a man can, if he tries, walk a hundred *ly* a day, yet, if he walk only seventy or eighty, he will feel himself strong and equal to this exertion daily; whereas, by working himself up to overstrained effort, he will make himself ill, and thus more time will be lost than learning gained.

When approaching the time of public examination, a student should particularly shun an eagerness to read much, for, if not before done, it is then too late. Let the duly-prepared scholar select twenty or thirty sections of the best composition, and con it over till he relish its beauties and feel its spirit; he will surely derive strength from this at the period of trial. The treatise goes on to comment on the folly of collecting books instead of reading them. "There are many men (it is observed) who store up at home 10,000 volumes, and never read ten works out of them; they merely buy the books and place them in cases as playthings to look at. They have newly-bound books, which no hand has opened, nor eye has looked over. Such people are much below the poor

starved scholar, who takes a few copper coins and buys a book which he carries home, but never puts out of his hand until it is entirely his own' * These are the precepts by which the native Chinese student is urged on in a course which the ancient policy of his government has laid open to all ranks, and made the sole pathway to political employment, distinction, and power

"One of the most remarkable national peculiarities of the Chinese,' observes Sir George Staunton, "is their extraordinary addiction to letters, the general prevalence of literary habits among the middling and higher orders, and the very honourable pre eminence which from the most remote period has been universally conceded to that class which is exclusively devoted to literary pursuits * * * * Since the memorable era of Confucius the Chinese empire has been repeatedly dismembered, and again restored to its integrity, its sceptre has passed through the hands of many families or dynasties, it has been a prey to many intestine divisions and revolutions, and it has been twice subdued by a foreign foe, but the reverence of the government and people for the name and institutions of Confucius has survived every change.* * * * Even now, under the sway of that comparatively [illegible] and warlike race which conquered the [illegible] middle of the seventeenth century, and still [illegible] subjection, several individuals, recognised [illegible] heirs and representatives of the sage [illegible] honorary distinctions, and maintained [illegible] spectable independence at the [illegible] and colleges for the instruction [illegible] trines continue to flourish in [illegible] competent acquaintance with [illegible] an indispensable qualification [illegible]

* [illegible]

"Under the influence of such institutions, it is by no means surprising that the proportion of the community exclusively devoted to letters should be much greater in China than it is in any other country on the surface of the globe. It is so great as to constitute of itself a distinct class in the state. It is the first and most honourable of the four classes into which the body of the people is considered as divisible according to the Chinese political system; namely, the literary, the agricultural, the manufacturing, and the mercantile. * * * * The advantages arising from so extensive a diffusion of a familiar acquaintance with what may be called their Confucian or classical literature will more fully appear when the nature of that moral system is considered which it is the uniform tendency of its pages to inculcate. Du Halde informs us that 'Toute la doctrine de ce philosophe tendoit à redonner à la nature humaine ce premier lustre, et cette première beauté qu'elle avoit reçue du ciel, et qui avoit été obscurcie par les ténèbres de l'ignorance, et par la contagion des vices. Il conseilloit, pour pouvoir y parvenir, d'obéir au Seigneur du ciel, de l'honorer et de le craindre, d'aimer son prochain comme soi-même, de vaincre ses penchants, de ne prendre jamais ses passions pour règle de sa conduite, de les soumettre à la raison, de l'écouter en toutes choses, de ne rien faire, de ne rien dire, de ne rien penser même, qui lui fût contraire.'

"In the same spirit is the statement or summary of the Chinese moral system which the Emperor of China in 1713 directs to be given by his ambassadors to the Russian government. 'If you are asked what we principally esteem and reverence in China, you may thus reply: In our empire fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them: they are the principles upon which

we administer the empire as well as govern ourselves We likewise make sacrifices and oblations, we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things, but if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just, and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and sacrifices?' The universal veneration of the Chinese for the memory of Confucius is of itself no small homage to the excellence of his doctrines It is strikingly manifested by the special dedication of temples to his honour in all the chief cities of the empire * * * * In the lateral galleries of their temples a number of smaller tablets are generally displayed, on which are carefully recorded the names and virtues of such of the deceased inhabitants of the district as were deemed to deserve, either on account of their private worth or their public services, this posthumous distinction * * * * Everything that is subservient to, or connected with, literary objects in China is carried to a degree of refinement, and blended with all their ordinary concerns of pleasure and of business, in a way that may seem extravagant and puerile,* but such an attachment to the forms and instruments by which knowledge is conveyed could hardly exist altogether independently of a regard for their object"†

In a general classification of the literature of the country, those sacred or canonical works which have already been briefly described in the twelfth chapter must of course be placed at the head of the list The term *king*, which means a sacred book, has been usurped by the Budhists and sectaries of Taou in application to their own religious works, but in strictness can apply only to the writings of Confucius and his school Next to these in

* Their customary reverence for letters is such that they will not tread upon written or printed paper

† Miscellaneous Notices part ii p 6

rank are those moral and political essays which have the sanction of the government and of the learned. The *Shing-yu*, or sacred edict, a work to which we have had occasion to refer, stands high in the list of moral and didactic books, consisting of essays written by the Emperor Yoong-ching, or theses furnished by his father and predecessor, Kâng-hy. A very respectable translation of this work was published by Dr. Milne many years back, and we may here give his own account of the book. "It treats of moral duties and of political economy. Like all similar Chinese productions, it *begins* with filial piety, and thence branches out into various other relative duties, *according to their supposed importance.* Indeed, on whatever subject a Chinese writer treats, he can at all times with the utmost facility draw arguments for its support from the relation between parent and child.* Even the grossest absurdities of their idolatry are thus supported. The work we are now considering is in general, for the matter of it, well worth a perusal. Though Christians can derive no improvement to their ethics from it, yet it will confirm them more and more in the belief of two important points, viz. that God has not left himself without a witness in the minds of the heathen; and that the bare light of nature, as it is called, even when aided by all the light of pagan philosophy, is totally incapable of leading men to the knowledge and worship of the true God. Yet, for my own part as an individual, I am of opinion that, as all truth and all good come originally from the same source, so we ought to look with a degree of reverence on those fragments of just sentiment

* It may be observed that the duties of this relation are supported occasionally by arguments and illustrations drawn very unexpectedly from nature. "Look," say they, "at the lamb and the kid, which *kneel* when they are suckled by the mother."

good principle which we sometimes meet with among heathen."*

here is more common sense, as well as more Christiy in this, than in that narrow-minded and culpable t of detraction which can see nothing good except iome, and has sometimes pervaded the writings of e who undertook to enlighten the Chinese

ake the Hebrews, the Chinese number the words of r most valued books and one object of this has been livide the aggregate into daily or monthly portions the learner The work above noticed is called *Wanyu*, the "scripture of 10,000 words," and said actually ontain that number It is appointed to be read pub- at new and full moon to the people and soldiery of h province, though in spring and autumn it is frently *omitted, on account of the labours of agriculture* ly on the first and fifteenth day of every moon, the l and military officers meet full dressed in a spacious lic hall The superintendent, or master of the ceremies, calls aloud, "Stand forth in order," which they according to their rank He then says, "Kneel ice, and bow the head nine times." They kneel and strate themselves with their faces towards a raised inence, on which is a tablet with the emperor's name next calls aloud, "Rise and retire," upon which y proceed to the place where the law is usually read, l where the military and people are assembled, stand- round in silence The reciter or orator, advancing ards an altar of incense, kneels, and, reverently taking board on which the thesis appointed for the day is tten, ascends a stage with it Silence being then nmanded by a species of wooden rattle, or *sistrum*, the t is read aloud, after which the orator explains the

* Chinese Gleaner, vol. ii p 29

sense. The same forms are observed in expounding the laws generally; for the Chinese have a maxim, that "to make the laws universally known is the best way to prevent their violation."

Among their other moral and didactic works, they have collections of detached sentences and aphorisms, of which they are extremely fond, and for the expression of which their language is singularly well adapted. Pairs of these sentences, displaying a parallelism of construction, as well as meaning, and written in a fine character on ornamental labels, are a frequent decoration of their dwellings and temples. There is a work in a single volume, called *Ming-sin pao-kien*, 'A precious Mirror to throw Light on the Mind,' being in fact a dictionary of quotations, filled with such extracts from various works, and therefore very useful to a learner. The favourite sayings and proverbs of all nations are among the best sources of information respecting their real character and condition; and with this view the reader is presented below with a collection, which has been made without any regard to arrangement or order:—

"1. A wise man adapts himself to circumstances, as water shapes itself to the vessel that contains it.

2. Misfortunes issue out where diseases enter in—at the mouth.

3. The error of one moment becomes the sorrow of a whole life.

4. Diseases may be cured, but not destiny.

5. A vacant mind is open to all suggestions, as the hollow mountain returns all sounds.

6. When the tree is felled, its shadows disappear. (Desertion of the great by their parasites.)

7. He who pursues the stag, regards not hares.

8 To be afraid of leaving a track, and yet walk upon snow

9 If the roots be left, the grass will grow again (Reason given for exterminating a traitor s family)

10 Relaxation above produces remissness below (In authority)

11 The gem cannot be polished without friction, nor man perfected without trials

12 What is told in the ear, is often heard a hundred miles off

13 Ivory is not obtained from rats' teeth (Said in contempt)

14 A wise man forgets old grudges

15 Riches come better after poverty, than poverty after riches

16 A bird can roost but on one branch, a mouse can drink no more than its fill from a river (Enough is as good as a feast)

17 When the pool is dry, the fish will be seen (When accounts are settled, the balance of profits will appear)

18 You cannot strip two skins off one cow (There is a limit to extortion.)

19 Who swallows quick can chew but little (Applied to learning)

20 What cannot be told had better not be done.

21 The torment of envy is like a grain of sand in the eye

22 He who wishes to rise in the world should veil his ambition with the forms of humility

23 Extreme delight produces its contrast.

24 The gods cannot help a man who loses opportunities *

* Pour etre grand homme il faut savoir profiter de toute sa fortune —La Rochefoucauld.

25. Dig a well before you are thirsty. (Be prepared against contingencies.)

26. Sweet words are poison; bitter words, physic. (Flattery and reproof.)

27. The full stomach cannot comprehend the evil of hunger.

28. To eat stolen food without wiping the lips. (The practices of a rogue without his art.)

29. Carelessness gives temptation to dishonesty.

30. Eggs are close things, but the chicks come out at last. (Murder will out.)

31. To swim with one foot on the ground. (A safe and prudent character.)

32. When *Yen-wâng* (the King of Hell) has decreed a man to die at the third watch, no power will detain him till the fifth.

33. Better be a dog in peace than a man in anarchy.

34. Letters and husbandry—the two principal professions.

35. To add feet to a snake. (Superfluity in a discourse when the subject is exhausted.)

36. A diligent pen supplies memory and thought.

37. Who aims at excellence will be above mediocrity; who aims at mediocrity will fall short of it.

38. Pouring water on a duck's back. (Fruitless counsel or advice.)

39. To win a cat, and lose a cow. (Consequences of litigation.)

40. To stop the hand is the way to stop the mouth. (If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.)

41. *No medicine* is the safe medium in physic. (Between that which cures, and that which kills.)

42. Old age and faded flowers, no remedies can revive.

43. I will not try my porcelain bowl against his earthen dish. (Said in contempt.)

44 He who toils with pain will eat with pleasure

45 No duns outside and no doctors within (Absence of sickness and debt)

46 *Forbearance* is a domestic jewel

47 An oil jar can be used again for nothing but oil (A *man must follow what he was bred to—Semel imbuta &c*)

48 Kindness is more binding than a loan *

49 Borrowed money makes time short, working for others makes it long †

50 The friendship of mandarins impoverishes, that of merchants makes rich

51 All that a fish drinks goes out at the gills (Spent as soon as got)

52 If families have no sons devoted to letters whence are the governors of the people to come? (Necessity for general education)

53 Those who cannot sometimes be unheeding (or deaf) are not fit to rule

54 Right should be preferred to kindred. (In patronage)

55 A wife can be answerable for no crime, the responsibility rests with the husband

56 The bees have their kings and ministers, and ants their social relations ‡

57 Parents' affection is best shown by teaching their children industry and self-denial

58 Something is learned every time a book is opened

59 The more talents are exercised the more they will be developed

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* Lending loseth both itself and friend —*Shaksp*

† "Long as to him who works for debt the day —*Pope*

‡ The ants republic, and the realm of bees —*Pope*

60. Unless the laws be executed even on the imperial kindred, they will not be obeyed.

61. Early preferment makes a lazy genius.

62. The best thing in governing is example; the next, impartial rigour.

63. Great wealth comes by destiny; moderate wealth by industry.

64. The ways of superiors are generally carried by inferiors to excess.

65. A rash man is fond of provoking trouble, but, when the trouble comes, he is no match for it; a clever man turns great troubles into little ones, and little ones into none at all.

66. Large fowls will not eat small grain. (Great mandarins are not content with little bribes.)

67. A truly great man never puts away the simplicity of the child.

68. To obtain *one* leads to wishing for *two*. (*Enough* is always something more than a man possesses.)

69. Lookers-on may be better judges of the game than the players.

70. The best thing is to be respected, and the next to be loved; it is bad to be hated, but worse still to be despised.

71. A fat hen makes fat chickens. (A rich master has sleek servants.)

72. The poor cannot contend with the rich, nor the rich with the powerful.

73. The man in boots does not know the man in shoes. (Boots are the official and full dress.)

74. Good fortune is a benefit to the wise, but a curse to the foolish.

75. While at their ease, men burn no incense; but when trouble comes, they clasp the feet of Fŏ.

76 A man's words are like an arrow, straight to the mark a woman s are like a broken fan

77 Domestic failings should not be published abroad

78 A good action goes not beyond the doors, a bad one is carried a hundred leagues

79 Virtue is sought for in a wife beauty in a handmaid

80 A foolish husband fears his wife a prudent wife obeys her husband

81 If the upper beam be crooked the lower will be awry (Effect of example in superiors)

82 Obsequiousness makes friends, candour breeds dislike

83 One lash to a good horse one word to a wise man

84 He who does not soar high will suffer the less by a fall

85 The grass endures but one season man lasts but one generation

86 The drunkard s fault is not the wine s but his own (Drunkenness cannot be pleaded in extenuation)

87 The man who combats himself will be happier than he who contends with others

88 Sleepiness in an old man and wakefulness in a young one, are bad symptoms (Medical axiom)

89 The fish dwell in the depths of the waters, and the eagles in the sides of heaven, the one, though high, may be reached with the arrow, and the other, though deep, with the hook but the heart of a man at a foot distance cannot be known *

90 It is equally criminal in the emperor and the subject to violate the laws

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* Dr Milne remarked the similitude to Proverbs xxv 3 "The heaven for height, and the earth for depth and the heart of kings is unsearchable

91. Let every man sweep the snow from before his own doors, and not busy himself about the frost on his neighbour's tiles.*

92. In a field of melons, do not pull up your shoe; under a plum-tree do not adjust your cap. (Be careful of your conduct under circumstances of suspicion.)

93. A man need only correct himself with the same rigour that he displays to others; and excuse others with the same indulgence that he shows to himself.

94. Though the life of man be short of a hundred years, he gives himself as much pain and anxiety as if he were to live a thousand.

95. By nature all men are alike; but by education widely different.

96. To contrive is man's part; to accomplish is Heaven's. (L'homme propose, et Dieu dispose.)

97. Old age is like a candle in the wind. (Easily blown out.)

98. High trees feel the wind; lofty station is obnoxious to danger."

Some of the ordinary expressions of the Chinese are pointed and sarcastic enough. A blustering harmless fellow they call "a paper tiger." When a man values himself over much, they compare him to "a rat falling into a scale, and weighing itself." Overdoing a thing, they call "a hunchback making a bow." A spendthrift they compare to "a rocket," which goes off at once. Those who expend their charity on remote objects, but neglect their family, are said to "hang a lantern on a pole," which is seen afar, but gives no light below.

But to return to their regular literature, of which his-

* This was quoted by the authorities at Shanghae, when told of the hostilities at Canton in 1856.

tories may be said to occupy the *second* class after their sacred, moral, and didactic works. There is a continuous history of China from the earliest ages down to the conclusion of the *Yuen* or Mongol Tartar dynasty, called the Twenty-one Historians, consisting of nearly three hundred of those *brochures* or thin volumes stitched with silk, about ten of which are generally contained in a folding case. We shall treat of printing and the press on ARTS hereafter, but may observe [illegible] that the early invention of the art [illegible] just five hundred years before it was known in Europe, was a circumstance that tended to [illegible] and [illegible] Chinese annals, and to afford [illegible] writers of later times. Yet we should [illegible] their histories for anything beyond [illegible] facts and dates. [illegible] tical philosophy can scarcely [illegible] the theory of whose government [illegible] however tempered by [illegible] allowing [illegible] Mr. Gutzlaff [illegible] mon mortal had a [illegible] speak only of the [illegible] represent them a[illegible] of things emanating [illegible] moved at the pleasure of the [illegible] Chinese the whole nation [illegible] and absorbed [illegible]

The same [illegible] that keep [illegible] riod. [illegible] chapter [illegible] remote [illegible] down to [illegible] ficult [illegible]

him that they are without foundation.* In the primeval ages no historical records were kept. Why then, since the ancient books that described those times were burnt by the first emperor of the *Tsin* dynasty (about 200 B.C.), should we misrepresent those remote ages, and satisfy ourselves with vague fables?" The inconsistencies contained in the early relations destroy the credit of the whole, and prove them to have been, in a great measure, like the mythology of other countries, the inventions or improvements of after-times.

Perhaps there is no portion of Chinese literature so little interesting to us as its *barren annals*, in which the principal events recorded are the successions of long lists of sovereigns, and the mere domestic chronicles of a country which has always had less connexion with the rest of the world than any other empire of the same extent. There is some reason, therefore, for the opinion already quoted of Prémare, who placed Chinese historians at the bottom of their list of writers, "not because they write worse than others, but because he did not much care to know the events which they relate." In our own opinion, the only readable Chinese chronicle is the *San-kuŏ-chy*, or 'History of the Three States,' comprising that period of its annals when the monotony of universal dominion was broken by the contests of several independent chiefs for the sovereignty. This work, however, is rather to be viewed in the light of an historical romance than as a mere matter of record, though the speeches which are put into the mouths of its heroes and actors are quite as likely to be genuine as those which we meet with in the ancient writers of Europe.

The interest of Chinese history, to a foreigner, is most engaging when the country is involved in contests with

* Like the early Roman history of Livy.

the Tartars, or subjected by their invasions "The struggle (observes Mr Gutzlaff) against the Tartar hordes on the north and west became very violent during the Tang and Soong dynasties, and ended in the submission of the whole of China to the Mongols about A D 1280 This period is highly interesting Chinese writers have dwelt much upon the reigns of the emperors (of their own nation) who held the throne during these times of commotion, and we find in their works abundant materials for a history of the period. But for composing a history of the Mongol dynasty we ought to have recourse to foreign helps, as the Chinese writers say comparatively little respecting it They consider the family which then reigned as usurpers, sprung from the barbarians who first laid waste the celestial empire, and then trampled 'the flowery nation' under foot Kublai, however, has his biographers and historians among the Chinese, but none of them equal Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, in the interest of their narratives To make ourselves acquainted with the *Ming* dynasty (the native race, which expelled the Mongols), the Chinese can afford us one work of more than sixty volumes"

They cannot yet publish their observations upon the present dynasty, which a second time expelled the native sovereigns, and established the dominion of the Manchow Tartars A manuscript work, called *Tong hua-lŏ*, containing the reigns of the first three emperors, is written in the same style as the annals of the empire under the preceding dynasties, but not being committed to the press, on account of the risk in which it might involve those concerned, the copies are of course scarce and expensive. As a specimen of the style in which Chinese works sometimes notice foreign countries, the following passage from the above history may be adduced —"Eu-

ropean navigators calculate their distances by degrees,* as the Chinese do by watches. The Europeans coming to China sail first eighty degrees in a southerly course, until they reach the Cape of Storms, and thence steer in a northerly direction, until they arrive at the limits of the province of Quang-tong. This is a voyage of six months or more, during which they see no land.

"There is also a mode of communicating from Europe with China by land; but as the kingdom of Russia intervenes, and is difficult of access, the route by sea is always preferred. Russia is about 12,000 *ly* distant from Peking. It is bounded on the other sides by Europe and Turkey. . . . . . The climate to the north *is so very cold, that, although it is understood that those parts were formerly inhabited, travellers meet with no traces of natives at present, and they are supposed to have perished. The woods are very extensive, and the snow lies many fathoms deep. They have old accounts of mountains of ice in the northern seas, some thousand cubits high, which, though they have been disbelieved, may perhaps be entitled to credit.*"†

One of the most singular records of the Chinese, and a rare exception to the anti-social spirit generally prevailing in their foreign policy, is that account of the embassy from Kâng-hy (the second emperor of the reigning dynasty, and perhaps the most enlightened monarch that ever ruled the country) to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then situated between the Caspian Sea and the borders of Russia Proper. The work has been translated by Sir George Staunton, and the best summary of it may be given in his own words:—"The ambassador commences

* The divisions of the globe, according to our method, were taught the Chinese by the Jesuits, and have been adopted by them.

† Staunton's *Miscellaneous Notices*, vol. i. p. 60.

his narrative with the relation of some particulars immediately concerning himself, he then gives at length the instructions he had received from his sovereign and afterwards proceeds in the form of a journal, to detail the observations that occurred upon his route, his intercourse and conversations with the several public authorities among the Russians and Tourgouths with whom he communicated more especially with Prince Gagarin, the then governor general of Siberia, and with Ayuke, the Tourgouth Khan, or sovereign, and he concludes with a recapitulation of the whole in the form of an official report, to his sovereign, of his proceedings

"The mission, the particulars of which are thus recorded, was undoubtedly a singular and remarkable event in Chinese history The appointment of a deputation, consisting of several official persons with a suitable train, to proceed upon a laborious and in some degree hazardous expedition to the distance of some thousand miles, and through the territories of a powerful neighbour, with whom they had had but little previous intercourse, and that not always of the most amicable nature, certainly seems to bespeak the existence of a spirit of enterprise, and more enlarged and enlightened views in the government of China at that period than we should probably have looked for at any time in that of an Asiatic nation

"But in whatever respect the policy which suggested the mission may be considered to have been unusual and out of ordinary course in China, the narrative at least is perfectly Chinese, both in its style and sentiments the national spirit and character pervades it throughout, and will be obvious to every reader It is possibly true that precisely such a mission would not have been sent under any other circumstances, or at any other period of the Chinese history, but there is nothing either in the conduct

of the mission, or in the narrative of it, which any Chinese or Tartar officer of ordinary attainments at the present day might not equally have done or written; and the whole transaction seems to have obtained the unequivocal sanction and approbation of the government, the narrative having been published early in the next reign, under the emperor's special authority, and a copy of it deposited in the imperial library at Peking, as appears from its title being duly registered in the Chinese printed and published catalogues of that collection.*

"In addition to the circumstances which thus authenticate the work, and give it a certain degree of authority, as an exemplification of the maxims of Chinese policy, we have the advantage also of being able to put the author's fidelity to the test, by comparing his statements and notices on passing objects with those of Mr. Bell (of Antermony) in his account of a nearly contemporary expedition by a similar route; and it is certainly satisfactory to remark that there is a very general coincidence. . . . The descriptions of the scenery, inhabitants, and remarkable objects which were seen in the course of the route, it must be confessed, are very meagre and unsatisfactory; but they derive some incidental interest from the novelty of the quarter from whence they proceed; besides which, the form of narration which the writer has adopted has led him to describe the manners, customs, and notions of his own countrymen, as frequently as those of the people whom he visits,—a peculiarity which may, perhaps, add little to the value of his work to Chinese readers, but which cannot be unacceptable to us, to whom China is naturally an object of greater curiosity and interest than Tartary or Siberia."

* The fact that there is a printed and published catalogue of the Emperor of China's library, within the reach of any purchaser, is more than might have been expected.

Of the history of individuals, or *biography*, which the Chinese themselves call *Sing-heo*, "the study of sur names," they possess a great variety, and at the head of these, as the oldest in date and estimation, may be instanced the *Lun yu*, or Discourses of Confucius, a work which, we have already observed, is in plan not unlike our own Boswell There is a modern biographical work called *Sing poo*, in no less than *one hundred and twenty* volumes, comprising the lives of eminent men and women, but withal a dull compilation, and deficient in interest and animation The art of printing has put the Chinese in possession of as voluminous and cheap a literature as any people in the world, though the difference in the standards of intellect and taste renders much of this but little calculated to please European taste or satisfy European intel lect It is for this reason that very few Chinese works can bear to be translated in detail and that the best way of making their general literature known is by short summaries or abstracts.

Whatever their ignorance may be of matters extraneous to their empire the numerous and extensive *statistical* works which they possess demonstrate that the Chinese have a very detailed and accurate knowledge of their own country The principal of these, Ta tsing Ye-tung-chy, 'A complete Account of the Ta tsing Empire,' consists of two hundred and forty volumes, giving particulars of the population, the geography, revenues, magistracy, and other details of every province of China Proper, as well as an account of Chinese Tartary Every province, too, has its own separate history in print, comprising particulars of its productions, manufactures, eminent persons, and everything that can interest those connected with it, so that the ignorance of the Chinese cannot be truly stated with reference to their own vast empire, exceeding as it

does (with Tartary) all Europe in extent. Indeed the publicity unreservedly given to political and state matters of every description is a singular feature of their system. The Peking Gazette has very correctly been described as a state engine of no inconsiderable importance, exhibiting obvious proofs of an anxiety to influence and conciliate public opinion upon all public questions, in a manner which could not be predicated of a government theoretically despotic.

Some account of their great work on criminal law has already been given in the sixth chapter. The civil code of the present Tartar dynasty is called Ta-tsing Hocytien, and consists of no less than two hundred and sixty-one volumes, of which it may be worth while to abstract some particulars, from the appendix to one of the annual reports (1829) of the Anglo-Chinese college. It contains not only the existing laws, but an account of all the changes and modifications of the law by successive emperors since the conquest in 1644, and frequently the *reasons* assigned at the time for the enactment of new or repealing of old laws. The whole is preceded by prints explanatory of all state ceremonies, both civil and religious. Then follow maps of every principal district in the empire, including not only China Proper, but Eastern and Western Tartary.

The body of the work is divided into nine parts, of which the first contains all regulations concerning the imperial house now reigning, with the privileges of the descendants of the Tartar conqueror, in the direct and collateral lines. The second part relates to the palace and its regulations. The next six parts are concerning the Six Tribunals or Boards, among which the whole details of the government are distributed in systematic order, as before noticed. Under the ninth and last division are

miscellaneous laws relating to public education, the examination of candidates for public honours and offices, peculiar laws concerning the Tartar dependencies, with the courts which take cognizance of their affairs

In that part which relates to the first of the Six executive boards (that of civil offices) is a detailed list of all the appointments in the empire the relative rank of each officer, and the rules for selecting, appointing, removing, rewarding, and punishing In the management of official people, the principle of a comparison of merits and demerits is kept in view, and the one are set off against the other A graduated record of both is preserved, and an officer is accordingly promoted or degraded so many steps. Some approach to this system has lately been made in our own Indian empire, where it appears that a regular report is sent to the government of even the private conduct and demeanour of every civil *mandarin*, by his immediate superior In China there is a terrible round of espionage in perpetual operation, and *mutual jealousy* is substituted for the principle of *honour* This may be very necessary and proper as relates to the Chinese, but we can hardly suppose it called for in our Indian empire near as that may be to China At Peking, members of the imperial house are all required to attend the public boards, and listen to what is going on In case of observing anything amiss, they are permitted to give information to the emperor When our last ambassador was in the neighbourhood of Peking, such persons were looking on continually as spies, and one of the conductors of the embassy, by way of caution to the strangers, told them that the emperor had very *long ears*, an asinine attribute which no one had the presumption to contest

Under the head of Science we shall soon have more particularly to consider that portion of Chinese learning

which relates to astronomy, geography, and medicine. The two former departments have been infinitely indebted to the Romish missionaries, and to the patronage which those scientific and learned persons received from Kâng-hy, the most liberal and enlightened of Chinese monarchs, who condescended even to take lessons in mathematics from the Jesuits.

In the department of medicine (surgery they do not attempt) we shall see that the Chinese works contain their whole knowledge of natural history, with their peculiar theory of the circulation, and the materia medica of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as contained in that voluminous work the Pun-tsaou. Considering the little intercourse that the Chinese have had with other countries, it is perhaps quite as surprising that they should know so much, as that they should know no more; for everything they possess, with the exception of the two departments of astronomy and geography, may fairly be considered as *their own*.

Reserving the lighter literature of China (its *belles lettres*), as poetry, drama, and romance, for a separate chapter, we may observe that specimens of more serious works have, in the course of rather more than a century, been but scantily presented, in various European translations, to the knowledge of the Western world. It was as early as 1711 that Père Noel's Latin version of the *Four Books*, with two other subordinate classics, was printed; at a long interval after that date appeared Gaubil's translation of the *Shoo-king;* and in 1785 was published Mailla's voluminous work in fourteen quartos, entitled 'Histoire générale de la Chine,' being a version of the native annals called *Tongkien-kang-mo.* Fresh translations of several portions of the 'Four Books' have since been made; among the rest, Mencius by M. Stanislas Julien; while a com-

plete English version of the whole issued from the Anglo Chinese press in 1828 A French translation of the ancient ritual and ceremonial code of China is said to be in preparation by M. Julien

Of some of the missionary translations, especially those of our own country, it may be observed that, if there is much that is obscure or worthless in the original works, this has been rendered still worse by the wretched attempt to render word for word, thus exhibiting the whole in a jargon which has not inaptly been distinguished as "missionary English" This of course must be anything but a *faithful* picture of the originals, which, with all their defects in point of matter, are well known to be, in respect to manner and style, the models of the language in which they were composed It is to this foolish and injudicious system of translation that we must attribute the following harsh judgment on that particular department of Chinese letters, which appeared some years ago in a critical work "The specimens which have reached us through the medium of the missionaries are not the best adapted to convey information respecting the present state of the Chinese Their labours are sufficiently voluminous, but their choice of subjects is not always the most happy We may find an apology for the Chinese in endeavouring to make sense of their ancient records, but we cannot conceive what interest a few insulated Europeans can possibly take in toiling to unravel the inextricable confusion of their *king*, or canonical books" The fact is, that the confusion of the originals has occasionally, by means of uncouth translation, been made "confusion worse confounded."

[illegible]

"The Chinese [illegible] distinguished," says a [illegible] in the "Quarterly Review,"* "from [illegible] and exten- [illegible] printing—of printing, too, in that particular [illegible] which is best calculated, [illegible] cheapening the price, to [illegible] the circulation [illegible] their literature. [illegible], as [illegible] ling people; a cert[illegible] of education [illegible] even the [illegible]

no readier or more agreeable mode of becoming intimately acquainted with a people from whom Europe can have so little to learn on the score of either moral or physical science, than by drawing largely on the inexhaustible stores of their ornamental literature? We may therefore proceed to consider Chinese *belles lettres*, in the threefold division of Drama, Poetry, and prose Fiction

In a moderate collection of Chinese books belonging to the East India Company, there are no less than two hundred volumes of plays, and a single work in forty volumes contains just one hundred theatrical pieces. The government of the country, though it does not (like that of imperial Rome) provide spectacles for the people at its own cost, gives sufficient countenance and encouragement to such amusements, by permitting them to be erected in every street by subscriptions among the inhabitants On some particular days the mandarins themselves supply the funds The principal public occasions of these performances are certain annual festivals of a *religious* nature, when temporary theatres, constructed with surprising facility of bamboos and mats, are erected in front of their temples, or in open spaces through their towns, the spectacle being continued for several days together The players, in general, come literally under our legal definition of *vagabonds*, as they consist of strolling bands of ten or a dozen, whose merit and rank in their profession, and consequently their pay, differ widely according to circumstances The best are those who come from Nanking, and who sometimes receive very considerable sums for performing at the entertainments given by rich persons to their friends *

To prove the rage of the Chinese for their theatrical exhibitions, we insert an account of the expenses annually incurred at Macao—which is partly a Portuguese town, and contains few rich Chinese—on account of play-acting.* In front of the large temple, near the barrier-wall that confines the Portuguese, twenty-two plays are performed, the acting of which alone amounts, without including the expenses of erecting the theatre, to 2200 Spanish dollars. At the Chinese temple, near the entrance of the inner harbour, there are annual performances, for which 2000 dollars are paid; and various lesser exhibitions through the year make up the total expenditure under this head to upwards of 6000 dollars, or 1500*l.*, among a small population of mere shopkeepers and artisans. A circumstance, however, occurred at Macao in 1833, which must have impressed the Chinese with a notion that Europeans were fully as much devoted to such amusements as themselves. A party of Italian opera-singers from Naples, consisting of two women and five men, after having exercised their vocation with success in South America, proceeded on their way across the Pacific westward towards Calcutta, as to a likely and profitable field. Circumstances having occasioned their touching at Macao, they met there with inducements to remain some six months, until the season should admit of their prosecuting the voyage; and a temporary theatre having been contrived, they performed most of Rossini's operas with great success. The Chinese were surprised to find what, in the jargon of Canton, is called a *Sing-song*, erected by the foreigners on the

of China, were sometimes played by eunuchs. The soft and delicate female characters of Shakspere had not the advantage of being played by a female during his life; Mrs. Betterton, about 1660, being the first, or nearly the first female, who played Juliet and Ophelia."—*Brief View of the Chinese Drama*, p. 14.

* Chinese Gleaner, 1821, p. 60.

shores of the celestial empire, and in that very shape, too, which most nearly resembles their own performances, a mixture of song and recitative As the nearest way home from Calcutta, for these Italians, was by the Cape of Good Hope, they were a singular instance of the Opera performing *a voyage round the world*

Before touching on the subject of their dramatic compositions, we will say a word regarding the mere scenic exhibitions of the Chinese, which may at any time be viewed by strangers who visit the country, and of which even persons ignorant of the language can form a sufficient judgment. "They have no scenical deception (observes the editor of the 'Heir in Old Age') to assist the story, as in the modern theatres of Europe, and the odd expedients to which they are sometimes driven by the want of scenery are not many degrees above Nick Bottom's 'bush of thorns and a lantern, to disfigure or to present the person of Moonshine —or the man 'with some plaster, or some loam, or some roughcast about him, to signify Wall'" Thus, a general is ordered upon an expedition to a distant province, he brandishes a whip, or takes in his hand the reins of a bridle, and, striding three or four times round the stage in the midst of a tremendous crash of gongs, drums, and trumpets, he stops short, and tells the audience where he has arrived A tolerable judgment may be formed of what little assistance the imaginations of an *English* audience formerly derived from scenical deception, by the state of the drama and the stage as described by Sir Philip Sidney about the year 1583 —"Now you shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden By and by we have news of shipwreck in the same place, then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the

miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?"

It is very true that the Chinese in their theatres leave more to the imagination than we do. They neither contrive that the action should all proceed on one spot, as in most specimens of the Greek tragedy, nor do they make use of shifting scenes. 'You can never bring in a wall,' says Snug the joiner,—so say the Chinese; and though their contrivances are not quite so outrageously absurd as those in the '*Midsummer* Night's Dream,' they are scarcely more artificial. The truth, however, on this subject seems to be, that, though scenery and other adventitious aids of the kind no doubt tend to aid the illusion, they are by no means absolutely necessary to it; and in fact it is better to trust altogether to the imagination of the beholder than to fall into those palpable errors which even Dennis successfully ridiculed in Addison's 'Cato,' resulting as they did from a rigid adherence to the unity of place. The best scenic preparation that ever was devised must still call largely on the imagination for assistance; and the whole philosophy of the subject is summed up in the words of the Chorus to Shakspere's 'Henry V.:'—

"But pardon, gentles all,
The flat unraised spirit that hath dar'd
On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
So great an object. Can this cockpit hold
The vasty field of France, or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?
O pardon, since a crooked figure may
Attest in little space a million;
And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
On your imaginary forces work:—
Suppose within the girdle of these walls
Are now confin'd two mighty monarchies,

> Whose high upreared and abutting fronts
> The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder
> Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts
> Into a thousand parts divide one man
> And make imaginary puissance &c

It is very possible that the delicate taste of the Greeks, alive to this difficulty, chose rather to evade than encounter it, by that rule which confined the number of interlocutors, at one time on the stage, to three persons. But then mark the consequence half the events of the drama must be *told* to the audience, and in lieu of the stirring and active scenes which keep attention alive, and prevent the performance from flagging, we have those interminably long stories which may be beautiful taken by themselves, and constitute a fine dramatic poem for the closet, but are quite unsuited to the stage. In one of the plays of Æschylus, the 'Seven before Thebes,' there is a spy, or messenger, who comes in and describes in a speech of many pages the details of the whole siege, with the arms and accoutrements of the besiegers.*

The costume, at least, of the Chinese stage is sufficiently appropriate to the characters represented, and on most occasions extremely splendid. [illegible] embroidery are lavished on the [illegible] as most of the serious plays are [illegible] reasons do not touch on events [illegible] the Tartar conquest, the costume [illegible] dress of China, which [illegible] same now as ever, but [illegible] The splendour of the [illegible] by Ysbrandt Ides, the [illegible] as 1692 "First entered [illegible] cently dressed in [illegible]

* The [illegible]

a crown on her head, singing her speech with a charming voice and agreeable motion of the body, playing with her hands, in one of which she held her fan. The prologue thus performed, the play followed, the story of which turned upon a Chinese emperor, long since dead, who had behaved himself well towards his country, and in honour of whose memory the play was written. Sometimes he appeared in royal robes, with a flat ivory sceptre in his hand, and sometimes his officers showed themselves with ensigns, arms, and drums," &c.

As the Chinese make no regular distinction between tragedy and comedy in their stage pieces, the claims of these to either title must be determined by the subject and the dialogue. The line is in general pretty strongly marked: in the former, by the historical or mythological character of the personages, the grandeur and gravity of the subject, the tragical drift of the play, and the strict award of what is called poetical justice; in the latter by the more ordinary or domestic grade of the *dramatis personæ*, the display of ludicrous characters and incidents, and the interweaving of jests into the dialogue. Some of their stage pieces are no doubt of a vulgar and indecent description;* but these in general constitute the amusement of a particular class of society, and are generally adapted to the taste of those who call for them at private entertainments as already noticed. A list of the plays which the company of actors is prepared to represent is handed to the principal guest, who makes his selection in the way most likely to be agreeable to the audience.

The early travellers, as Bell and others, who have given an account of the impressions which they received from the Chinese theatrical performances, were able to judge of little more than the mere spectacle before them,

* *Not much worse than those of Wycherley, &c.*

and, being ignorant of the language, could give no account of the merits of the dramatic dialogue. The first specimen of a play was translated into French by the Jesuit Premare, who, although actually resident at Peking, and a most accomplished Chinese scholar (as appears from his *Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*), did not give more than the prose parts, leaving out the lyrical portions, or those which are sung to music, because, as he observes, "they are full of allusions to things unfamiliar to us, and figures of speech very difficult for us to observe." Voltaire made Premare's translation of the *Orphan of Chaou* the groundwork of one of his best tragedies, "L'Orphelin de la Chine." It is founded on an event which occurred about a hundred years before the birth of Confucius. A military leader having usurped the lands of the house of Chaou, is determined on exterminating the whole race. A faithful dependant of the family saves the life of the orphan and male heir by concealing him, and passing off his own child in his stead. The orphan is brought up in ignorance of his real condition until he reaches man's estate, when, the whole subject being revealed to him by his tutor and guardian, he revenges the fate of his family on the usurper, and recovers his rights. In this plot Dr. Hurd remarked a near resemblance in many points to that of the "Electra" of [illegible], where the young Orestes is reared by his *pedagogue* [illegible], until he is old enough to enact summary [illegible] on the murderers of his father Agamemnon.

It would be easy to point out a [illegible] which the management of the Chinese [illegible] them very remarkably to that of the Greek [illegible] they may both be considered [illegible] tres of most other nations [illegible]. The [illegible] who enters generally introduces [illegible]

exactly in the same way, and states briefly the opening circumstances of the action. "These prologues (observes Schlegel) make the beginnings of Euripides' plays very monotonous. It has a very awkward look for a person to come forward and say, 'I am so and so, this and that have been done, and what comes next is thus and thus.'" He compares it to the labels proceeding from the mouths of the figures in old paintings; and there certainly appears the less need for so inartificial a proceeding on the Greek stage, inasmuch as the business of the prologue, or introduction, might have been transferred to the chorus. The occasional, though not very frequent or outrageous violation of the *unities* in the Chinese drama may easily be matched in most other languages, and examples of the same occur even in some of the thirty-three Greek tragedies that remain to us; for the unity of *action* is not observed in the 'Hercules Furens' of Euripides; nor that of *time* in the 'Agamemnon' of Æschylus, the 'Trachynians' of Sophocles, and the 'Suppliants' of Euripides; nor that of *place* in the 'Eumenides' of Æschylus. The unimportance, however, of a rigid attention to these famous unities has long since been determined, and it is admitted that even Aristotle, to whom they have all been attributed, mentions only that of action at any length, merely hints at that of time, and of place says nothing whatever.

Prémare's specimen of the Chinese stage was followed, at the distance of about a century, by the author's translation of the 'Heir in Old Age,' which is in fact a comedy from the same collection (the hundred plays of Yuen) that had afforded the former sample. In this the translator supplied, for the first time, the lyrical or operatic portions which are sung to music, as well as the prose dialogue, having endeavoured, as he observes in the introduction, "to render *both* into English in such a manner

as would best convey the spirit of the original, without departing far from its literal meaning" This was the more likely to be efficiently performed, as he was then resident in the country, and could avail himself of native references The 'Heir in Old Age' serves to illustrate some very important points connected with Chinese character and customs It shows the consequence which they attach to the due performance of the oblations at the tombs of departed ancestors, as well as to the leaving male representatives who may continue them, and at the same time describes the ceremonies at the tombs very exactly in detail The play serves, moreover, to display the true relation of the handmaid to the legitimate wife, and proves a point on which we have before had occasion to insist, that the former is merely a domestic slave, and that both herself and offspring belong to the *wife*, properly so called, of which a man can legally have only one *

To give a brief abstract of this play from the introductory memoir—the *dramatis personæ* are made up entirely of the members of a family in the middle class of life, consisting of a rich old man, his wife, a handmaid, his nephew, his son-in-law, and his daughter The old man, having no son to console him in his age, and to perform the obsequies at his tomb, had, like the Jewish patriarch, taken a handmaid, whose pregnancy is announced at the

* In the Penal Code there are some express safeguards for the rights of a wife and it is provided that any man degrading his legal wife to the situation of a handmaid shall be punished with one hundred blows and that he who during the life of his legitimate spouse treats any handmaid on an equality with her shall receive ninety blows, and both parties be restored to their proper stations It is added, "He who having a *wife* marries *another* wife shall be punished with ninety blows and the second marriage shall be void The notes on this law observe that "a wife is one whose person is equal in rank to that of her husband a handmaid, one who is merely admitted to his presence

opening of the play, in which the old man commences with saying, "I am a man of Tung-ping-foo," &c. In order to obtain from heaven a son, instead of a daughter, he makes a sacrifice of sundry debts due to him, by burning the bonds, and this propitiatory holocaust serves at the same time to quiet some scruples of conscience as to the mode in which part of his money had been acquired. He then delivers over his affairs to his wife and his married daughter, dismissing his nephew (a deceased brother's son) with a hundred pieces of silver to seek his fortune, as he had been subjected at home to the persecution of the wife. This done, the old man sets out for his estate in the country, recommending the mother of his expected son to the humane treatment of the family, and with the hope of receiving from them speedy congratulations on the birth of a son.

The son-in-law now betrays to the daughter his disappointment at the expected birth, since, if it prove a girl, they shall lose half the family property, and, if a son, the whole. His wife quiets him by a hint how easily the handmaid may be got rid of, and the old man persuaded that she had suddenly disappeared; and shortly afterwards both the son-in-law and the audience are left to infer that she had actually contrived to make away with her. In the mean time the old man waits the result in great anxiety; his family appear in succession to console him for the loss of his hopes. In the bitterness of his disappointment he bursts into tears, and expresses his suspicions of foul play. He then attributes his misfortunes to his former thirst for gain, resolves to fast for seven days, and to bestow alms publicly at a neighbouring temple, in the hope that the objects of his charity may treat him as a father. Among the beggars at the temple his nephew appears in the most hopeless state of poverty,

being reduced to take up his lodging under the furnace of a pottery, he is insulted by the son-in-law, and reproached by the old man, but his uncle, moved with compassion, contrives to give him a little money, and earnestly advises him to be punctual in visiting the tombs of his family at the approaching spring, assuring him that a due attention to those sacred rites must ultimately lead to prosperity. It is on the importance attached to the sepulchral ceremonies that the whole drama is made to turn.

The nephew accordingly appears at the tombs, performs the oblations as well as his poverty will admit, and invokes the shades of his ancestors to grant him their protection. He no sooner departs than the old uncle appears with his wife, expressing their indignation that their own daughter and son-in-law had neglected to come with the customary offerings. They observe from the appearances at the sepulchre that their nephew must have been there. The scene at the tombs, and the reflections of the old man thereon, have considerable interest; he reasons with his wife, and convinces her that the nephew is nearer in blood and more worthy than the son-in-law; she relents, and expresses a wish to make him reparation; he appears—a reconciliation takes place—and he is received back into the family. The son-in-law and daughter now enter with a great bustle, and a procession, to perform the ceremonies, but are received with bitter reproaches for their tardy piety and ingratitude, and forbidden to enter the doors again.

On the old man's birthday, however, they desire permission to pay their respects, when, to the boundless surprise and joy of the father, his daughter presents him with the long-lost handmaid and child, both of whom, it appears, had been secreted by the daughter unknown to

her jealous husband, who supposed they were otherwise disposed of. The daughter is taken back, and the old man divides his money in three equal shares, between her, his nephew, and his newly-found son; the play concluding with expressions of joy and gratitude that the venerable hero of the piece had obtained "an heir in his old age." Such is the brief outline of the story, which arises entirely out of the misery resulting from the want of a male heir to perform the oblations at the tombs. The events follow each other in so natural and uninterrupted a manner, that the time employed in the course of the piece, which is three years, would not be perceived but for the age of the child brought forward in the concluding act. The play, including the proëm, or introductory portion, consists in reality of just *five* acts, and this peculiar division is common to the *Hundred Plays*, from which this and the other translated specimens have been taken.

These separate portions of the play, however, are not so distinctly marked on the Chinese stage as on ours, there being little need of preparation or change of scene, and the division seems to exist rather in the book than in the representation. The first or introductory portion is called the "opening," and the remaining four are styled "breaks." All the directions to the actors are printed as in our stage-books. "Ascend" and "descend" are used for *enter* and *exit*, and to speak *aside* is expressed by a term which means to "say at the back" of any person. Thus in one of the Hundred Plays, an intriguing lover, who meets his *mistress* by appointment, exclaims on seeing her, as any other Lothario might do, "*(aside)* She has changed her habit of yesterday, and truly looks like a divinity." In the Chinese play-books certain invariable words or names are adopted to mark the particular relations of the different *dramatis personæ*, as the first and

secondary male and female characters (the *prima donna*, &c), and these are used in every play indiscriminately, whether its complexion be tragic or comic. The musical portions, in accordance with the Chinese theory of poetry, express the most passionate parts, and therefore belong only to the principal characters In this respect there is no resemblance to the Greek theatre, where the *chorus*, as a distinct body, sang together, or in responsive parts called strophe and antistrophe, while certain spoken portions were delivered by their Coryphæus, or leader, who therefore speaks in the singular number

In another specimen of the Chinese theatre, which is of a tragic cast, and turns on the misfortunes of one of the native emperors contending against the Mongol Tartars, the translator has followed the example of Premare, and having before (for the first time) given a drama in its whole details, including the lyrical portions, confines himself on this occasion chiefly to the spoken dialogue and the principal course of the action Love and war constitute the whole subject of the piece, of which the moral is to expose the evil consequences of luxury, effeminacy, and supineness in the sovereign The story is taken from that portion of the Chinese annals previous to the first conquest by the Mongols, when the declining strength of the government emboldened the Tartars in their aggressions, and gave rise to the system of propitiating those barbarians by tribute, and by alliances with the daughters of China The play opens with the entrance of the Tartar Khan, who thus προλογίζει —

"We have moved to the south, and approached the border, claiming an alliance with the imperial race I yesterday despatched an envoy with tributary presents to demand a princess in marriage, but know not if the emperor will ratify the engagement with the customary

oaths. The fineness of the season has drawn away our chiefs on a hunting excursion amidst the sandy steppes. May they meet with success!—for we Tartars have no fields; our bows and arrows are our sole dependence."

[*Exit.*

Then appears the emperor's chief minister and favourite, who in a soliloquy makes known the system by which he governs his master, persuading him "to keep aloof from his wise counsellors, and seek all his pleasures among the women of his palace." To him enters the emperor, and, after a consultation, it is settled that the minister shall proceed diligently through the realm in search of the most beautiful ladies, and furnish his master with faithful portraits of them, as a means of fixing his choice. He abuses his commission, however, and makes it an occasion for extorting bribes from those who seek the benefit of the alliance. The most beautiful of all is daughter to a cultivator of the land, who has not the means of satisfying the rapacity of the minister; and the latter, in order to be revenged, misleads the emperor by presenting him with a disfigured portrait of the fair one. Chance, however, throws her in the emperor's way, who is struck by her beauty, and the secret is now discovered, as he at once learns from her how he has been deceived by his favourite.

"Keeper of the Yellow gate, bring us that picture, that we may view it. (*Sees the picture.*) Ah! how has he dimmed the purity of the gem, bright as the waves in autumn! (*To the attendant.*) Transmit our pleasure to the officer of the guard to behead Maou-yen-show, and report to us his execution."

The traitor, however, contrives to escape, and carries his head safely upon his shoulders to the Tartar camp, where he exhibits a true likeness of the lady to the barba-

rian king, and persuades him, with ingenious villany, to demand her of the emperor An envoy is immediately despatched by the Khan, who adds, "Should he refuse, I will presently invade the south his hills and rivers shall be exposed to ravage" The unfortunate emperor's fondness continues to increase, and the arrival of the Tartar envoy fills him with perplexity and despair He calls on his servants to rid him of these invaders, but they bewail the weakness of the empire, point out the necessity of the sacrifice, and call on his majesty to consult the peace and safety of his realms by complying with the Khan's demand He consents, after a struggle, to yield up the beauty, who is now a princess, but insists on accompanying her a portion of the way The parting scene has considerable interest, and the language of the imperial lover is passionate to a degree that one is not prepared to expect Then at length comes the catastrophe The Tartar retires with his prize, until they reach the banks of the river Amoor or Saghalien, which falls into the sea of Ochotsk

"*Princess* What place is this?

"*Khan* It is the river of the Black Dragon,* the frontier of the Tartar territories and those of China This southern shore is the emperor's—on the northern side commences our Tartar dominion

* In this name the Chinese have translated the Tartar *Saghalien oula* "Black Water River" by Black Dragon River The same fabulous monster is common to the mythological literature of ancient Europe and China being always described and represented as a scaly serpent with claws fraught with fire and smoke

πυρος
Δρακοντ αναβλεποντα φοινιαν φλογα

The Chinese dragon is in reality a *hydra* but with one head and we may perceive in the analogy between the *winding* track of the monster and the *serpentine* course of rivers a similar origin for the hydras of Greece and China

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Princess—(*to the Khan*). Great king, I take a cup of wine, and pour a libation towards the south—my last farewell to the emperor. (*Pours the libation.*) Sovereign of Hân, this life is finished: I await thee in the next!" With these words she throws herself into the river, and perishes; and here the tragedy might properly end. The Khan in great sorrow decrees her a tomb on the river's bank, and, with more generosity than might have been expected from him, remits all further demands on the emperor; directing that the wicked cause of these misfortunes shall be delivered over to the Chinese, to receive the just reward of his misdeeds. But the piece continues through another act, in which the emperor's sorrows are either said or sung, until he is at length pacified by the death of the traitor.

Another specimen from the Hundred Plays has been translated in France by M. Stanislas Julien, professor of Chinese at Paris. As in the previous instance of the 'Heir in Old Age,' he has given a version of the whole drama, including both the prose and the lyrical parts, and promises some further samples of the same kind. The name of the piece which he has rendered into French is *Le Cercle de Craie*, "the chalk ring or circle," founded on the principal incident in the piece, which is in fact so like the *Judgment of Solomon*, that it might lead one to believe the Chinese play had been borrowed from some obscure tradition or report of it. Two women claim to be the mothers of the same child before a judge, who, in order to get at the truth, orders a chalk ring to be drawn on the floor of the court, and the contested child placed in the middle of it. He then declares that the child shall belong to whichever of the women may succeed against the other in pulling it out of the circle. The feigned mother, having no compunction for the infant, gets the

better of the real one, who from her maternal tenderness for the child is afraid of exerting her whole strength, and the sagacious judge, "a second Daniel come to judgment," gives the cause in favour of the right claimant With this last specimen we conclude our sketch of the Chinese theatre

A very full and detailed notice of Chinese poetry has been printed in the Royal Asiatic Transactions,* with numerous examples, but we have not room in this place for more than an abstract of the subject. Some account of their earliest poetry has been already given in the thirteenth chapter, where the 'Book of Songs' was mentioned with the other ancient classics In later times the structure of their verse has undergone considerable improvements, and there have been particular periods or eras of their history when the art of poetry has been especially cultivated They compare its progress, themselves, to the growth of a tree—"The ancient 'Book of Odes' may be likened to the roots, when *Soolo* flourished, the buds appeared, in the time of *Kien-gân* there was abundance of foliage, but during the *Tang* dynasty many reposed under the shade of the tree, and it yielded rich supplies of flowers and fruit" This Augustan age of Chinese poetry was in the eighth century of our era, or about 1100 years ago, when the whole of Europe was involved in barbarism and ignorance

It has generally been supposed that the Chinese words are entirely monosyllabic (though this is not always strictly the case), and hence it might be imagined that their versification could not be susceptible of much melody This, however, would not necessarily follow, for Pope himself, one of the smoothest of our versifiers,

* Vol ii p 393 4to

has whole couplets consisting of mere monosyllables; for instance—

> "Ah, if she lend not arms as well as rules,
> What can she more than tell us we are fools?"

The truth, however, is, that the Chinese abounds with diphthongal as well as dissyllabic sounds, which contribute, when blended with others that are strictly monosyllabic, to give to its verse a certain share of varied euphony. In addition to this, it derives cadence and modulation from the use of certain tones or accents, which appear originally to have owed their existence rather to the necessity of perspicuity in speech than of melody in verse. Another source of harmony is the use of what may strictly be called *poetic numbers.* Every word of Chinese poetry corresponds to a metrical foot in other languages. The shortest consists sometimes of as few as *three*, repeated as a kind of chorus in songs; and this measure occasionally serves as a species of chiming verse for the inculcation of moral maxims. With the same view to assisting the memory, it has been adopted in the composition of the *San-tse king*, 'Trimetrical Classic,' a work which conveys to Chinese youth the rudiments of general knowledge.

The line of four words constitutes the chief part of the 'Book of Odes' before mentioned. There, however, the measure of some pieces is altogether irregular, varying from three to seven or eight words in a line. Poetry in most countries begins with being the vehicle of religion and morality, and the first record of historical facts. Venerated at first as the language of wisdom or inspiration, it is at length cultivated as a pleasurable art, and never fails to improve in harmony, however it may degenerate in other points, with the progress of time. For the

same reason that Pope is more harmonious than Chaucer or Donne, Boileau or Racine than Ronsard, Virgil or Tibullus than old Ennius, so the poetry of China, from the eighth century down to the present time, is in point of mere versification a great improvement on the 'Book of Odes' The improved system of versification consists in lines of five words, as well as in the longer measure of seven, but for examples of all these the reader must be referred to the treatise on Chinese poetry *

Besides a regular cæsural pause in a particular part of each verse (which we cannot dilate upon here), they have, in common with most other peoples, the use of *rhymes*, of which it may be principally observed that they occur at the termination of every second verse The length of the stanza is determined by the recurrence of the same rhyme, and in a poem of any length it is generally of four lines only, that is, a quatrain, whose second and fourth lines rhyme together, but occasionally eight or more verses will have the same ending In our own Spenserian stanza the same rhyme occurs four times in the course of nine lines The Chinese, however, do not seem to possess a very nice ear for the perception of true rhymes, and this inaccuracy may partly arise from their not having such precise symbols or marks of sound as our alphabetic letters

The next feature in the construction of Chinese verse (observes the treatise already referred to) presents a striking coincidence with what has been remarked of the poetry of another Asiatic nation In the preliminary dissertation on Hebrew poetry, prefixed to his translation of Isaiah, Bishop Lowth has treated at some length of a peculiar property which he calls *parallelism*, consisting of the correspondence of one verse with another, either in

* Royal Asiatic Transactions vol ii p 393

equivalency or opposition of sense, or in the form of grammatical construction. The learned prelate adduces examples of these different sorts of parallelism from the Psalms; as, for instance—

> "The memory of the just is a blessing:
> But the name of the wicked shall rot."—

> "Dart forth thy lightnings and scatter them:
> Shoot out thine arrows and consume them."

There are perpetual examples in the Chinese, answering to the above description of the Hebrew; and the peculiar structure of that language generally renders the parallelism much more exact, and therefore much more striking, as it is usually word for word, the one written opposite to the other. The following is a translation of such parallelisms, taken from the 'Heir in Old Age,' but it can of course but imperfectly represent the original:—

> "Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,
> Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows;
> The wealthy alien claims connubial ties—
> The needy kinsman no relation knows."

To proceed from the structure of Chinese verse to the character of their poetry—this seems to consist principally of odes and songs, of moral and didactic and of sentimental and descriptive pieces; which different kinds, however, are so blended together, and run so much into one another, that it would not always be easy to separate them. One of the most ancient pieces in the 'Book of Odes,' the date of which may perhaps reach to *three thousand* years, has reference to the pain felt by the poet at the unworthy conduct of some ungrateful friend. The allusions to the storm, &c., are of course figurative; and the translation of this antique specimen may serve to show

the similarity that pervades the tone of human sentiment in the most distant ages and countries —

"N [illegible]

In mingled rush of rain and hail
—While adverse fortune louring frown'd,
  Than ours no tie could closer be
But lo when ease and joy were found,
  Spurn'd was I ingrate—spurn'd by thee!

[illegible]

—While fears and troubles closely press'd
  By thee my love was gladly sought
But once again with quiet bless'd,
  Thou view'st me as a thing of nought!

The f[illegible]ll less calm shall shift again
  Another gale the bleak hill rend
And every blade shall wither then,
  And every tree before it bend
—Then shalt thou wail thy lonesome lot
  Then vainly seek the injur'd man
Whose virtues thou hadst all forgot
  And only learn'd his faults to scan.

The style of descriptive poetry among the Chinese may perhaps be best shown by the way in which they describe *ourselves*, for which purpose are selected the following stanzas from a poem on London, written as long ago as 1813, by a person better instructed than the generality of his countrymen who quit the celestial empire to travel abroad This singular production has already excited some notice, and been quoted in several publications from the treatise in the Royal Asiatic Transactions, where it was printed with the original text,* and where the trans-

* It has been found in the possession of Chinese and led to the mistaken application of *London* for *England*

lator observed that the poem, being a simple description, contains few flights of fancy. As it would, therefore, have been a hopeless attempt, however well they may sound in Chinese, to give dignity in verse to matters so perfectly domestic and familiar to ourselves, it was judged best to afford a literal prose translation, but with all the extravagancies and hyperboles of the original.

I.

Afar in the ocean, towards the extremities of the north-west,
There is a nation, or country, called England:
The clime is frigid, and you are compelled to approach the fire;
The houses are so lofty that you may pluck the stars.
The pious inhabitants respect the ceremonies of worship,
And the virtuous among them ever read the sacred books.
They bear a peculiar enmity towards the French nation,
The weapons of war * rest not for a moment (between them).

II.

Their fertile hills, adorned with the richest luxuriance,
Resemble, in the outline of their summits, the arched eyebrows (of a fair woman):
The inhabitants are inspired with a respect for the female sex,
Who in this land correspond with the perfect features of nature;
Their young maidens have cheeks resembling red blossoms,
And the complexion of their beauties is like the white gem:
Of old has connubial affection been highly esteemed among them,
Husband and wife delighting in mutual harmony.—— . . .

V.

The two banks of the river lie to the north and south:
Three bridges † interrupt the stream, and form a communication;
Vessels of every kind pass between the arches,
While men and horses pace among the clouds (fogs?):
A thousand masses of stone rise one above the other,
And the river flows through nine channels:
The bridge of Loyâng, which outtops all in our empire,
Is in shape and size somewhat like these —— . . .

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* Written in 1813.

† Old London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges were then the only three in existence.

VII

The towering edifices rise story above story
In all the stateliness of splendid mansions
Railings of iron thickly stud the sides of every entrance
And streams from the river circulate through the walls
[illegible]

IX

The spacious streets are exceedingly smooth and level
Each being crossed by others at intervals
On either side perambulate men and women
In the centre career along the carriages and horses
The mingled sound of voices is heard in the shops at evening
During winter the heaped up snows adhere to the pathway
Lamps are displayed at night along the street sides
Whose radiance twinkles like the stars of the sky — &c

It remains to take some notice of the Chinese works of fiction, in the shape of moral tales, novels, and romances, which, by the aid of printing, so early invented, have become altogether innumerable Among them, however, some have of course grown more famous and popular than others, and a very few are ranked under the title of *Tsae-tsze*, or " works of genius " Under the existing system of exclusion from the interior of the country, to which all Europeans are subject, they are perhaps the best sources to which we can address ourselves in order to obtain a knowledge of the every-day habits of the people As the writers address themselves solely to their own countrymen, they need not be suspected of the spirit of misrepresentation, prejudice, and exaggeration, with which the Chinese are known to speak of themselves to strangers An odd instance of this kind once occurred at Canton A native, being told that the King of England was accustomed, on particular occasions, to be drawn in a

carriage with *eight* horses, answered with the utmost readiness, "China Emperor *twenty-four!*"

Many of the Chinese novels and romances which were written in the fifteenth century of our era, and some much earlier than that date, would contrast very advantageously, either as literary compositions or as pictures of society, with their contemporaries of Europe. The Chinese at that period were long past the stage of civilization which gives birth only to apologues or extravagant fictions, and could relish representations of actual life, and of the complicated situations into which men are thrown by the contests of interest and of passion in an artificial state of things. Their novels and romances paint Chinese society as it really exists; and if they are on this account less amusing for children, they may be more interesting to such grown persons as have the curiosity to contemplate a state of civilization which has grown up of itself, and owes none of its features to an intercourse with Europe, or with the rest of the world.

Under the existing circumstances (we repeat) of our exclusion from the interior of the country, these works have a peculiar value, as they supply the information regarding manners, customs, and sentiment, which might otherwise be obtained from the observation of travellers, but can at present be gained only from books. Late changes in the trade have excited the jealousy and raised the vigilance of the government to a degree which may render the access to any spot, except Canton, more difficult than ever; and the barrier seems to be one which nothing but a change in the present Tartar dynasty, or a successful appeal to arms, can remove.* Under these circumstances, we must acquire our knowledge of the

* This was written in 1835, and the successful appeal to arms has only partially removed the barrier.

country from native works and the minuteness which characterizes their pictures of social life is particularly calculated to make us familiar with its most intimate recesses M Remusat observes of them, "C'est dans la peinture des details qu'excellent les romanciers Chinois, et c'est encore en cela qu'on peut les rapprocher de Richardson, de Fielding, ou tout au moins du Docteur Smollet, et de Mademoiselle Burney C'est par la que les uns et les autres sont interessants, vrais, habiles a faire ressortir les traits des passions, a dessiner les caractères, a produire un haut degre d illusion Leurs personnages ont, comme on dirait a present, toute la realité possible On a veritablement fait connaissance avec eux quand on les a vu agir ou entendu parler, quand on les a suivis dans les particularites minutieuses de leur conversation *

The 'Fortunate Union' may be considered as a favourable specimen of these native pictures of life and manners To quote the preface, "The interest and bustle of the scene, the spirit of the dialogue, the strong delineation and strict keeping of all the characters, joined to the generally excellent moral that is conveyed throughout, may serve to impress us with no unfavourable sentiments in regard to Chinese taste The story commences with an act of generous devotion on the part of the hero, and the gratitude of the person whom he obliges becomes the ultimate occasion of his own triumph over the combinations of his enemies The profligate, the malicious, and the base, when they have exhausted all the resources of ingenuity, meet with their just reward, while rectitude, prudence, and courage carry their possessors not only unharmed but glorious through every trial

"In the hero and heroine are accurately described the

* Preface to *Les Deux Cousines*

principles of the Confucian sect of philosophy, a sect which, in its professed admiration of virtue, and in its high tone of self-sufficiency and pride, assimilates somewhat to the ancient Stoics. As we often find in our own favourite fictions, a number of the names have a reference to the characters of those who bear them. Thus the hero is named from *iron* (quasi Ironside); the heroine is *ping-sin*, icy-hearted—a term, however, which in her country means chaste, and not what we should call cold-hearted. There are many remarkable points of resemblance between the 'Fortunate Union' and our own novels and romances at the present day. Every chapter is headed by a few verses bearing some relation to its contents, and appropriate lines are occasionally introduced as embellishments to the story. Except in some highly sustained dialogues, the prose parts convey the tone of ordinary conversation or narrative."

As the above work is rather celebrated among the Chinese themselves, and may serve as a sample of the particular department of literature to which it belongs, such readers as have not seen the English translation may like to be furnished with an outline. The hero of the 'Fortunate Union' is a young student named Teih-chungyu, whose family residence is at one of the chief cities of the province in which Peking is situated, but about two hundred and fifty miles from the capital. He is beautiful in person, but with a disposition naturally harsh and inflexible, and an irritable temper, which is however set off by some generous qualities, and a ready desire to succour persons in distress. His father belongs to that privileged class of *Censors* by which the constitution of the Chinese government is so singularly distinguished, and he is marked by the boldness and uprightness of his advice to his sovereign. The son, on account

of his hasty temper, is not taken to his father's official residence at Peking, but left at the family house in the province At sixteen his parents had thought of choosing him a wife, but this was postponed at his own desire, and he continues his studies in solitude until the age of twenty, when, as he is one day reading at home, he comes upon the history of a minister famed in Chinese annals, who fell a victim to the honesty with which he reproved his sovereign

Reflecting on this incident, it occurs to him that similar fidelity might expose his father to a similar fate, his anxiety leads him to determine on proceeding to Peking On his way thither he puts up for the night at a village, where he hears the story of a young student who, through the violence of a powerful noble, had lost the bride to whom he had been contracted in marriage His enemy had seized the unfortunate lady, and shut her up in a retired palace, conferred on him by the emperor for very different purposes Falling in, soon after, with the student himself, the youth inquires the particulars of his case, and promises to have his memorial presented to the emperor On reaching Peking, our hero found his apprehensions realized regarding his father, who had given umbrage to the emperor, and been thrown into prison, for the zeal with which he exerted himself in this very case of the young student The matter had been referred to the criminal board, but the guilty noble contrived, by his wealth and influence, to remove every species of evidence and then, persuading the emperor that the Censor had been deceiving him, he procured the degradation and imprisonment of the latter

The hero proceeds at once to his father's place of confinement, and surprises him by producing the young student's memorial, which of itself is sufficient to excul-

who have thus been assembled only to witness his disgrace and disappointment. They counsel him to give up the pursuit of a person whose actions seem to prove that she is something more than human; but his rage and ardour are only inflamed by these unexpected crosses; and he at length falls upon a third scheme.

He had resolved to seize her by force, but, as she now kept her doors barred against strangers, fraud was necessary to obtain admission. A forged document is accordingly produced at her gate, purporting to be an account of her father's recall from exile. This gains entrance for the partisans and domestics of her abandoned admirer, by a numerous party of whom she is instantly surrounded. She desires to be conveyed to the magistrate, at the same time concealing in her sleeve a small dagger, which may still avail her at her utmost need. As the magistrate is the friend and ally of the suitor, they readily comply with her desire, and hurry the young lady off in her chair "like a flight of crows or swallows on the wing."

The hero, Teihchungyu, whom we left on the point of proceeding on his travels, has just entered the town, and is riding leisurely along, when, in turning a corner, he meets the cortège, and comes violently in contact with the chair that contains Shueypingsin. Being nearly thrown by the shock, he seizes with characteristic energy upon one of the party; but, having received a suitable explanation, he is about to loose his hold, when a plaintive female voice from within the chair exclaims, "I am suffering violent wrong, and rely on your bravery for succour." As any other knight-errant might do, he takes the whole party prisoners,—"surrounding" them, like the Irishman—and brings them to the tribunal of the magistrate, who is sitting ready prepared to give judgment i ur of his profligate friend. Our hero strikes

on the great drum at the gate, and, boldly entering the court, addresses the judge on terms of equality The latter, however, is not deterred from awarding Shueypingsin to her suitor, which so rouses the indignation of Teihchungyu, that he interferes in a manner which intimidates the compliant magistrate He becomes acquainted with the rank and condition of the hero, and is obliged to return Shueypingsin in safety to her own home

Teihchungyu, in the mean while, becomes *éperdu* by the extraordinary beauty of the young lady whom he had thus rescued, exposed as she is to his gaze in the court of the judge, and her gratitude, for the service rendered her, is at least equal to his admiration The discomfited suitor in revenge now engages some villanous priests, at the Budhist monastery where our hero had put up according to Chinese custom, to poison him in his food! Shueypingsin, who well knew the characters with whom he had to deal, employs emissaries to keep her regularly informed of what is going on These acquaint her with the youth's illness, she guesses the whole truth, and, as the only means of saving his life, adopts the bold measure of removing him to her own house, to which he assents, though reluctantly, on account of the slander to which it may expose Shueypingsin Arrived there, he is soon restored to health, though without ever seeing his hostess, and with the observance of the most rigid forms of Chinese decorum.

The enemy, on finding that their intended victim had escaped, endeavour to foil and perplex the heroine by sending her uncle to remonstrate with her on the irregularity of admitting the youth into the house She, however, justifies her conduct by the urgency of the case, by the gratitude she owes Teihchungyu, and by telling her

uncle that he would better show his solicitude for her by prosecuting the wretches from whose hands she had lately been rescued. After an ineffectual attempt to get up an accusation against the young people, by introducing a spy into the lady's house, whose evidence only places her conduct in a fairer light, they are obliged to give up the case as desperate. The hero, on his recovery, of course takes his departure with increased feelings of regard to his hostess, and, after meeting with some other adventures which are calculated to put his address or courage to the test, he proceeds home with the determination to prepare himself for the next public examination of literary graduates.

Shueypingsin's indefatigable suitor meanwhile makes one more attempt to get possession of the young lady, by engaging the services of a newly-arrived imperial commissioner, a friend and protégé of his father at court. From this corrupt officer a warrant or licence is obtained to espouse the maiden at her own house, according to a form which in particular cases is sanctioned by Chinese law. Shueypingsin is now driven to prepare a secret memorial to the emperor himself, which she first despatches to Peking by a private emissary, and then appeals publicly to the commissioner, on whose refusal to aid her she exhibits the memorial which she had already sent up against him, and fills him with consternation. On his countermanding the nuptials, she is induced to send off a despatch for the recall of her messenger. Teihchungyu now learns what is going on during his absence, and, with the view of protecting his mistress, hurries off to Shantung province, which he reaches in a few days. On his first arrival he is seen by the profligate uncle, who soon makes his friend the suitor acquainted with the event. They try to entrap him, by sending a cunning boy with

a pretended message from Shueypingsin, appointing an assignation at the back gate of her house The inconsistency of this message with the lady's character opens his eyes to the fraud, and, seizing the boy, he forces him by threats to confess it is a trick of his enemies

The next step is to devise another plot against our hero, whose abandoned rival calls at his lodgings, and, on being denied, leaves a ceremonial ticket This compels Teihchungyu to return the call, for which his enemy is prepared with an entertainment, to which the youth is, much against his will, detained It is concerted that a number of rakish fellows should join the party one by one, and get up a quarrel, in which, with their assistance, the host may revenge himself by maltreating Teihchungyu His coolness, courage, and strength, however, avail him as usual, and when a fray becomes inevitable he completely discomfits the drunken party, and leaves them vowing loud vengeance The description of this Chinese entertainment, and of the growing row, is highly characteristic, and proves that the most ceremonious of people can sometimes be the most unceremonious The defeated party lodge a false charge against the hero, but the result redounds to their entire shame and disgrace

Circumstances subsequently enable Teihchungyu to be of essential service to the exiled father of the heroine, and to procure at length his recall from banishment, and reinstatement in his former honours The families of the youth and maiden being thus drawn together, a proposed alliance is the natural consequence The ultra refinement, however, of the Confucian school imposes scruples on the parties, lest such a consummation should lead the world to misconstrue the disinterested nature of their former intercourse These scruples being overcome, fresh plots are laid by their enemies to oppose their union,

and as the affair, from the rank of the parties, at length comes before the emperor in person, an investigation is set on foot, which exposes the wickedness of the other faction, and leads to the marriage being sanctioned with high encomiums from the "Son of Heaven" himself. All parties are punished or rewarded according to their deserts, and thus the 'Fortunate Union' is concluded.* The interest of the story is sustained throughout, by the Chinese author, with more skill and effect than in most native productions; and as a genuine picture of manners it is among the best suited to the use of those who desire, according to the expression of a French writer, "connâitre les Chinois par les Chinois eux-mêmes."

* 2 vols. 8vo. 1829.

CHAPTER XIX

ARTS AND INVENTIONS

Printing — Printed books — Paper — Ink — Gunpowder — Mariner's compass — Variation of Needle — Navigation — Obstacles to improvement — Industrial arts — Cleaning cotton — Candle-making — Metallurgy — Metallic mirrors — Carving — Tools — Silk manufacture — Silkworms — Porcelain manufacture — Egyptian bottle — Lackered ware — Fine arts — Drawing and painting — Ornamental gardening — Sculpture — Music

There appear to be reasonable grounds for the belief that what are justly considered in Europe as three of the most important inventions or discoveries of modern times the art of printing, the composition of gunpowder, and the magnetic compass, had their first origin in China However much we may have outstripped them in the use and application of these instruments or agents, the Chinese can urge claims to the priority of possession, which are sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person, and it seems fair to conclude that the knowledge and tradition of these contrivances travelled slowly westward through the channels of Oriental commerce, and were obscurely derived, by those who first imported them to Europe by the way of Asia Minor or the Red Sea There cannot be the least doubt of the art of printing having been practised in China during the tenth century of our era The precise mode in which they operate is certainly different from ours, but the main principle, that of multiplying and cheapening books by saving the time and labour of transcription, is altogether the same

Shortly previous to the commencement of the *Soong* dynasty, about the middle of the tenth century, a minister of state, named Foong-taou, is said to have introduced to the notice of government the art of taking impressions upon paper. History states that the first essay in printing was to transfer the pages from stone blocks, on which the writing had been engraved—a process by which the ground of the paper was black, and the letters white. This at length led to the improved invention of wooden stereotype blocks, on which the characters were cut in relief, as at present, and the effect thereby *reversed*, the paper page remaining white, and the characters being impressed in ink. Dugald Stewart, in his work on the 'Philosophy of the Human Mind,' considers the invention of printing "rather as the result of those general causes on which the progress of society seems to depend than as the mere effect of a fortunate accident;"—in fact, as a step in the social history of man, and as marking a particular point of his progress. Admitting this to be true, it would follow that the Chinese in the tenth century were not only further advanced than their contemporaries of Europe (of which there can be no doubt whatever), but that they had reached a higher point of civilization than the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The high estimation in which letters have ever been held in China may certainly be supposed to have contributed to the invention by which books are rendered available to the greatest number of readers; and it seems evident, from Chinese history, that as the period of Soong, which immediately followed, is celebrated for its writers, that invention gave an impetus to the national taste for its own peculiar learning. For all purposes of cheapness and expedition the method of printing is perfect; and a little consideration will show that the stereotype plan is

more peculiarly suited to the Chinese characters than to any other The European alphabet consists of only a few letters, whose infinite combinations form many languages With them, on the contrary, every *word* is a different character The six and twenty letters of our alphabet are all *within the reach of the compositor in setting up a page of* type, and, from long practice, he moves his hands to the little cells in which they are arranged almost without looking, but in China it would require the combination of a Briareus with an Argus to pick out the hundreds, or rather thousands of different characters in the printing of a single book Then, again, the immense number of copies of their standard, or sacred, works, required in a population of hundreds of millions, all *reading*, if they do not *speak*, the same language, is another reason for stereotype

But, on the other hand, there are some rare occasions on which particular reasons exist to make single or moveable types preferable, and on these occasions the Chinese use them Mention has already been made of the Red Book, or Court Kalendar, containing the name and office of every functionary in the empire A new edition of this is published every quarter, and as the characters which it contains are always pretty nearly the same, with only the difference of arrangement, this particular case approximates to that of our own alphabet, for which reason the Kalendar and some other works are printed with moveable types For their general literature, the stereotype possesses another advantage, they can take off the impressions according to the sale of the work, and there is no needless expenditure of paper When the faces of the letters are worn by use, they retouch them, and render *them available for farther impressions*, but, *from the* following account of their printing process it will be remarked that there is not anything like the same pres-

sure, nor consequently the same wear and tear, as in our European printing. This, however, may be compensated by the greater durability of material in our metal type.

The substance commonly used by the Chinese is pear-tree wood, called by them *ly-mŏ*. The wooden plate or block, of a thickness calculated to give it sufficient strength, is finely planed and squared to the shape and dimensions of *two* pages. The surface is then rubbed over with a paste or size, occasionally made from boiled rice, which renders it quite smooth, and at the same time softens and otherwise prepares it for the reception of the characters. The future pages, which have been finely transcribed by a professional person on thin transparent paper, are delivered to the block-cutter, who, while the above-mentioned application is still wet, unites them to the block, so that they adhere; but in an *inverted* position, the thinness of the paper displaying the writing perfectly through the back. The paper being subsequently rubbed off, a clear impression in ink of the inverted writing remains on the wood. The workman then with his sharp graver cuts away with extraordinary neatness and despatch all that portion of the wooden surface which is not covered by the ink, leaving the characters in pretty high relief. Any slight error may be corrected, as in our woodcuts, by inserting small pieces of wood: but the process is upon the whole so cheap and expeditious that it is generally easier to replane the block and cut it again; for their mode of taking the impression renders the thickness of the block an immaterial point.*

Strictly speaking, "the press of China" would be a misnomer, as no press whatever is used in their printing.

* For ephemeral works, this block-printing is of course less adapted. A daily paper at Canton is imperfectly printed from a composition of the consistence of wax, in which characters can be more rapidly formed.

The paper, which is almost as thin and bibulous, or absorbent of ink, as what we call silver-paper, receives the impression with a gentle contact, while a harder pressure would break through it The printer holds in his right hand two brushes, at the opposite extremities of the same handle, with one he inks the face of the characters and, the paper being then laid on, he runs the dry brush over so as to make it take the impression They do this with such expedition that one man can take off a couple of thousand copies in a day The paper, being so thin and transparent, is printed on *one side* only, and each printed sheet (consisting of two pages) is folded back, so as to bring the blank sides in inward contact The fold is thus on the *outer* edge of the book, and the sheets are stitched together at the other which might lead an uninformed person to take any Chinese book for a new work with its leaves still uncut In folding the sheets the workman is guided by a black line, which directs him in the same manner that the holes, made by the points in our printed sheets, direct the binder

Every Chinese volume is a species of brochure, *neatly* stitched with silk thread in a smooth paper of a drab colour, and every volume is numbered on the outer edges of the leaves Collectors of choice books put up about ten volumes of the same work in a neat case, covered with flowered satin or silk The popular works of the country are greatly cheaper than ours, they have no taxes on literature, and three or four volumes of any ordinary work, of the octavo size and shape, may be had for a sum equivalent to two shillings A Canton bookseller's manuscript *catalogue marked the price of the Four Books of* Confucius, including the Commentary, at a sum rather under half a crown The cheapness of their common literature is occasioned partly by the mode of printing, but

partly also by the low price of paper. What is called *India paper*, by our engravers and printsellers, is nothing but the large sheets in which the silk piece-goods of China are wrapped, as they are brought to us from Canton. These have commonly been purchased at an exorbitant price in London; but they might be bought by the chest, upon the spot, for much less than our own paper costs. There is, however, a considerable duty on the importation.

The date of the invention of paper seems to prove that some of the most important arts, connected with the progress of civilization, are not extremely ancient in China. In the time of Confucius they wrote on the finely-pared bark of the bamboo with a style; they next used silk and linen, which explains why the character *chy*, paper, is compounded of that for silk. It was not until A.D. 95 that paper was invented. The materials which they use in the manufacture are various. A coarse yellowish paper, used for wrapping parcels, is made from rice-straw.* The better kinds are composed of the *liber* or inner part of a species of *morus*, as well as of cotton, but principally of *bamboo;* and we may extract the description of the last from the 'Chinese Repository:'† "The stalks are cut near the ground, and then sorted into parcels according to the age, and tied up in small bundles. The younger the bamboo, the better is the quality of the paper which is made from it. The bundles are thrown into a reservoir of mud and water, and buried in the ooze for about a fortnight to soften them. They are then taken out, cut into pieces of a proper length, and put into mortars with a little water, to be pounded to a pulp with large wooden pestles. This semifluid mass, after being cleansed of the coarsest parts,

* They also obtain paper from the re-manufacture of what has been used, as well as from rags of silk and cotton.

† Vol. iii. p. 265.

is transferred to a great tub of water, and additions of the substance are made until the whole becomes of sufficient consistence to form paper. Then a workman takes up a sheet with a mould or frame of the proper dimensions, which is constructed of bamboo in small strips, made smooth and round like wire. The pulp is continually agitated by other hands, while one is taking up the sheets, which are then laid upon smooth tables to dry. According to others, the paper is dried by placing the newly made sheets upon a heated wall, and rubbing them with brushes until dry. This paper is unfit for writing on with liquid ink, and is of a yellowish colour. The Chinese size it by dipping the sheets into a solution of fish-glue and alum, either during or after the first process of making it.* The sheets are usually three feet and a half in length, and two in breadth. The fine paper used for letters is polished, after sizing, by rubbing it with smooth stones.'

What is commonly known in this country under the name of Indian ink is nothing more than what the Chinese manufacture for their own writing. The writing apparatus consists of a square of this ink, a little black slab of schistus or slate,† polished smooth, with a depression at one end to hold water, a small brush, or pencil, of rabbit's hair inserted into a reed handle, and a bundle of paper. These four articles, the ink, the slab on which it is rubbed, the writing pencil, and the paper, are called (with that respect which the Chinese profess for letters) "the four precious implements." They are taught from youth

* Sized paper is not required in their printing, where the ink is of a thicker consistency.

† This is found in the mountains called *Leu-shan*, on the west side of the Poyang lake, where the last embassy saw quantities of these slabs manufactured for sale.

to keep them in high order and neatness, and, as men's lasting impressions are always more or less the results of early habit, this of course has its effect.

The Chinese, or, as it is miscalled, *Indian*, ink has been erroneously supposed to consist of the secretion of a species of *sepia*, or cuttle-fish. It is, however, all manufactured from lamp-black and gluten, with the addition of a little musk to give it a more agreeable odour.* Père Contancin gave the following as a process for making the ink:—A number of lighted wicks are put into a vessel full of oil. Over this is hung a dome or funnel-shaped cover of iron, at such a distance as to receive the smoke. Being well coated with lamp-black, this is brushed off and collected upon paper. It is then well mixed in a mortar with a solution of gum or gluten, and, when reduced to the consistence of paste, it is put into little moulds, where it receives those shapes and impressions with which it comes to this country. It is occasionally manufactured in a great variety of forms and sizes, and stamped with ornamental devices, either plain, or in gold and various colours.

Besides being the universal ink of China, this manufacture serves occasionally with them, as it does with us, for drawings and designs, in executing which they use the same hair pencils with which they write. They consider that the best ink is produced from the burning of particular oils, but the commoner and cheaper kinds are obtained, it is said, from fir-wood. As almost every separate place is more noted than others for the manufacture or production of some particular article, the best ink is produced at Hoey-chow-foo, not far from Nanking; and a certain quantity annually manufactured for the use of the emperor and the court is called *Koong-mĕ*, "tribute-ink."

* A black dye, but not ink, is obtained from the cup of the acorn, which abounds in gallic acid.

The same name, however, is often given to any commodity, to imply its superiority over others of the same description, just as if the person who makes it were to call himself "Manufacturer to his Majesty" The best ink is that which is most intensely black, and most free from grittiness Of the superior sorts a number of ornamented cakes are often tastefully disposed in small cases finely japanned and gilt, and, when their ink is very old, the Chinese sometimes apply it, as they do almost everything in its turn, in *medicine*

However ancient may be the discovery, among this people, of the *composition* of gunpowder, its particular application to fire arms was probably derived from the west * The silence regarding cannon of the two elder Polos,† who served at the siege of Siang-yang-foo about the year 1273, and the circumstance of those persons having taught the use of balistæ for hurling stones to the Tartar emperor, seem to prove that the Chinese at that period were as little acquainted with fire-arms as Europeans Their history notices the use of a composition of the nature of Greek fire, which, when thrown into the ditches that surrounded cities, exploded in contact with water, and proved very destructive The invention of powder, as compounded of "sulphur, saltpetre, and *willow* charcoal,' is carried very far back by the Chinese, and was probably applied by them to fireworks (in which they excel at present), or other harmless and useful purposes, long before their unwarlike spirit could have suggested the use of guns to themselves, or they could have borrowed the notion from Europeans

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* The Chinese name has no reference to guns and simply means *fire drug*

† Marsden's edition, 4to p 488

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It remains to notice the claims of the Chinese to priority of invention in the case of the magnetic compass; and we may here refer to the sagacious investigations of Klaproth *sur l'invention de la Boussole*, in a letter addressed to M. de Humboldt.* The first distinct notice in Europe of the properties of the polarized needle appears in a satirical poem of Guyot de Provins, about the year 1190; and the next writer who refers to the same phenomenon is Cardinal de Vitry, who visited Palestine in the fourth crusade, and a second time subsequently at the beginning of the thirteenth century. He says distinctly, "*Adamas in India reperitur*;" and moreover adds, "*Acus ferrea, postquam adamantem contigerit, ad stellam septentrionalem, quæ velut axis firmamenti aliis vergentibus non movetur, semper convertitur; unde valde necessaria est navigantibus in mari.*" Subsequently to him, Brunetto Latini, author of a work in French called 'Le Trésor,' written about 1260, observes likewise that it was calculated to be highly useful at sea; but at the same time notices the ignorant prejudice by which navigators were deterred from its adoption; for, says he, "No master mariner dares to use it, lest he should fall under the supposition of being a magician; nor would even the sailors venture themselves out to sea under his command if he took with him an instrument which carries so great an appearance of being constructed under the influence of some infernal spirit." A more recent writer, the Jesuit Riccioli, states that "in the reign of St. Louis the French mariners commonly used the magnetic needle, which they kept swimming in a little vessel of water, and prevented from sinking by two tubes."

From the above authorities, and one or two others, M. Klaproth, with sufficient reason, infers that the use of the

* Date, 1834.

magnetic needle was known in Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but none of those writers state that it was *invented* in Europe, they rather afford a presumption that the knowledge of it was obtained during the crusades That the mariner s compass was in use likewise among the Arabs about the year 1242 is proved by a citation from Baylak, an Arabian writer, who mentions it as a contrivance generally known to navigators in the sea of Syria M Klaproth then proceeds to show that the Chinese compass was, about the year 1117, made exactly in the same manner as that seen by Baylak among the pilots of Syria ' It follows from all these facts (observes Klaproth) that this species of compass was used in China at least eighty years previous to the composition of Guyot de Provins satire, that the Arabs possessed it nearly at the same time, and that, consequently, this invention was communicated, either directly or indirectly, to the Arabs by the Chinese, and that the Arabs transmitted it to the Franks during the early crusades Gioia of Amalfi, who is commonly supposed to have discovered the use of the needle at the commencement of the thirteenth century, probably obtained it from some Eastern traders.

The attractive power of the loadstone has been known to the Chinese from remote antiquity, but its property of communicating polarity to iron is for the first time explicitly noticed in a Chinese dictionary finished in A D 121 Under the head of Load tone appears this definition — " A stone with which a direction can be given to the needle Pere Gaubil, in his history of the Tang dynasty, states that he found, in a work written one hundred years later than the above, the use of the compass distinctly recorded In a dictionary published in the reign of Kang hy (not the *imperial* work which goes by his name), it is stated that under the Tsin dynasty (previous to A D

419) ships were steered to the south by the magnet. But it was not with the compass alone that the Chinese were so early acquainted: M. Klaproth has shown that they had observed, long before us, the variation of the needle from the true pole.

The author of a Chinese work on medicine and natural history has the following passage:—"When a steel point is rubbed with the magnet, it acquires the property of pointing to the *south*; yet it declines always to the east, and is not due south. If the needle be passed through a wick (made of a rush) and placed on water, it will also indicate the south, but with a continual inclination towards the point *ping*, or $\frac{5}{6}$ south." Klaproth then shows that such is actually the case at Peking, according to the observations of Père Amiot, who states, as the result of his own experiments during a number of years, that "the variation of the magnetic needle continues the same in this capital, viz. between 2° and 2° 30′ to the west." Now, as the Chinese suppose that the point of magnetic attraction is to the south, they of course reverse the foregoing terms, and say that the needle points *south*, with a variation *east*.

This very difference is a mark of the originality of the Chinese compass, which is farther proved (as Mr. Barrow observes) by their having engrafted upon, and combined with it, their most ancient astrological notions. From the numerous specimens in this country, it may be seen that this instrument, instead of consisting of a moveable card attached to the needle, is simply a needle of less than an inch in length, slung in a glazed hole in the centre of a solid wooden dish, finely varnished. The broad circumference of this dish is marked off into concentric circles, on which are inscribed the eight mystical figures of Fohy, the twelve horary characters, the ten others which, combined with

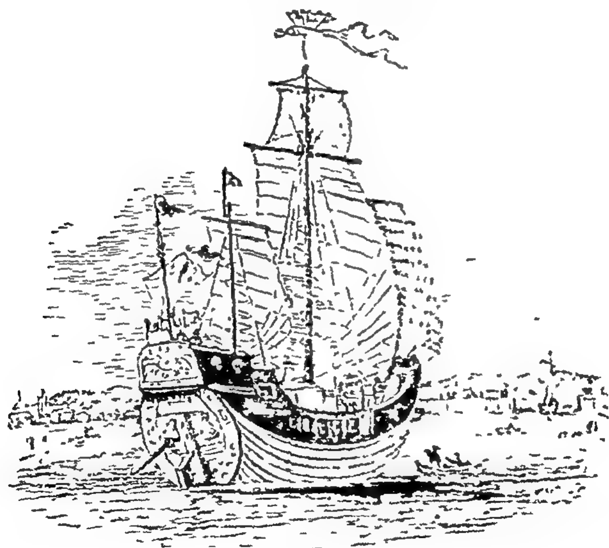
these, mark the years of the cycle, the twenty-four divisions of their solar year, the twenty-eight lunar mansions, &c

The Chinese, however, appear to have applied the polarity of the magnet to a double purpose, and to have used it in ancient times as a guide on shore as well as at sea This was effected by a machine called a *magnetic car*, in which was placed a little figure of a man turning on a point, and having its finger always directed to the same part of the horizon A representation of the car is inserted in Klaproth's work, as copied from a Chinese encyclopædia It is stated, in a history of the Tsin dynasty, that the figure placed upon the car represented "a genius in a feather dress," and that, when the emperor went out on state occasions, this car "always led the way, and served to distinguish the four points of the compass" These magnetic cars were also known in Japan about the middle of the seventh century, as is proved from the testimony of Japanese works, but they admit that the invention came from China

But however ancient their knowledge of the compass, the art of navigation among the Chinese has rather retrograded than advanced in later times It is clear that they once navigated as far as India, and their most distant voyages at present extend no farther than Java, and the Malay islands to the south The principal obstacle to improvement consists in the unconquerable prejudice which forbids any alteration in the construction of their clumsy and unsafe junks The hull of these in shape and appearance is not unlike a Chinese shoe, to which it is sometimes compared by themselves.* The stern is cleft, and as it were open, to admit the huge rudder, and thus shelter it

* The *eye* painted on the bows has a singularly exact parallel in the *eye of Osiris* painted on those curious models of Egyptian vessels contained in Mr Salt's collection of antiquities sold in London, and many of which may be seen at the British Museum

in some measure from the blows of the sea; but with the least stern-way on the vessel it seems calculated to prove fatal. In lieu of pitch, they caulk with a putty composed of burnt gypsum and oil,* mixed sometimes with bamboo shavings for oakum. Their flat unyielding sails of mat enable them to lie much nearer to the wind in light weather than our ships can do with canvas sails: but then, on the other hand, the flat bottom, without any keel whatever, occasions their falling fast to leeward, and gives the advantage altogether to our vessels. The clumsy anchors of the junks are made of a very heavy and hard wood, called by the Chinese *teih-mŏ*, "iron-wood," and they have only a single arm in some cases.



Trading Junk.

It has been objected to the accuracy of Marco Polo, that he mentions junks having *more* than one sail to a mast, on the ground that "Chinese vessels do not carry

* Extracted from the *Tung-shoo*, or Dryandra cordata.

any kind of topsail? The fact, however, is that they do very frequently, in light weather, and with the wind right aft, carry a topsail of canvas or cotton These, with a view to holding as much wind, with as little perpendicular strain on the mast as possible, are stretched to only about half the actual height of the sail, and they accordingly belly or bulge very much It seems to have been proved, by the experiments of Mr Edgeworth on the resistance of the air, that a curved surface of the *same* perpendicular height holds more wind than a flat one, or that the pressure of the wind is increased by augmenting the surface on which it acts Admitting this to be the fact, it seems to be in favour of the sagacity of the Chinese in this particular instance

As long as their junks confine themselves to the neighbourhood of the coast, their course is pretty certain They generally stand boldly across between the most prominent headlands, and are guided along the whole line of coast by a tolerably accurate directory, in which are noted the harbours currents, shoals, and other particulars The courses are pointed out by means of the figures, already described, on the circumference of their compass They can take no observations of the sun themselves, but it sometimes happens that a junk sailing as far as Batavia will engage a Portuguese of Macao, who is just able, with an old rusty sextant, to take an altitude of the sun and work out the latitude in a rough way This, however, is never done in short voyages, where they steer by their compass without any chart, and judge of the distances by the last promontory or island in sight, a practice in which long experience makes them very ready

Mr Gutzlaff was passenger in one of these junks from Siam to the north of China, and has given a very full and interesting account of the voyage, as well as of the manage

ment and internal economy of a Chinese trading-vessel. Besides perpetual offerings to an image of the "Queen of Heaven," whom we have before mentioned as the sailor's deity, they worship the compass itself. This is covered with a stripe of red cloth, some of which is also tied to the rudder and cable, the next objects of consequence to the sailors. Incense-sticks are burnt, and gilt paper, made into the form of a junk, is kindled before it. The compass likewise constitutes head-quarters on board. Near it some tobacco, a pipe, and a burning lamp are placed, and here the crew adjourn to enjoy themselves. In a dead calm, a quantity of gilt paper shaped like a junk is set adrift, and offerings made to the goddess and sundry demons: but if all this proves ineffectual, the offerings cease, and they await the result in patience.

The account which Mr. Gutzlaff gives of the manning and discipline of these trading-junks serves to explain in part the loss of so many at sea, when combined with the other imperfections attendant on their construction and management. They seem to be filled with the scum and off-scourings of the Chinese population—abandoned and desperate characters who have nothing to lose, and who cannot subsist on shore. Besides the principal owner of the cargo, or agent for those who own it, there is the captain or pilot. He sits constantly on the weather-side of the vessel, observing the shores and promontories as they are approached, and from habit seldom lies down to sleep. Though he has the nominal command over the sailors, these obey him or not, according to their pleasure; and sometimes scold or brave him like one of their own number. Next to the pilot is the helmsman, who manages the steering and sails. Besides clerks for the cargo, there is a purchaser of provisions, and another whose express business it is to attend to the offerings and to burn incense.

The crew consists of two classes: the able seamen, who are called *Tow-mŏ*, "heads and eyes," and the ordinary seamen, or "comrades."

All these, with the exception of the last class, have sleeping-berths, just large enough to hold one person. Every one is a shareholder, with the privilege of putting a certain quantity of goods on board. The principal object of all is trade, and the working of the junk would seem to be a subordinate point. The crew exercise full control over the vessel, and oppose every measure which they deem injurious to their own interest, so that the captain and pilot are frequently obliged to submit to them. In time of danger the men often lose all courage, and their indecision, with the confusion that attends the absence of discipline, not unfrequently proves the destruction of the junk. Mr Gutzlaff adds that, although they consider our mode of sailing as something better than their own,* they claim the superiority upon the whole for their native vessels, and would consider it as an imitation of barbarians to alter them. We are persuaded, however, that the risk of trouble and extortion on the part of the government is the chief obstacle to improvement in these respects. The Siamese have already adopted many things from our ships, and two *copper-bottomed* vessels came lately from Siam to Canton. On this very ground, the local government would not permit them to ascend the river much beyond Whampoa, the European anchorage.

* He was requested by the captain and others to explain the method of finding the latitude and longitude. When he had endeavoured to make them understand the theory, the captain wondered that he could bring (with the sextant) the sun on a level with the horizon, and insisted that by the *same process* he could "also tell the depth of water." But being disappointed in this, which would have better suited his purpose, he exclaimed that observations "were entirely useless and truly barbarian."

The ingenuity of the Chinese is best displayed in their arts and manufactures on shore, and in nothing more conspicuously than the ready and simple modes in which they contrive to abridge labour, and occasionally to avail themselves of a mechanical advantage, without any of the aids of scientific knowledge. "Chance" (says Dr. Abel) "led me to the shop of a blacksmith, the manufacturer of various iron instruments, from a sword to a hoe. This man well understood the modifying properties of heat, and took the fullest advantage of them in all the practical concerns of his business. He was forming a reaping-hook at the time of my visit. A large pair of shears, having one blade fixed in a heavy block of wood, and the other furnished with a long handle to serve as a lever, stood beside him. Bringing a piece of metal of the necessary dimensions from the forge at a white heat, he placed it between the blades of this instrument, and cut it into shape with equal ease and despatch."

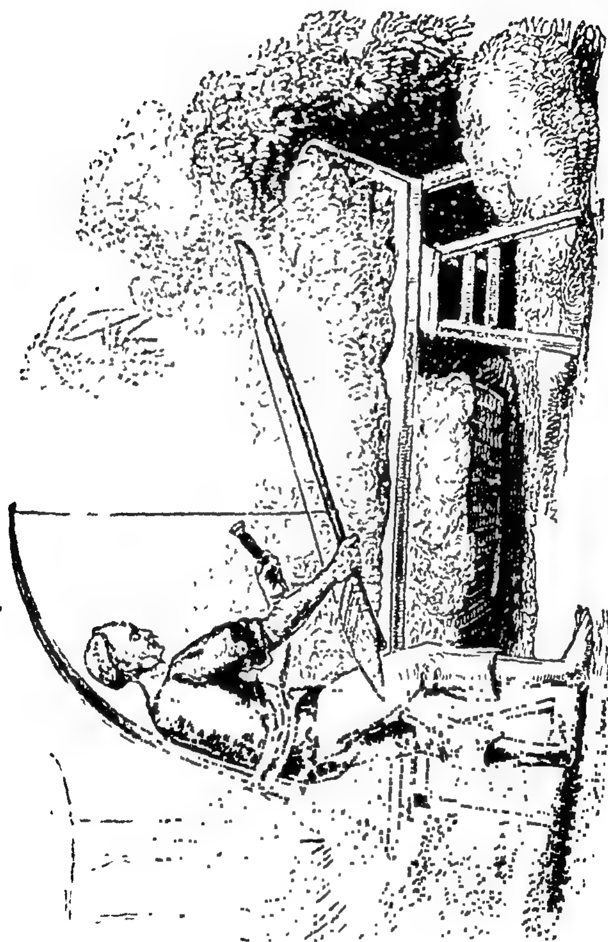
In exemplification of the same point, we may quote another instance from the journal of Dr. Abel, who was a very intelligent observer. "A quantity of oil, recently taken from the mill (where it had been pressed), and contained in a wide shallow vessel, was continually agitated by a large copper pestle, with which a lad, for some particular purpose, gently struck its surface. The fatigue that would otherwise have arisen from the weight of the pestle, and uniform motion of the arm in using it, was prevented by the following very simple contrivance: a small bow of bamboo being fastened to the ceiling immediately over the vessel containing the oil, the pestle was attached to its string, and, thus suspended, it received from the slightest touch an adequate impulse, while the elasticity of the bow gave it the necessary recoil." In this manner it was worked by a young boy,

who otherwise would not have had strength to manage the pestle

With regard to some of their industrious arts, it may be a question whether they are *original and indigenous* or borrowed from India, though, with the known ingenuity of the Chinese, the presumption is in favour of the former In cleaning cotton, they make use of a double process in most respects similar to that known in India The machine for freeing the cotton from its seed consists of two wooden cylinders placed horizontally one above the other, and very nearly in contact These are put in motion by a wheel and treadle, and the cotton being applied to one side of the crevice, is turned over by the revolution of the cylinders or rollers to the opposite while the seeds which are too large to enter between them fall to the ground. The cotton is then freed from knots and dirt by the same process as in Hindoostan - A very elastic bow with a tight string is held by the carder over a heap of cotton wool Pulling down the string with some force under a portion of the cotton, by means of a wooden instrument in his right hand, he suddenly allows the bow to recoil, and the vibration thus continually kept up scatters and loosens the cotton, separating it into fine white flocks, without breaking the fibre

In some other instances and indeed in most, no doubt can exist of the originality of invention, and the chief of these are the manufactures of *silk* and *porcelain* which will presently be noticed Their mode of making candles from the seed of the *croton sebiferum* is peculiar This seed which is contained in a three lobed berry, is surrounded by a white substance not unlike tallow in consistence It is first of all ground or crushed in an iron rut, which forms the arc of a circle, and in which a heavy wheel, suspended from a beam above, works back-

wards and forwards. When ground, it is heated over a fire to melt the vegetable grease, and then subjected to the press. The object is sometimes gained by boiling the



Cleaning Cotton.

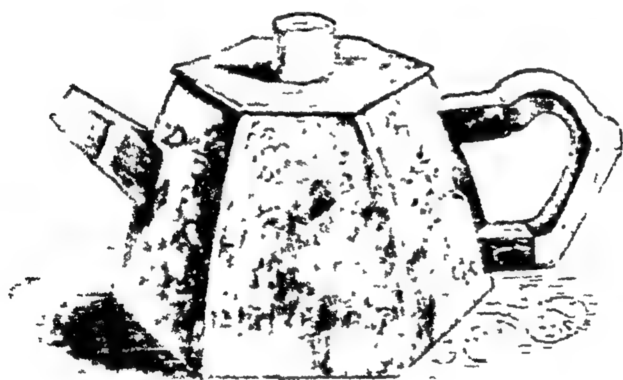
bruised seed in water, and skimming the grease from the top. As this substance easily melts, the candles made from it are coated on the outside with wax. They burn rapidly, having a large wick, and give a very bad light

with a great deal of smoke The mode of procuring the oil from the berry of the *Camellia oleifera* is nearly the same as in the case of the croton The seed is first crushed by pounding or grinding, and then put over the fire in bags, which are afterwards removed to the press This oil is of a rather fine and delicate quality, and used in cookery like olive-oil in the south of Europe

In various branches of the manufacture of metals the Chinese possess considerable skill They have the art of casting iron in very thin plates and of repairing vessels thus constructed, by means of a small furnace and blow-pipe with which an itinerant workman goes his rounds Their wrought iron work is not so neat as our own, but extremely efficient In point of cheapness, too, we excel them in this article, and it seems likely that if Chinese models of iron implements and tools of every kind were brought home and exactly imitated at Birmingham and Sheffield, without any attempts at improvement in the general shape or adaptation, they might become an article of commerce As it is, the Chinese only import our iron in bars, and work it up themselves A conformity to their own native models should guide the preparation of nearly all articles for the Chinese market. They will scarcely look at what has a foreign fashion about it, even though it should be better than their own, always excepting, of course, clocks and watches of which they admit the utility, but which they have now begun to manufacture for themselves, importing the springs and some other portions of the works from England

Their white copper, which has much of the appearance of silver, has a close grain, and takes a good polish It is an alloy of copper, zinc, and iron, with a little silver, and occasionally some nickel When in the state of ore, it is said to be powdered, mixed with charcoal dust, and

placed in jars over a slow fire, the metal rising in the form of vapour as in a distilling apparatus, and being afterwards condensed in water. It is sufficiently malleable to be converted into boxes, dishes, and various household utensils. The most singular application of this metal, however, is in the manufacture of certain teapots, which are formed in a very puzzling manner *over an earthen vessel* of the same shape, which appears as an interior lining. The handle and spout are commonly of the stone called *jade*, to which the Chinese give the name of *yu*. The outsides of these teapots are generally cut with inscriptions and devices on the metal, and a specimen of one is given below.



Metal Teapot, covering earthenware.

The highly sonorous nature of their *gongs* arises from the large proportion of tin in combination with copper. In the most considerable Budhist temples is always suspended a great cylindrical bell, which, however, is not rung like our bells, by swinging with a clapper, but struck on the outside with a large wooden mallet. The great bell of Peking, measured by one of the Jesuits, was fourteen feet and a half in height, and nearly thirteen

feet in diameter This, as well as most others of the kind, is very ancient, and with such antique specimens we may include the vases and tripods of bronze and other metals, on which the Chinese place great store, but which are generally rather too clumsy to possess much elegance Another of their antiques in metal is the circular mirror, the speculum of which is formed apparently of a mixture of copper and tin with perhaps a portion of silver Some of the round metal mirrors sold in Mr Salt's collection of Egyptian antiquities and now in the British Museum, are surprisingly like these

But there is a puzzling property in many of the Chinese mirrors which deserves particular notice, and we may give it together with the solution furnished by Sir David Brewster —"The mirror has a knob in the centre of the back, by which it can be held and on the rest of the back are stamped in relief certain circles with a kind of Grecian border Its polished surface has that degree of convexity which gives an image of the face half its natural size, and its remarkable property is that, when you reflect the rays of the sun from the polished surface, the image of the ornamental border, and circles stamped upon the back is seen distinctly reflected on the wall or on a sheet of paper "The metal of which the mirror is made appears to be what is called Chinese silver, a composition of tin and copper, like the metal for the specula of reflecting telescopes The metal is very sonorous The mirror has a rim (at the back) of about 1-4th or 1 6th of an inch broad and the inner part, upon which the figures are stamped is considerably thinner

"Like all other conjurors (says Sir David Brewster), the artist has contrived to make the observer deceive himself The stamped figures on the back are used for this purpose The spectrum in the luminous area *is not an*

image of the figures on the back. The figures are a copy of the picture which the artist has *drawn on the face of the mirror*, and so concealed by polishing, that it is invisible in ordinary lights, and can be brought out only in the sun's rays. Let it be required, for example, to produce the dragon as exhibited by one of the Chinese mirrors. When the surface of the mirror is ready for polishing, the figure of the dragon may be delineated upon it in extremely shallow lines, or it may be eaten out by an acid much diluted, so as to remove the smallest possible portion of the metal. The surface must then be *highly polished, not upon pitch, like glass and specula*, because this would polish away the figure, but upon cloth, in the way that lenses are *sometimes polished*. In this way the sunk part of the shallow lines will be as highly polished as the rest, and the figure will only be visible in very strong lights, by reflecting the sun's rays from the metallic surface."

Metallic mirrors are now very much superseded among the Chinese by the use of glass ones. Their looking-glasses, however, being extremely thin, and the surfaces not ground and polished, like our plate-glass, are very imperfect. They are coated at the back, like ours, with an amalgam of mercury. The glass at Canton is partly obtained by remelting what is broken after it comes from Europe: but it is certain that the Chinese import our flints chiefly for the glass manufacture.*

The last embassy observed that there were no glass windows near Peking, the universal substitute being a strong semi-transparent paper which comes from Corea. The Chinese explain this by saying that no glass window has ever been found to be proof against such wide extremes of heat and [illegible] as exist in the north of China.

* The materi[illegible] small reverberating furnace.

At Canton it has sometimes been found that an unusual change of temperature has broken the panes; but this must have arisen from the pressure of the half-seasoned and ill-constructed window-frames on the glass. In their table utensils the Chinese adhere to the use of porcelain in preference to glass or any other material.

In the ornamental processes of carving wood and ivory, and other substances, they greatly excel the rest of the world. Those ivory balls, containing sometimes as many as seven or eight others in the interior, have long excited the surprise of Europeans, and even led to the supposition that some deception must be exercised in joining the exterior balls after the others have been inserted. They are, however, really cut one within the other, by means of sharp crooked instruments working through the numerous round holes with which the balls are perforated, and which enable the workman to cut away the substance between, and thus to detach the balls from one another; after which the surfaces are carved. Their skill and industry are not less shown in cutting the hardest materials, as exemplified in their snuff-bottles of agate and rock crystal, which are hollowed into perfect bottles of about two inches in length, through openings in the neck not a quarter of an inch in diameter. But more than this, the crystal bottles are inscribed on the inside with minute characters, so as to be read through the transparent substance.

The peculiar fashion of the Chinese saw in most cases proves their originality. Their carpenters' saws are formed of a very thin plate of steel, which from its weakness is kept strained by a light frame of bamboo at the back, which serves at the same time as a handle.* In appearance this has a heavy and clumsy look, but the lightness of the

* This sort of saw has been [illegible] adopted in this country.

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* This sort of saw has been very generally adopted in America

bamboo prevents it being so in reality. Carpenters work their *awls* with a thong, whose two extremities are attached to the two ends of a stick. The thong being quite slack, a single turn of it is taken round the handle of the awl, which is then worked backwards and forwards with great velocity. Some of the articles of furniture made for the English at Canton could not often, in point of neatness, be surpassed in this country, and in respect to solidity are sometimes superior. The anvil of the Chinese blacksmith, instead of having a flat surface, is slightly convex or rounded. The iron that is worked upon it thus extends more easily under the hammer on all sides, but the metal probably loses something in solidity. The bellows consist of a hollow cylinder, the piston of which is so contrived that the blast shall be continuous.

But we have yet to say something of the two principal manufactures of China, those of *silk* and *porcelain*, the originality of which was never contested, as the introduction of both into Europe is perfectly well ascertained; and could the Chinese urge no other claims to praise on account of their ingenuity, these two alone might serve to give them a high rank among the nations of the world. D'Herbelot justly considers that, as Rome obtained the silk manufacture from Greece, and Greece from Persia, so the last was indebted for it, according to the best Oriental authors, to China. The tradition, indeed, of the invention is there carried back into the mythological periods, and dates with the origin of agriculture. These two pursuits or professions, namely, husbandry and the silk manufacture, the chief sources of food and clothing, form the subject of one of the sixteen discourses to the people which have been before noticed. It is there observed, that "from ancient times the Son of Heaven himself directed the plough: the Empress planted the

mulberry tree. Thus have these exalted personages, not above the practice of labour and exertion, set an example to all under heaven with a view to leading the millions of their subjects to attend to their essential interests

In the work published by imperial authority, called 'Illustrations of Husbandry and Weaving,' there are numerous woodcuts accompanied by letterpress explanatory of the different processes of farming and the silk manufacture. The former head is confined to the production of *rice*, the staple article of food and proceeds from the first ploughing of the land to the packing of the grain, the latter details all the operations connected with planting the mulberry and gathering the leaves up to the final weaving of the silk Besides the common mulberry of China, which differs somewhat from that of Europe, they occasionally, in feeding the worms have recourse to a wild specimen of the *morus* tribe as well as to the leaves of another tree supposed to be a variety of ash The production of silk in the Chinese method, and with the aid of natives of the country, was tried experimentally by the East India Company at St Helena, but has been abandoned, with the rest of their establishments on that island, since the expiration of the charter The principal object, in the cultivation of the mulberry for feeding silkworms, is to produce the greatest quantity of young and healthy leaves without fruit For this reason the trees are not allowed to exceed a certain age and height They are planted at a convenient distance from each other, on the plan of a quincunx, and are said to be in perfection in about three years

The mulberry tree for silkworms is chiefly cultivated in Chĕ keang which province, together with the only three others that produce fine silk, namely, Keang nan Hoo pĕ, and Sze chuen, is crossed by the *thirtieth* parallel of lati-

tude. Chĕ-keang is a highly alluvial country, intersected by numerous rivers and canals, with a climate that corresponds pretty nearly to the same latitude in the United States of America. The soil is manured with mud, which is dug from the rivers, assisted with ashes or dung; and the spaces between the trees are generally filled with millet, pulse, or other articles of food. The time for pruning the young trees, so as to produce fine leafy shoots, is at the commencement of the year. About four eyes are left on every shoot, and care is taken that the branches are properly thinned, with a view to giving plenty of light and air to the leaves. In gathering these, they make use of steps, or a ladder with a prop, as the young trees cannot support a ladder, and would besides be injured in their branches by the use of one. The trees, with their foliage, are carefully watched, and the mischiefs of insects prevented by the use of various applications, among which are some essential oils.

The young trees of course suffer by being stripped of their leaves, which are the *lungs* of plants, and this is an additional reason for renewing them after a certain time. They endeavour in part to counteract the evil effect, by pruning and lopping the tree, so as to diminish the wood when the leaves have been stripped, and it is probable that a few leaves are left on. It is surprising, however, to observe how soon a tree in those climates will recover its leaves in the summer or autumn, after having been entirely stripped of them by a typhoon, or hurricane. Fresh plants are procured by cuttings or layers, or sometimes from seed. When the trees grow too old for the production of the finest leaves, and show a greater tendency to fruiting, they are either removed altogether, or cut and managed so as to produce fresh and young branches.

Mr. Barrow, who observed the management of the trees

and silkworms in Chĕ Keang, confirms the usual Chinese accounts, by saying that "the houses in which the worms are reared are placed generally in the centre of each plantation, in order that they may be removed as far as possible from every kind of noise; experience having taught them that *a sudden shout, or the bark of a dog, is* destructive of the young worms. A whole brood has sometimes perished by a thunder storm." The chambers are so contrived as to admit of the use of artificial heat when necessary. Great care is taken of the sheets of paper on which the multitudes of eggs have been laid by the silkworm moths, and the hatching of these eggs is either retarded or advanced, by the application of cold or heat according to circumstances, so as to time the simultaneous exit of the young worms exactly to the period when the tender spring leaves of the mulberry are most fit for their nourishment.

They proportion the food very exactly to the young worms by weighing the leaves, which in the first instance are cut, but afterwards, as the insects become larger, are given to them whole. The greatest precautions are observed in regulating the temperature of the apartments, and in keeping them clean, quiet, and free from smells. The worms are fed upon a species of small hurdles of basket-work, strewed with leaves, which are constantly shifted for the sake of cleanliness, the insects readily moving off to a fresh hurdle with new leaves, as the scent attracts them. In proportion to their growth, room is afforded to them by increasing the number of these hurdles, the worms of one being shifted to three, then to six, and so on until they reach their greatest size. The hurdles, as well as the rest of the apparatus, were sent from Canton to St. Helena for the use of the Company's establishment there. When the worms have cast their

several skins, reached their greatest size, and assumed a transparent yellowish colour, they are removed into places divided into compartments, preparatory to their spinning.

In the course of a week after the commencement of spinning, the silken cocoons are complete, and it now becomes necessary to take them in hand before the pupæ turn into *moths*, which would immediately bore their way out, and spoil the cocoons. When a certain number, therefore, have been laid aside for the sake of future eggs, the pupæ in the bulk of the cocoons are killed by being placed in jars under layers of salt and leaves, with a complete exclusion of air. They are subsequently placed in moderately warm water, which dissolves the glutinous substance that binds the silk together, and the filament is wound off upon reels. This is put up in bundles of a certain size and weight, and either becomes an article of merchandise under the name of "raw silk," or is subjected to the loom, and manufactured into various stuffs, for home or for foreign consumption. Notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of their looms, they will imitate exactly the newest and most elegant patterns from England or France. The Chinese particularly excel in the production of damasks and flowered satins. Their crape has never yet been perfectly imitated; and they make a species of *washing* silk, called at Canton *ponge*, which becomes more soft as it is longer used.

With regard to the *porcelain* of the Chinese, it is indisputably the original from which the similar manufactures of Europe were borrowed. The first porcelain-furnace on record was in Keang sy, the same province where it is now principally made, about the commencement of the seventh century of our era; but the famous furnaces of *King-tĕ-chin*, just to the eastward of the Poyang lake, were not established until about A.D. 1000. In the pro-

gress of the last embassy through the country, we observed that the largest quantities of porcelain were exhibited for sale at Nanchang foo just to the southward of the lake, from whence there is a water communication with *King tĕ-chin* The Chinese have a printed history of the furnaces at this place contained in four volumes: but the main difficulty in a translation would be to identify the various substances used in the manufacture, with the names by which they are distinguished in the original work It is well known that the chief merit of the Chinese ware consists in its hardness in the fineness of the fracture, and in the resistance which it offers to heat without cracking The better kinds have never yet been surpassed in point of *substance*, but as regards the painting and gilding they must yield to the productions of England and the continent

The principal ingredients employed in the manufacture of the porcelain of China have been pretty well ascertained It was soon discovered that the *Kao lin*, mentioned by Père Dentrecolles in Du Halde was the felspar clay, or porcelain earth of Europe The neighbourhood of the Poyang lake was observed, by our embassies to abound in those disintegrating granite rocks which supply the largest quantity of that material The detailed account of the manufacture by Dentrecolles was calculated to convey little information regarding the real substances used by the Chinese, but some specimens of the various materials which were subsequently sent to France from China, enabled our neighbours to imitate the ware, and establish the commencement of the manufacture It has been satisfactorily shown by Marsden that the word porcelain or *porcellana*, was applied by the Europeans to the ware of China, from the resemblance of its fine polished surface to that of the univalve shell so named, while the

shell itself derived its appellation from the curved or gibbous shape of its upper surface, which was thought to resemble the raised back of a *porcella*, or little hog.*

Silica and alumine, or flint and clay, being the principal constituents of all chinaware, the *Kao-lin* of Dentrecolles is the clay, and the *pĕ-tun-tse* is the silica. The following facts are pretty well ascertained from the Chinese. They state that Kao-lin, or, more correctly, *Kaou-ling*, which means "lofty ridge" (probably where the granite is most exposed to disintegration), is mixed with small shining particles, *meaning the mica*, with which it naturally abounds. Of the *pĕ-tun-tse*, they observe that it is white, hard, and with a smooth surface. The former material is said to require less labour than the latter, or, in other words, it is a soft clay, while the latter is a very hard and stony substance. The Kaou-ling is dug from the mountain, "wherever the outer surface of the earth is of a reddish colour, and abounds with shining particles." The *pĕ-tun-tse* is pounded with difficulty in mortars, the pestles of which are worked by a stream, and the powder being reduced to a fine paste by mixture with water, it is made up into cakes fit for use, and sold to the manufacturers. The Chinese say that the former material derives strength from the latter, which is obtained from the hardest rocks. Another substance used by them is *hua-shĕ*, "slippery stone," which is steatite or soapstone; and a fourth is *shĕ-kaou*, alabaster or gypsum, which they say is used in the painting process after it is burnt. On approaching the neighbourhood of *King-tĕ-chin* from the eastward, the late Sir George Staunton observed several excavations, made in extracting from the sides of the adjoining hills the *pĕ-tun-tse*. He says it was a species of fine granite, in which the *quartz* (or silica) *bore the largest proportion*.

* Marco Polo, p. 428, Note.

He afterwards remarked some quarries, out of which were dug stones beautifully white and shining, they consisted, he says, of *quartz in its purest state*. There can be no doubt, therefore, respecting the two principal ingredients of Chinese porcelain. It would seem that Kaou-ling is the "growan clay," and *pĕ tun tse* the "growan stone" of Cornwall, and the granite mountains by which the Poyang lake is surrounded afford an abundance of both those materials. There is another manufactory at *Chaou king-foo*, to the west of Canton, which supplies the limited demand of the European and Indian trade, but it is greatly inferior in reputation to King tĕ-chin.

The vitreous glaze of Chinese porcelain is obtained by the union of the pounded *pĕ-tun tse*, or silica, with the ashes of fern, abounding on the same steep hills that afford the other materials. The glassy combination of flint and alkali, called by chemists a *silicate*, is well known to give to porcelain its polished surface. The Chinese call this "varnish" or "oil," with an allusion to their lackered or japanned ware. In proof of the difficulty of acquiring any real information from the descriptions of Dentrecolles, we may quote his odd observation, that "this oil or varnish is got from a very hard stone, which is not very surprising, since it is stated that stones are formed of the *salts* and *oils* of the earth." This was written more than a hundred years since, and seems to mean the combination of the powdered quartz with the alkali in the formation of the glaze.

In the third part of Dr Morrison's Dictionary, under the head of "porcelain," are some extracts from the history of the furnaces at King tĕ chin. It is observed that *Kaou-ling* is the name of a hill on the east side of the place of manufacture, and that the earth procured from thence was the property of four different families, whose names were

therefore stamped on the cakes of the material. The best *pĕ-tun-tse* is obtained near *Hoey-chow*, in the adjoining province of Keang-nân. It is pounded with pestles, which are worked by means of cogged wheels, turned by a mountain stream. After pounding the stone, they reduce it to a nearly impalpable powder by suspension, and subsequent settlement, in water; after which they mould it into bricks and sell it to the people at the potteries. The government of China, for more than a thousand years past, has paid much attention to the manufacture of porcelain, and especially to that at *King-tĕ-chin*, which pertains to the chief city Jaou-chow-foo. The emperor Kien-loong sent a person from Peking to make drawings of the whole process in its details.

In a voluminous Chinese work, the subjects of these drawings, which were twenty in number, are described at length. They commence with the process of procuring the materials and making the paste. Then is represented the business of preparing the ashes for the glazing, and mixing them with the silica, so as to form a thickish liquid. Earthen cases are provided in which to bake the ware, the round portions of which are turned on a lathe, and the others made in a mould. The subject of another picture is the selection of the "blue material," which is supposed to be cobalt. After being turned on a lathe, or formed by a mould, the unburnt *biscuit* (as workmen call it) is finished by smoothing and paring off all inequalities by the hand, the bits taken off being pounded and worked to a milky consistence, to be used by the painters. In painting the ware, one set of people design the outline, and another fill in the colours; and the Chinese say that this division of labour is to "concentrate the workman's hand, and not divide his mind." It is said that, previous to baking, the same specimen of ware passes through twenty hands, and

that, before being sold, it has gone through more than double that number The pictures proceed to represent the baking of the ware in open and in close furnaces, and when it is completed, the process of binding it with straw, and packing it in tubs for sale

The whole series of drawings concludes with the ceremony of sacrificing and giving thanks to the god of the furnaces, and this god, according to Dentrecolles, owed his origin to the difficulties encountered by the workmen in executing some orders from Peking, on account of the emperor Several models were sent from thence, of a shape and size which defied all the efforts of the people to imitate them, and, though representations were made to that effect, these served only to increase his majesty's desire to possess the specimens required With a view to meet the emperor s inclination, much money and labour were spent, and both rewards and punishments held out to the people employed, but all in vain, when one of the workmen, reduced to despair by the result of his unavailing efforts, threw him elf into the red-hot furnace, and was instantly consumed. The story says that the specimens then baking came out perfectly fine and conformable to the model, and from that time hence the unfortunate victim passed for a divinity, becoming the god of the furnaces

In connexion with the subject of their porcelain it remains to mention a curious discovery lately made in Egypt In a note to an article of the 'Quarterly Review' on *Egypt and Thebes*,* it is remarked,—"Signor Rosellini showed the other day to a friend of ours at Florence a sort of smelling-bottle, evidently of *Chinese porcelain*, and with characters to all appearance Chinese! This was found by Rosellini himself in a tomb which, as far as could be ascertained, had not been opened since the days

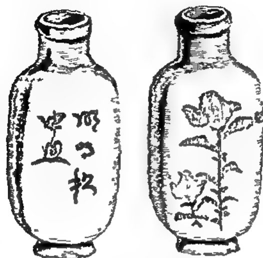
* No CV February 1835

of the Pharaohs." Three of the same little bottles, which were also discovered in Egypt, and brought home by Lord Prudhoe and by Sir G. Wilkinson, have been examined by the writer of these pages, who can vouch for their being *identical* in shape and appearance (though not in the fineness of the porcelain) with the best smelling and snuff-bottles manufactured at this day by the Chinese. It so happened that he had in his possession a real Chinese bottle of recent manufacture, and it corresponded so closely in size and shape with the bottles found in the Egyptian tombs, that he presented it to the owner of two of them, that it might be associated with its supposed ancient likenesses. The following is the substance of the information relating to the puzzling bottles from Egypt.

In journeying up the Nile, looking out for antiquities, the travellers stopped at Coptos. A Fellah offered for sale two bottles nearly alike in inscription, and of the same form. They were both purchased, and with them a fragment of a statue without an inscription, but which in workmanship was of the later dynasties. At Coptos are temples of the earlier dynasties (Thothmes III., who probably reigned about Joseph's time), down as late as the Roman Cæsars; but all the antiquities of smaller dimensions there purchased appear to have been of the later Egyptian dynasties—say about the time of Psammeticus. Sir G. Wilkinson gave one of these bottles to the British Museum; another, in the possession of Mr. Pettigrew, was kindly furnished to the author, that a fac-simile might be prepared for this work.

The size is identical with the original. The whole, with the exception of the two *white sides*, is of a light-green colour, similar to that with which the Chinese frequently paint the ground of their porcelain vessels; often the *insides* of them. The sketch of some vegetable pro-

duction is slightly executed on one side of the bottle; the stalk and leaves have the appearance of a drawing in Indian ink, being of a pale watery black, and the flower is



Porcelain Bottle, from Egyptian Tombs

of light red. The style of this slight sketch is precisely Chinese. On the reverse side are five characters—*ming*, *yue*, *soong*, *choong*, *chaou*, being a line of five words taken from a poem, and having this meaning: "the bright moon shines amidst the firs." The interior of the bottle contained a small quantity of a black and nearly impalpable powder, which had a carbonized appearance, stated by Sir G. Wilkinson to be the collyrium with which the Egyptian women stained their eyelids. This strange relic, had it been met with in China, would have excited little notice, being so like other bottles of the same shape and size actually in use; but its ascertained discovery in an *Egyptian tomb* is a matter for speculation.

The statement of Signor Rosellini, that he himself

opened the tomb in which he found one of the bottles, is very circumstantial; but the tomb may have been opened before. The characters on the bottles are not only of a modern shape, but the scraps of poetry have been recognized by the Chinese themselves as the productions of a person who lived at a comparatively late period.

The *lackered* or varnished ware of the Chinese, though by their own admission inferior to that of Japan, is occasionally, in the hands of the best workmen, a beautiful manufacture. It varies, however, from the polished jetty surface of the magnificent folding-screens, sometimes brought home to this country, down to the articles of daily use made for the Chinese themselves, in the shape of tubs, trays, and wash-hand basins, with the ornamental parts of their buildings. These coarser varieties are derived from the nuts or seeds of the Dryandra cordata, while the finer kind is obtained from the gum of a species of Rhus. The chief expense of the manufacture arises from the care with which the consistence of the varnish must be regulated in laying it on, and the number of repetitions required in the finer kinds of ware, of which each successive coat must be allowed a considerable time to dry before it is again touched. When first introduced to Europe, this manufacture was highly appreciated, and the export from Canton considerable; but the improvements in our own productions have reduced the quantity now in demand to something very small.

The native ingenuity of the Chinese, to which themselves and the rest of the world have apparently been indebted for so many important and useful inventions, has been recorded by the late Sir George Staunton, on occasions when their efforts were required by the embassy. "Two of them (says he) took down the two magnificent glass lustres sent as presents to the emperor, in order to

place them in a more advantageous [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] beautiful [illegible] [illegible] variety o[illegible] [illegible] been employed at [illegible] [illegible] d[illegible] [illegible] and under

* [illegible] vol [illegible]

have been found capable of giving a correct and scientific representation of the various objects, as well as a brilliant and well-coloured drawing. One thing in our European art they do not fully enter into, which is *shading;* and they positively object to the introduction of shadows in painting. Mr. Barrow states, "When several portraits by the best European artists, intended as presents for the emperor, were exposed to view, the mandarins, observing the variety of tints occasioned by the light and shade, asked whether the originals had the right and left sides of the *figure of different colours?* They considered the shadow of the nose as a great imperfection in the figure, and some supposed it to have been placed there *by accident.*"

Though the Chinese certainly do not practise the art of perspective in its correctness, or according to any regular rules, it would be a mistake to suppose that it is always entirely neglected. Their artists, at Canton at least, have taken hints from European performances in this respect, and their drawings by the eye are often tolerably correct as to perspective, though light and shade are still neglected. The woodcuts in Chinese books are generally executed almost entirely in outline, which is occasionally very spirited as well as faithful. The drawings which they chiefly value among themselves are in water-colours and Indian ink, sketched in a very slight manner upon either fine paper or silk. A favourite subject with them is the bamboo, which is represented in all the different stages of its growth, from the tender shoot, just appearing above the earth (when they use it for food, as we do asparagus), up to the period of its producing its grass-like flowers and seeds.

In connexion with drawing and the imitative arts, we may observe that the Chinese style of ornamental garden-

ing, and of laying out pleasure grounds has been very much overdrawn by Sir William Chambers, in an essay on that subject, which may be considered quite as a work of imagination in itself. Mr Barrow, however, who resided for a considerable time at *Yuen ming yuen*, "the garden of perpetual brightness," which is an extensive pleasure ground of the emperor, lying north-west of Peking, and greatly exceeding Richmond Park in extent, has given a favourable account of their taste in this department of the arts. 'The grand and agreeable parts of nature (he observes) were separated, connected, or arranged in so judicious a manner as to compose one whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning jumble of objects, but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, square or oblong lawns with the grass shorn off close to the roots were to be found anywhere in those grounds. The Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land, by a proper disposition of the objects intended to embellish its surface. For this purpose tall and luxuriant trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and in general the ground was terminated by broken and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage was varied, as well by the different species of trees in the group as by the different times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either originally found or designedly collected upon the spot.

"The effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well understood by the Chinese. At Yuen ming

yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well-adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly for the most part placed on elevated situations."

In sculpture, understood as the art of cutting stone into imitative forms of living objects, the Chinese are extremely defective. Their backwardness in this, as well as in other branches of the fine arts, has been justly ascribed to the little communication they have had with other nations, and the want of encouragement at home, founded on the policy and practice of discountenancing *luxury* and promoting *labour*, particularly that which is employed in producing food for man. Their sculptured figures in stone are altogether uncouth in form and proportion; but their deficiency in this respect is in some degree made up by a very considerable share of skill in *modelling* with soft materials. For this reason it is that their gods are never represented in stone, but in modelled clay. No great anatomical skill is called for on these occasions, as the figures are always pretty fully clothed, and exhibit no such specimens of nudity as abound in the Grecian Pantheon. Still the drapery is generally executed with remarkable truth and effect, and this feature often drew the

attention of those who composed our embassies, in their visits to the various temples which occurred on the route

It remains only to say a few words relative to the Chinese art of music On this point Mr Huttner, who was attached to Lord Macartney's mission, considered that "their gamut was such as Europeans would call imperfect, their keys being inconsistent, that is, wandering from flats to sharps, and inversely, except when directed by a bell struck to sound the proper notes The Chinese, in playing on instruments, discovered no knowledge of semitones, nor did they seem to have any idea of counterpoint, or parts in music There was always one melody, however great the number of performers, though, in a few instances, some of the instruments played in the lower octave, while the rest continued in the upper, and thus approached to harmony" Their instruments are mostly tuned in unison, and they have little or no idea of accompaniments The antiquity of music in China is proved by its being frequently mentioned by Confucius himself, and the encouragement which he gives to its cultivation might have been expected, in the course of time, to produce something better than the imperfect art which now exists there They have certain characters to express the name of every note in their very limited scale These they use in writing down their airs, but whether this mode of notation is indigenous, or whether they obtained it from the Jesuits, is doubtful It is indeed stated that the Emperor Kâng-hy was much surprised when P Pereira pricked down the Chinese tunes as they were played, and repeated them afterwards

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yuen a slight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping banks, like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil. The only circumstance which militated against the picturesque in the landscape of the Chinese was the formal shape and glaring colouring of their buildings. Their undulating roofs are, however, an exception to the first part of the charge, and their projection throws a softening shadow upon the supporting colonnade. Some of those high towers which Europeans call pagodas are well-adapted objects for vistas, and are accordingly for the most part placed on elevated situations."

In sculpture, understood as the art of cutting stone into imitative forms of living objects, the Chinese are extremely defective. Their backwardness in this, as well as in other branches of the fine arts, has been justly ascribed to the little communication they have had with other nations, and the want of encouragement at home, founded on the policy and practice of discountenancing *luxury* and promoting *labour*, particularly that which is employed in producing food for man. Their sculptured figures in stone are altogether uncouth in form and proportion; but their deficiency in this respect is in some degree made up by a very considerable share of skill in *modelling* with soft materials. For this reason it is that their gods are never represented in stone, but in modelled clay. No great anatomical skill is called for on these occasions, as the figures are always pretty fully clothed, and exhibit no such specimens of nudity as abound in the Grecian Pantheon. Still the drapery is generally executed with remarkable truth and effect, and this feature often drew the

attention of those who composed our embassies, in their visits to the various temples which occurred on the route.

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slips of bamboo; systems of bells and pieces of sonorous metal; and drums covered with snake-skin. In lieu of catgut, they string their instruments with silk and wire. Many of the Chinese have a ready ear for music, though accompanied by such a bad national taste. The magistrate of the Macao district was on a visit to the writer of this, when, the piano being touched with a Chinese air, called *Mooleehwa*, of which the music is given in Barrow's Travels, he immediately turned with a look of pleased surprise, and named the tune.

Among the Chinese instruments we must not forget to mention one which emits, as nearly as possible, the tones of the Scottish bagpipe, without the buzzing sound that is produced by the *drone* of the latter. The melody of the Chinese and Caledonian pipes is so exactly similar, that it has never failed to excite the attention of the Scotch who have visited China; and indeed the recognition has been mutual, for when a Highland piper (who had been taken out in an Indiaman) was sent up to Canton to attend a meeting of the sons of St. Andrew on the national anniversary, the Chinese were no less struck with the picturesque costume of the plaided Gael, than ravished by the strains which proceeded from his instrument. It may be hoped that, in this respect, they evinced a more correct taste than was displayed by one of the sailors on board the same ship with the Highlander. It was on some occasion when the latter, with pistol and dirk at his side, was parading the deck with his pipes, that the unlucky Jack, tempted by the mere spirit of mischief, or willing to lower the *inflation* of his Scottish shipmate, snatched up a young pig, and, placing it between his right arm and his side, squeezed the poor animal until it emitted sounds as loud at least, if not as musical, as those of the instrument which it thus unconsciously burlesqued.

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CHAPTER XX.

SCIENCES.

Three divisions of human knowledge — Contempt for abstract science — Optics — Union of astrology with medicine — Scheme of physics — Practice of medicine — Ignorance of native doctors — Small-pox and vaccination — Chemistry — Cooking by steam — Distillation — Dispensaries — Science of numbers — Geography — Astronomy — Lunar year and cycle — Almanac — Mechanics and machinery — Architecture — The arch.

The Chinese profess to make a general distribution of human knowledge under the three heads of "Heaven, Earth, and Man," and this may appear to some readers not altogether unlike the three-fold division proposed by Lord Bacon, of "God, Nature, and Man." A well-known encyclopædia, in sixty-four volumes, called *San-tsae-too-hoey*, which dates about the end of the sixteenth century, consists of woodcuts, illustrated by letterpress, in the three departments above stated. This work, however, having been the compilation of one person only, and consisting chiefly of plates, is superficial even for the Chinese, and does not contain a full account of their science, such as it is. The character of the book may be partly gathered from the following account of its contents and method of arrangement. Under the head of *Heaven*, of course comes astronomy, and this includes something of what was learned from the Arabians and Europeans. The department of *Earth* includes principally their imperfect notions of geography. The third division, that of *Man*, is by far the most copious. It contains representations of persons

famous in history, and of different tribes of men. Then is introduced the subject of the Chinese cycle (which rather belongs to the first department), and of the numerical *combinations of Fo-hy*. Next come *buildings*, furniture, implements used in husbandry, manufactures, and the arts of peace, arms and warlike weapons, woodcuts in anatomy, costumes, games of skill, specimens of ancient inscriptions, botany and natural history, as applicable to medicine, active sports and exercises, specimens of coins and money.

The actual state of the sciences in China may perhaps be ranked with their condition in Europe some time previous to the adoption of the inductive method in philosophy. The constitutional ingenuity and industry of the people has led them to fall upon various practical results, in spite, as it would seem, of a feature in their character and habits which is opposed to the progress of knowledge. They profess to set no value on *abstract* science, apart from some obvious and immediate end of utility. Among ourselves, the practical *application* of scientific discoveries is sometimes long subsequent to the discoveries themselves, which might perhaps never have been made, had not science been followed up through its by-paths for its own sake merely, or with a very remote view to utility in practice. The Chinese always estimate such matters by their immediate and apparent *cui bono*. Dr. Abel relates, that, after satisfying a mandarin in reply to his questions concerning some of our useful manufactures, he took occasion to mention that we had metals which on coming in contact with water burst into flame. "I had some potassium with me (he adds), and was desirous of showing its properties to him. He immediately inquired concerning its *uses*; and, when these could not be very satisfactorily explained to him, looked too contemptuously to induce me to venture

an experiment." And yet this discovery of the metallic base of *potash* was one result of the investigations of Sir Humphry Davy, whose practical applications of his scientific discoveries to useful and beneficial purposes were of such inestimable value and importance.

A surprising enumeration might be made of instances in which the Chinese appear to have stumbled by mere chance upon useful inventions, without the previous possession of any scientific clue. Cases, however, occur in which it may be fairly suspected that they were indebted to the European missionaries. Without knowing anything, for instance, of that theory of optics which treats of the convergence and divergence of rays of light by lenses of different shapes, they use both convex and concave glasses, or rather crystals, to assist their sight. We noticed in the last chapter that they possess glass in a very coarse and inferior state, and that at Canton they sometimes melt down broken glass from Europe. In spectacles, however, the want is supplied, all over the empire, by the use of rock crystal. This is ground with the powder of corundum; and if anything could prove the Chinese spectacles to be original inventions, or not borrowed from Europe, it would be their very singular size and shape, as well as the strange way of putting them on. The annexed cut represents a pair of these primitive optics, slung over the ears with silken strings and weights, and imparting by their immense size a most sapient appearance to the wearer.

For checking the glare of the sun, they make use of a mineral which they call *Cha-shĕ*, or "tea-stone," from the resemblance of its transparent hue to a weak infusion of black tea. This, in all probability, is a smoky quartz, or silex, allied to the *cairngorum* of Scotland. In some instances the Chinese have been known to attempt slavish


Spectacles.

copies of European telescopes; but a little science became requisite in the construction of instruments consisting of compound lenses, and they accordingly failed. When, however, a few specimens of Sir David Brewster's optical toy, the kaleidoscope, first reached Canton, these were easily imitated. The Chinese became exceedingly taken with them; vast numbers were immediately manufactured on the spot, and sent up the country, under the appropriate name of *Wan-hua-tung*, or "tubes of ten thousand flowers."

The jargon employed in their pseudo-science, and the singular resemblance which this bears to the condition of physical knowledge, not very long ago, even in our own country, is deserving of some remark. It is pretty generally known that, within a comparatively recent period of our history, the sciences of medicine and astrology were very gravely combined. A rather handsome monument *in Mortlake churchyard, dated as late as 1715*, bears a Latin inscription to the memory of "John Partridge, Astrologer and Doctor of Medicine, who made physic for

two kings and one queen, to wit, Charles II., William III., and Queen Mary." It was the deplorable condition of the healing art about or a little before that period, in France, also, that exposed it to the unmerciful ridicule of Molière. It is likely that most readers may not have fallen in with a thick quarto volume, dated 1647, and entitled 'A modest Treatise of Astrologie, by William Lilly.'* The work is dedicated to Bolstrod Whitlock, Esq., Member of Parliament, and among other matter contains "Astrologicall aphorisms beneficiall for Physicians;"—as, "He that first enters upon a cure in the hour of Mars shall find his patient disaffected to him, and partly disdain and reject his medicines, his pains ill-rewarded, and his person slighted." In the same work are expounded the supposed connexions between the several planets and the parts of the body: "He will be infinitely oppressed (says this learned Theban) who in the hour of Mars shall first get an *hot* disease, and in the hour of Saturne a *cold* one;"—"When Jupiter is author of the sicknesse, he demonstrates ill-affection of the liver;"—"Mars being the cause of a feaver, and in Leo, shows ebolition or a boyling of the humours, continuall burning feavers, whose originall cause springs from the great veines near the *heart*."†

* The person ridiculed by Butler under the name of Sidrophel, who is made to defend his art in the following convincing manner:—

"Is it not ominous in all countries
When crows and ravens croak upon trees?
The Roman senate, when within
The city walls an owl was seen,
Did cause their clergy, with lustrations,
(By 'r synod call'd humiliations,)
The round-fac'd prodigy t' avert
From doing town and country hurt:
And if an *owl* have so much power,
Why should not *planets* have much more?" &c.

† They have also some vague notions of the humoral pathology, long since exploded in this country, but alluded to in the above ex-

Compare this with the following scheme of Chinese physics, on which are based all their medical as well as other theories, and in which will be perceived precisely the same relations as those noticed in the foregoing quotations from Lilly.

CHINESE SCHEME OF PHYSICS.

Five Planets.	Five Viscera.	Five Elements.	Five Colours.	Five Tastes.
Saturn	Stomach	Earth	Yellow	Sweet
Jupiter	Liver	Wood	Green	Sour
Mars	Heart	Fire	Red	Bitter
Venus	Lungs	Metal	White	Pungent
Mercury	Kidneys	Water	Black	Salt

In treating of the planets and their significations, "Saturne (quoth Lilly) is cold and dry, melancholic, *earthly*," "Jupiter governeth all infirmities in the *liver*, of colours, sea-green or blew, a mixt yellow or *green*," "Mars, in nature hot and dry, he delighteth in *red* colour, and in those savours which are *bitter*, sharp, and burn the tongue," "Venus, in colours she signifieth *white*," "Mercury, in the elements he is the *water*." The several relations are here identical, and all this looks very much as if the philosophy of our forefathers had been derived intermediately from China. It is this easy plan of *systematizing without experiment* that has kept the latter country in the dark, and infested every department of its physical knowledge, while the inductive philosophy recommended in the *Novum Organon* of Bacon has done such wonders in Europe. As a specimen of Chinese reasoning, nothing can well be

tracts. * They talk (as Dr. Abel correctly states) of ulcers being outlets to noxious matter, and divide diseases and remedies into two classes, *hot* and *cold*, depending greatly on purgatives for drawing out the heat of the body.

imagined more silly than the following:—"The upper half of the body partakes of the *Yâng*, and the nature of the heaven, and the medicines suited to that part of the body are the heads of plants; the body of the plant is for diseases of the middle," &c.

And yet, when they condescend to abandon their theories, and to be guided by observation and common sense, they can occasionally talk very differently. Dentrecolles translated a medical treatise composed by a Chinese practitioner, and called *Châng-seng*, or "long life," being in fact an essay on diet and regimen. This, as it proceeds entirely on the personal experience of the individual, really contains something that is both true and useful.* Among us, such a work might be arranged under the four heads of Air, Exercise, Diet, and the Passions. Our Chinese author has likewise chosen four heads, but calls them "the Passions, Diet, the Actions of the Day, and the Rest at Night," comprising, however, much that is the same in reality under different names. They have a high notion of the value of sleep; and their maxim is, that "one sleepless night cannot be compensated by ten nights of sleep."

As remarked by Dr. Abel, the drug-shops of the Chinese contain an immense list of simples, a few gums, and some minerals. These are sold in small packets, each containing a dose enveloped in a wrapper, which describes the use of the medicine. Chinese doctors paste up and distribute hand-bills in the same manner with the lower walks of the faculty among us, and generally with reference to the same diseases. The druggists' shops are remarkable for their superior cleanliness, and not unlike

* The author is glad to find his opinion confirmed by that of Mr. Herbert Mayo, who observes, in reference to some portions of this treatise—"In substance they are excellent."—*Philosophy of Living*, p. 171.

those of Europe in the arrangement of the drawers, jars, &c. It is well known that the most considerable work on Chinese materia medica is the famous *Pun tsaou*, or Herbal, which is not confined to botany merely, as its name might imply, but extends to the animal and mineral kingdoms also. At the head of all remedies stands *ginseng*, which used once to be sold for eight times its weight in silver. Tea, in various modes of preparation, is much valued as a medicine; and different parts of rare animals are included in the list, with the reputation of properties as multifarious and inconsistent as the pills of a London quack.

In some instances they show a whimsical preference to one substance over another, which apparently possesses exactly the same nature and qualities. From the *Laurus camphora*, a large timber tree, which grows plentifully in their own country, they obtain easily and cheaply vast quantities of camphor, which is sold as low as a few pence the pound. Instead of this, however, they use in medicine a species which is imported from Sumatra and Borneo, in very small fragments about the size of a pea, picked in a crystallized state from the interior of the *dryobalanops camphora*, and sold at Canton for a price which is equivalent to 1*l.* sterling the pound weight. As a drastic medicine, the *pa-tow* (croton tiglium) is used in combination with rhubarb. Among the most effectual means for the alleviation or removal of local pain, they reckon the application of the moxa, or actual cautery. This moxa is prepared by bruising the stems of an artemisia, called *gae-tsaou*, in a mortar, and then selecting the most downy fibres. These, being set on fire upon the part affected, are said to consume rapidly without producing any severe pain. The fibre of the artemisia is also used by the Chinese as tinder for lighting their pipes, being previously

steeped in a solution of nitre, and fired, either by means of a flint and steel, or a small burning-glass; which last expedient the mandarins in the embassy sometimes displayed to us with much ostentation, as something that should astound our ignorance.

Sir William Temple, in his works,* has left a paper on the use of the moxa, proving that remedy to have effectually cured him of a fit of the gout. He met with it in Holland while residing as minister at the Hague, where a friend told him "it was a certain kind of moss that grew in the *East Indies;* that their way was, whenever anybody fell into a fit of the gout, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a figure, broad at bottom as a two-pence, and pointed at top: to set the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed; then with a small round perfumed match (made likewise in the Indies) to give fire to the top of the moss; which, burning down by degrees, came at length to the skin and burned it, till the moss was consumed to ashes."

From this description, and the statement that the remedy came direct from Batavia, it is plain that the Dutch obtained it in their intercourse with China, either from Canton or Fokien. The perfumed match was, of course, a Jos-stick.

A physician whom Dr. Abel saw at Canton was entirely destitute of anatomical knowledge. He appeared to be aware that there were such viscera as the heart, lungs, and liver, but had no notion of their real situation, or, like the "doctor against his will" in Molière, placed them on the wrong sides of the body. Still he appeared not to be ignorant through choice, as he eagerly examined some anatomical plates from the factory library, declaring that such delineations on a large scale would be a most valu-

* Vol. iii. p. 254.

able acquis tion * We must observe, however, that though they never either dissect or practise amputation (except that of the head),† and are consequently ignorant of the structure and functions of the vital organs, they have a tolerable acquaintance with *osteology*, or the knowledge of the skeleton ‡ The importance which they attach to the remains of their deceased relatives is such, that on a change of abode, or for some other reason, they often disinter the bones, and place them in a jar for removal On an occasion of the kind, the writer of this once stood by an old man while he was taking out one by one, and with the utmost solemnity, the loo e bones from a decayed coffin, and, as he placed them separately in the jar, he made an exact inventory on a slip of paper, giving to each its proper name, that none might be omitted The skull was put in last, and crowned this pious work, nor was a bone omitted, even to the phalanges of the hands and feet.

The Chinese occasionally practise a species of forensic medicine, to ascertain from *external* indications the mode in which any person came by his death A lad had one day been found dead in a house not far from the factories at Canton, and, as it was suspected that violence had occasioned his death, the magistrate instituted his court near

* Dr Abel observes of this person, that though ignorant of all rational principles of practice he had arrived at some rules of high utility distinguishing between local diseases which can be cured by mere topical applications, and those to be acted on only through the medium of the constitution

† The punishment of cutting into pieces as the Europeans at Canton call it is known to consist of a few mortal cuts and stabs after tying the criminal to a post

‡ To a certain extent they are phrenologists and have some faith in the external indications of the skull They look for the principal characteristics of a man in his forehead, and of a woman in the back part of the cranium.

to the spot. The several parties implicated or suspected were brought before him and examined, some of them with torture. The body being extended upon boards, a quantity of mash, composed of some grain in a boiling hot state, was laid over it. After a time this was removed, and from the appearance of the skin and muscles they appeared to form a judgment as to the cause of the individual's death. It is needless to remark in how very few cases this superficial mode of examination could be of any use in ascertaining the multiform ways in which life may be extinguished.

Some notable instances of the ignorance of Chinese physicians are recorded by the late Sir George Staunton,* from the experience of Dr. Gillan, when he was called in to prescribe for the chief minister Ho-choong-tâng. A completely-formed hernia had been mistaken by the native Sangrados for what they called "an accumulation of noxious vapour," to get rid of which the puncture of the part had been recommended. Luckily for the patient, he had resisted this practice, being perhaps unwilling to subscribe to the maxim of the doctor in the play, "qu'il faut mourir selon les règles." Another instance is mentioned in the same work. One of Lord Macartney's suite, labouring under a dysentery on the road between Peking and Tartary, was induced in evil hour to consult a native physician. The practitioner, after dilating on the doctrine of the pulse, and delivering a discourse on hot and cold humours, pronounced that the patient laboured under the *latter*; and, by way of warming him, administered strong doses of pepper, cardamoms, and ginger, taken in distilled spirit. The individual escaped alive with some difficulty.

When a physician has been unsuccessful, he retires with

* Embassy, vol. ii.

the common Chinese adage, "that there is medicine for sickness, but none for fate." The ignorance of their art may partly be explained by the small consideration in which the profession is held, and by there being no public schools of medicine, nor any way of acquiring their limited knowledge, except by engaging with some person already in practice. That they occasionally gain considerable reputation and profit seems clear from the success of a fashionable doctor at Canton, of whom there is some account in the 'Chinese Repository,'* and who rose from the condition of a mere hawker of drugs to be the medical oracle of the neighbourhood. His house is crowded early in the morning by persons who call, and these are ushered into his presence one by one. At a regular hour he sallies out to see those who send for him to their houses, and receives what they choose to give him. He is a man of few words, and either will not, or cannot, explain the operation of his prescriptions; but people are said very generally to get well under his care. An instance was known at Canton of an English gentleman of some attainments, who, finding that his health did not improve in the hands of his own countrymen, actually sent for a Chinese doctor, and declared that he benefited by his drugs, which were principally simples. There is some sense, at least, in the following cure for opium-smoking, and it may be fairly supposed that the efficacy lies more in the rule for administering the remedy than the remedy itself. The patient is instructed to diminish his quantity of opium daily, and, beginning with a tincture of the substance, to increase that every day until the pure drug is given, and then gradually to diminish the tincture, until the habit is altogether dropped.

In Du Halde we find [illegible]

* Vol. [illegible]

to the Chinese "doctrine of the pulse," which bears on the very face of it the plainest evidence of being a mere mass of solemn quackery, and is avowedly connected with that precious scheme of the five planets, the five viscera, elements, tastes, &c., already given at page 225. Their ignorance of the true secret of the circulation is proved by their imagining that there is a distinct and different pulse in every part of the body. Nay, they pretend to distinguish three on one arm, the first immediately on the *metacarpus*, called "the inch," and two others higher up towards the elbow, called respectively the "bar" and the "cubit;" perhaps referring to the two bones of the fore-arm. These are supposed to be connected with the "five viscera" and the "five elements." In this manner they proceed to distinguish twenty-four different *kinds* of pulse, which, being multiplied by the *places* where they occur, make the whole number of indications too numerous to reckon up.

They do not even know the distinction between arteries and veins, and certainly not a syllable of the function of the lungs in oxygenizing the blood, and getting rid of its superfluous carbon. Of the existence of certain sympathies between the different viscera, and of derangement being communicated to one by the disorders of another, they might seem to have some glimmering, and to express it strangely by calling the heart "the husband," and the lungs "the wife," &c. Without the practice of dissection, it would be singular indeed if they *did* know much; and both law and prejudice put that out of the question. We may remember that, even in this country, it is but a very short period since dissection was legalized on any scale; before which a surgeon was punishable at one and the same time for not knowing his profession, and for trying to learn it in the only effectual manner.

The Chinese physiologists expressly call man a *seaou Tien-ty*, a "little universe, or microcosm," and they extend to this the same doctrine of the *Yin* and *Yang*, or of the dual principle, which has been mentioned in our fourteenth chapter, as originating the existence and maintaining the order and harmony of the natural world. They suppose that on a due proportion between these, or between *strength* and *weakness*, *heat* and *cold*, *dry* and *moist*, &c., consists the health of the human body, and that different degrees of excess or defect produce disease, and ultimately death. There is a great pretension to harmony and consistency throughout their whole system of physics, which perhaps might be called *beautiful*, were it only *true*, and based upon something better than empty speculation. If it is often unintelligible, or a mere arrangement of words without ideas, this renders it to them only the more mysterious and worthy of admiration, for "true no meaning (as Pope says) puzzles more than wit."

Enough has been done for the Chinese at Canton, if open to conviction, to impress them with the value of the medical science of Europe. The small-pox formerly committed dreadful ravages among them. Their mode of inoculation was to place a little of the virus, taken from a former patient, dried and reduced to powder, on cotton-wool, and to insert this in the nostril. It may be inferred, that, as blindness is an extremely common occurrence, and a large number in that condition are deeply marked with small-pox, the inflammation caused by the above mode of inoculation occasioned the loss of sight in many cases. But both the small-pox, and that imperfect or *injurious* mode of guarding against its effects, were destined to yield to the benign influence of vaccination, which was introduced, and ultimately established, by the active and

persevering humanity of Mr. Pearson, principal surgeon to the British factory. It finally obtained the sanction of the local government; and native vaccinators, who at first operated under the supervision of that gentleman, now practise on all classes.

From the periodical reports, it appears that, in one instance, the benefit which Mr. Pearson thus conferred upon the largest associated population in the world met with singular obstacles in a particular quarter. After having extended to the province of Keang-sy, adjoining Canton to the north-east, it was suddenly dropped there, being opposed by the jealousy of the Budhist priests, who, in that part of China, had a double interest in the *preservation* of the small-pox. In the first place, they were much employed in the business of inoculation after the Chinese method; and, secondly, they were well paid for certain ministrations with their deities* to avert or mitigate the scourge. Thus it was that these worthies, who benefited by the harvest, always wished to leave a little for seed. The breaking out of the scarlet fever unfortunately afforded them plausible ground of crimination against a practice which was said to retain the poison in the system, to appear at a future time in a still worse shape.

The general success, however, of this invaluable remedy is a singular exception to the usual reception which knowledge or improvements meet with in the celestial empire. As a summary of the latest reports of Mr. Pearson, it may be stated that the practice of vaccination has acquired great stability among the Chinese of Canton province, of every condition; that it is known to have been conveyed

* They have one particular idol, whose name may be construed "Our Lady of the Small-pox."

again to Keang-sy, as well as to other provinces; that it even reached Peking, but unfortunately was soon lost there; that its anti-variolous efficacy is universally known and confided in, and that its preservation has resulted from the well-adapted system pursued, and the agency of the Chinese vaccinators. The principal of these, under the instruction of Mr Pearson, was a former purveyor to the East India Company at Canton. He was encouraged in his exertions by the favourable opinion of his countrymen, and by marks of distinction conferred on him by the higher functionaries of the local government. From all the evidence obtained, it appears that the practice of vaccination in China, if it fail occasionally, though very unfrequently, in affording a perfect security against the occurrence of the disease, invariably mitigates the severity of small-pox.

Of the progress of the natives in chemistry as allied to medicine, Mr Pearson acquired a fuller knowledge than any other European, and as he has very kindly, at the requisition of the writer of this, furnished his own memoranda on the subject, the curious information contained in them is here given. He had long observed that the shops of the Chinese apothecaries were supplied with various preparations of quicksilver, and that they afforded as many resources for medical practice derived from that mineral as those of our own country; but to any inquiries respecting the chemical processes by which they were prepared, he could obtain only vague and incorrect answers, it appearing to be no part of the profession or duty of the venders to possess knowledge of that kind. Having found a person whose occupation it was to prepare some of them, and to dispose of them to the medicine-shops, Mr Pearson engaged him to go through the different steps of the processes in his presence, and the

operator brought his materials with him. For the preparation of a muriate of quicksilver they were—

	Grains.
Sulphate of iron	940
Sulphate of alumine	920
Nitrate of potash (very impure) . . .	900
Sulphuret of quicksilver	120
Another sulphuret, uncertain (of a yellow colour and finely levigated) . . .	660
Quicksilver	660
Muriate of soda	920
Sub-borate of soda	930

An apparatus and vessels were readily procured on the spot, his furnace being one of the portable cooking-stoves of baked clay in use among the Chinese; besides an unglazed earthenware dish, of the capacity of about a pound; one of a similar shape, and rather more than double that capacity, of which he had the bottom beaten out; a common flat porcelain plate; and a large earthenware vessel, with some water at the bottom. Having mixed all the ingredients, except the two sulphurets and the quicksilver, he put them into the unglazed earthenware dish. He then strewed the two sulphurets over the contents, and placed the dish upon the furnace, over a few thoroughly ignited charcoal embers. The whole (except the lump of nitre) being fused in about half an hour, he added the quicksilver, and increased the fire, though still the heat was very moderate. After an hour, and when the materials had fused together and blistered up, he removed the vessel, with a spongy mass adhering to it, from the fire, and inverted it so as to pour out a portion of the quicksilver, which he returned to the vessel and placed it again on the fire. Upon removing it after ten minutes, and finding upon trial that no quicksilver escaped, he inverted

it upon the plate, and heaped up common salt all round the sides of the dish and also over its inverted bottom. Over this he inverted the other (larger) dish with its bottom beat out so that its rims rested on the edges of the flat plate. Then taking another earthenware dish, he placed it in the large vessel, bottom upwards in the water, so as to serve for a stand and upon this he put the plate, with the under surface of which the water was now in contact but not rising over its edges. He now heaped more salt upon the bottom of the dish, and filled the interstices between the salt and the outer dish with pieces of ignited charcoal. In half an hour he added more charcoal, and urged the fire by fanning, applying his ear from time to time in order to listen, he said for a hissing and bubbling. This he watched for, and announced its occurrence with the charlatanerie of an alchemist.

He returned next day bringing a standard specimen of the substance sought from such a process as he was conducting, and proceeding to remove the charcoal ashes and the salt, he lifted up the inverted dish. The product was collected on the plate some of it white some discoloured and also some quicksilver not at all oxidized, that being removed, the whole muriate was collected and found to weigh 240 grains. The product bore comparison with the standard preparation very ill, and he said that, in manufacturing the article for sale, he had no other resource on such occasion than a repetition of the process, until he succeeded better than in the present instance. He showed himself to be considerably disappointed by the result of this experiment, and requested to be allowed to repeat it with his own materials, except the nitrate of potash, which was supplied to him. He went through every step of the same process with accurate adherence, and in this instance the experiment succeeded, as from

the plate, and those portions of the dish unoccupied by the mixture, two drachms of a white powder, mixed with fine needle-like crystals, were removed with a feather, and by scraping. This approached the standard pretty nearly, and appeared to be altogether as white and pure as any specimens Mr. Pearson had seen from their shops.

In the preparation of the red nitric oxyde of quicksilver, the furnace used by the native operator was the same as before, but his vessel was a cast-iron pan of a size proportioned to it, and of the description and shape which goes by the name of a tatch. Before putting the ingredients into it, he allowed this to become thoroughly hot by pieces of burning charcoal placed under it. His ingredients were now—

Sulphate of alumine,
Nitrate of potash,
Quicksilver,—each 1920 grains.

He fused the first by itself, and added to it the nitrate of potash, and then the quicksilver. His fire was now stronger than in the last process, and, after the ingredients had been exposed uncovered to its quick action during a few minutes, the operator inverted a large glazed earthenware bowl over them, of such diameter as to leave about an inch of the edges of the pan beyond its rims. He heaped salt round the sides and over the bottom of the bowl, upon which he placed a brick. When nitrous acid vapours began to come through the salt, he appeared at first disposed to stop their egress by adding fresh salt; after which he paid no further attention to them. By the addition of thoroughly ignited pieces of charcoal, he kept up a considerable degree of heat under the tatch for upwards of two hours, when, having filled the furnace with pieces of charcoal, he said it might be allowed to

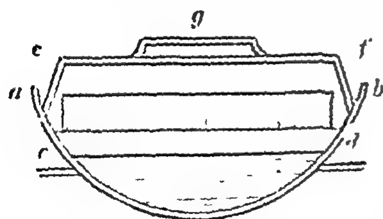
burn out and the vessels to cool Next morning, when the brick and salt were removed, the nitric oxyde of quicksilver was found closely adhering to, and cru ting the inside of, the bowl When the whole was scraped off and collected, it weighed 1440 grains

The process employed in procuring a sulphuric oxyde, as well as another oxyde of quicksilver, Mr Pearson likewi e describes in detail Of the existence of the mineral acids in an uncombined state he believes them to be wholly ignorant He mentions another of their mercurial preparations, the only one which they seem ever to administer internally, and which he conceives to be a very general and u eful instrument of their medical practice, answering to calomel in ours Of the proce s used in preparing the same he could obtain no accurate account, as it comes only from the province of Fokien in small boxes wrapped in a printed paper, it appears in fine flakes of a pearly-white colour As the Chinese are perfectly acquainted with the mode of oxygenizing quicksilver by triture, it may be suppo ed that they adopt that form also of administering it. The mo t prevalent mode Mr Pearson believes, is by triturating the mercury with fresh and juicy leaves into a pulp, and until all globules disappear The leaf in which they wrap up betel for mastication is generally made use of, and, with the addition of some unimportant ingredients, a mass for pills is formed

It appears, then, that the Chine e are posse sed of a variety of active preparations of quicksilver, nearly similar to tho e which Europeans use, their processes being more cumbrous, unscientific, and uncertain as to the results than ours, and greatly more expensive Mr Pearson apprehends, too, that they apply them to nearly the same practical purposes as ourselves, but whether for good or evil mu t, on account of the state of their medical know-

ledge, depend more on the experience and good judgment of the individual practitioner than is the case amongst us. With the disease in which the efficacy of mercury is most complete, they as invariably associate the remedial use of, and necessity for recourse to it, as Europeans can possibly do. Upon the whole, Mr. Pearson's inquiries afford a curious proof of similar results attained by the most different and distant nations, possessing very unequal scientific attainments; and they bear no unfavourable testimony to Chinese shrewdness and ingenuity in the existing state of their knowledge.

Although unacquainted with the mechanical *force* to be derived from steam, the great *heat* of that agent under confinement is applied by them in the simplest manner in their daily cookery. Thus *a b* is the vertical section of a large cast-iron pan, which in shape is the segment of a sphere. This holds the water, in which anything may be boiled. Over the boiling water is placed a slight wooden frame, being an equilateral triangle, supported by its three points against the sides of the iron pan, at the height *c d*. On this triangle is laid a sieve, containing rice or other vegetables, which are cooked by means of the steam, whose escape is prevented by a wooden cover *e f*, resembling an inverted tub, with a handle to lift it by at *g*.



They perfectly understand the process of distillation, by which they produce their ardent spirits, the best of which resemble whisky. The grain first undergoes the vinous fermentation in water, which is assisted by the addition of a fermenting substance. In this state the

liquor is clarified and used as wine If the spirit be wanted the vinous liquor then becomes subjected to the alembic. We may among other matters mention their manufacture of the sulphate of iron, as witnessed by Dr Abel ' a quantity of hepatic iron pyrites in small pieces mixed with an equal quantity of coal in the same state, being placed together in a heap the whole is covered with a coating of lime plaster In a short time great action takes place in the mass, accompanied by the extrication of much heat and smoke, which is allowed to go on until it has spontaneously ceased The heap is then broken up and put into water, which is boiled until considerably reduced in volume, and then evaporated in shallow vessels Very pure crystals of sulphate are said to be thus produced

In 1821 Dr Morrison adopted the idea of establishing near his own house at Macao with the co-operation of Mr Livingstone, the assistant surgeon to the British factory, a dispensary for the relief of Chinese patients and (with a view to obtaining at the same time some knowledge of the native practice) he purchased about eight hundred volumes on their medicine and pharmacopœia and engaged the attendance of a native doctor at his dispensary Without applying for a single subscription from individuals, hundreds of Chinese were relieved of disease and suffering under various forms and more than three hundred of these made very grateful acknowledgments for renovated health * The liberal medical establishment of the East India Company in China being broken up, the English surgeons subsist on reduced emoluments, and being no longer able to distribute medicine gratis to strangers, are obliged to send in their

* Chinese [illegible] vol iii. p

apothecaries' bills. The time, besides, which might formerly be devoted to liberal inquiries into the state of medical knowledge in the country, must now be absorbed by the pressing calls of their business. Another class of men, however, the medical missionaries, have sprung up (especially Dr. Parker, the American), and these have not only conferred the most extensive benefits on the Chinese, but greatly exalted the estimation of European science and benevolence.

The account of the native practitioner who attended at Dr. Morrison's dispensary under the observation of Mr. Livingstone was favourable as to his intelligence and general character. To all those particular cases in which mercury is a specific he conducted himself with some severity, and generally refused to prescribe for them. This branch of practice, he declared, was commonly declined by the regular members of the Chinese faculty, being in the hands of *barber-surgeons*, who use, externally, a preparation of three ingredients, namely, mercury, arsenic, and what is supposed to be a sublimate of quicksilver in powder. The author of the *Pun-tsaou*, or great work on materia medica, states it to be above a thousand years since mercury, which they call "water-silver" (literally *hydrargyrum*), became famous. One of its most legitimate uses at present is as a vermifuge, or anthelmintic; and it is also used in diseases of the skin arising from the presence of animalculæ.

The Chinese themselves are not ignorant of institutions where the sick are attended gratis. One was found at Shanghae. A crowd waited on the outside to receive their tickets of admission; with these they proceeded in turn to the interior hall, where a number of doctors were seated at separate tables, feeling pulses and asking questions. One clerk noted down the symptoms, and another

wrote the prescriptions, dispensed gratuitously. The whole was very well conducted.*

In addition to the ancient use of mercury in medicine, the Chinese appear to have been acquainted with the sulphate of soda (known in Europe under the name of *Glauber's salt*) about twelve centuries ago. Its notoriety is said to have been occasioned by the following circumstance. The reigning emperor heard that there lived somewhere in his dominions a disciple of *Laou-tsze*,† one of those alchemists who for so many centuries had been in search of the *elixir of immortality*—a pursuit which has in China produced effects similar to those resulting from the hunt after the philosopher's stone in Europe. Being of great age, the professor appeared to realize in his own person the virtues of his nostrums, and he was accordingly summoned to court and examined. The alchemist attributed his longevity to the use of the "bright powder of Heuen," as it was called after his own name, just in the way that Glauber's salt was named from its German discoverer. It is valued at present by the Chinese as a cleanser and purifier of the system, in accordance with their doctrine of "hot and cold humours."

Proceed we now from medicine to another subject. In the science of numbers, and in geometry, the Chinese have, as usual, nothing to teach us, being, on the contrary, indebted for a good deal to Europe, as may be seen from the logarithmic tables and other works prepared for the Emperor Kang-hy by the Jesuits. Their arithmetic, as well as their weights and measures, proceed universally on the decimal scale; and decimal fractions are their *vulgar* fractions, or those in common use. It is remarkable that the single exception to this consists in their *kin*, or market-

* China since the Peace, p. 62.

† Whose sect is described in the sixteenth chapter.

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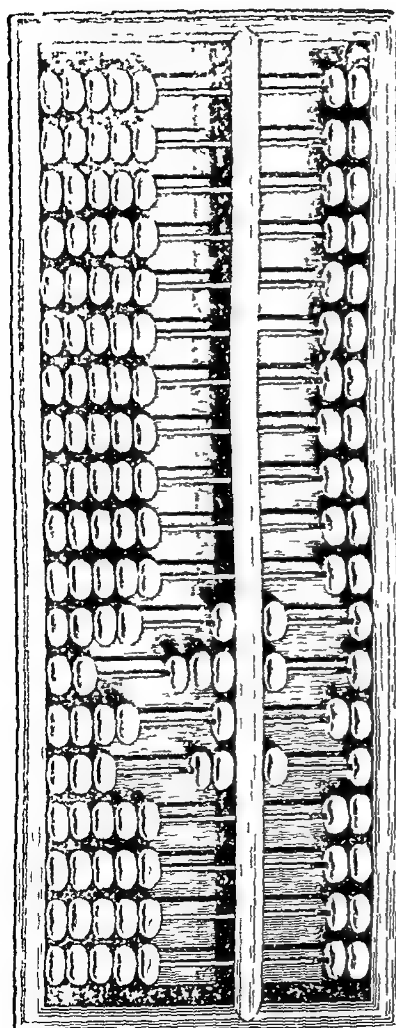
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ing pound weight, which, like ours, is divided into sixteen parts. It is most probable that both originated in the facilities afforded by the binary division into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. The sexagesimal division of the great circle was early borrowed by the Chinese from the Arabians, and of course used by the missionaries in the construction of their trigonometrical map of the empire. No algebraic knowledge is to be found in China, while it is certain that the *Hindoo* attainments in algebra were much superior to their astronomical science, and bear, besides, all the features of originality, which the latter does not.

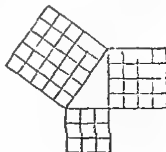


Chinese Abacus.

The Chinese numbers are *written* in words at length, that is, unlike the Arabic system of numeration, where the powers of the numbers increase or diminish decimally according to position. This inconvenience is got over, in calculation, by the assistance of a little apparatus called a *Suân-*

pan, or "calculating dish," having balls of wood or ivory strung upon wires in separate columns, of which one column represents units with a decimal increase and diminution to the left and right, as in our system of numeration. Each ball above the longitudinal division of the board represents *five*, and each ball below it stands for *one*. The number represented in the cut is therefore 6817, and, if there were any decimal parts, these would be ranged to the right of the units. At Canton they sometimes write down numbers in abbreviated marks, and place them, like our Arabic figures, in numerical order; but still, in arithmetical operations, the above machine is always used, and seems never to have been superseded. Its chief disadvantage is this, that no traces remain of the operation after it is concluded, which, in the event of error, necessitates the work being recommenced *de novo*.

The Chinese books contain a diagram which in a manner *represents* the mathematical truth enunciated by the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid. This, however, is not demonstrated mathematically (which requires reference to preceding propositions in the same book), but by construction or measurement. In a right angled triangle, whose sides are as 5, 4, 3, the squares are as 25, 16, and 9; and it is only when the sides are in these *exact* proportions that such a clumsy sort of proof can be given of the proposition, that "the square of the hypothenuse equals the sum of the squares of the other two sides," or $25=16+9$. Mr. Barrow has observed that the open and closed points connected by lines, and said



by the Chinese to have been found on the back of the

tortoise, are nothing but representations of the nine digits, placed in such a manner as to count fifteen every way, thus:—

2	9	4
7	5	3
6	1	8

Such are the puerile matters that are contained in the ancient and original works of the Chinese. Without geometry, it was impossible for them to have any correct notions of geography; and, but for their liberal and enlightened Emperor Kâng-hy, who availed himself of the aid of the Jesuits, they might even to this day have represented their country as the centre of a circle, studded round with the abodes of the rest of mankind. But they have learned to appreciate the maps of the several provinces, and of the whole empire, constructed for them more than a hundred years since by the Europeans at Peking, and copied by them servilely in most particulars, the chief defect being in the execution of minute details. The writer of this has a geographical work taken from wooden blocks, which is sufficiently correct for purposes of ordinary reference. Every province is separately laid down on the spherical projection, with parallels of latitude, and meridians of longitude; the former calculated, like ours, from the equator, but the longitude from Peking. Minute accuracy, however, is not at all observed: rivers are represented on a very disproportionate scale, conformably to the Chinese ideas of their importance, serving as they do for the principal high roads of the empire. Everything external to their own country, and Tartary, they seem to be quite indifferent about; and with the exception of a rough map of the two terrestrial hemispheres, copied from one by the Jesuits, no work on general geography is ever met with.

The missionaries first recommended themselves to the

favour of the emperor and his court by amusing them with a variety of philosophical contrivances of an ingenious nature. In dioptrics and catoptrics they exhibited the effects produced by various lenses, the artificial rainbows resulting from the transmission of the rays of light through prisms with their subsequent reflection, the uses of the telescope and the microscope, and, what pleased the ladies of the palace more than anything they contrived a *camera obscura* by means of which every object passing outside was made visible on a flat table within the apartments. In hydrostatics and hydraulics they constructed pumps, siphons, and fountains, some of which were applied to purposes of use or ornament about the emperor's residence. In dialling too the Jesuits gave them lessons which they have not yet forgotten as we often see in their shops a contrivance attached to their compass, with which the hour of the day is roughly ascertained by the shadow of a string that serves as the gnomon of a dial.

But it was in astronomy that the greatest assistance was derived from European science and skill. When Pere Verbiest arrived at Peking, he found an Arabian astronomer employed in the construction of the Imperial Almanac. This person was so ignorant of his business that he had inserted an intercalary month in the current lunar year, when it should have consisted of only twelve lunations. This afforded Verbiest an occasion for proving the superiority of his own science and having the calendar altered, though with some difficulty, the Chinese being sorely puzzled to know why they should be deprived of a whole month. The Jesuit proved the ignorance of the Arabian by challenging him to calculate, beforehand *the length of the shadow of a gnomon on a particular day at noon*. The professor failed altogether, and was succeeded in his office by the missionary, whose

calculation proved nicely accurate; and thus the Europeans became established at the head of the Astronomical Board; from which they were dismissed only a few years since. The instruments constructed under the direction of Verbiest, for the imperial observatory at Peking, have been described by Le Compte. They consisted of an armillary sphere, an equinoctial sphere, a celestial globe, an azimuth horizon, and a quadrant and sextant.*

The simple fact that a people so vain and self-sufficient as the Chinese should have adopted the science of foreigners, and raised the professors of that science to considerable dignities—that they should have deviated, on a point of such consequence, from their established prejudices and maxims—sufficiently proves that they had little science of their own. It is true that Confucius recorded thirty-six eclipses of the sun, the greater number of which have been verified by the calculations of European astronomers; but, as has been very truly observed, the *recording* an eclipse may prove the authenticity of historical annals, while at the same time it proves nothing as to the existence of astronomical science. As far as related to the mere *observation* of the sky, the Chinese have from the earliest periods been very particular and assiduous. The remark of Du Halde, that "all these observations are not

* The work, in one hundred Chinese volumes, composed and translated by Matthew Ricci and other missionaries, by desire of Kâng-hy, is a remarkable production. It is executed in the best style of native books, and, being now very scarce and expensive, cannot be procured under sixty or eighty Spanish dollars, which is quite a *fancy price* for a Chinese work. It treats of spherical trigonometry, geometry, astronomy, and music, and contains also tables of logarithms, which were merely turned into native figures, and not calculated by the missionaries. The diagrams in geometry are accurately and neatly cut, and the whole is a very respectable specimen of printing, worthy of the emperor's patronage. The title means in English, "The profound sources of numbers—by imperial authority."

a little serviceable in ascertaining their chronology,' is very true but they by no means prove (what he appears sometimes desirous to establish) that the Chinese were astronomers *

We read indeed in their history, that the blunders of *some of their pretended philosophers were ingeniously* turned into an occasion of flattering the sovereign In the time of Soong, a predicted eclipse having failed of accomplishment they congratulated the emperor that the heavens had dispensed with this omen of ill luck in his favour The very superstition argues an ignorance of the real causes of eclipses, but, on this point, it is possible that the government saw the advantage of wielding the mysteries of astronomy and astrology as an engine of power over the ignorance of the people It has therefore made a monopoly of the subject, and declared it death to publish a counterfeit or imitation of the Imperial Almanac The extravagancies of the populace during the obscuration caused by an eclipse are countenanced by the government Though the emperor either does or ought to know better, he and his court go through sundry ceremonies on these occasions, and he affects sometimes to consider the eclipse as a warning to him for something wrong in the administration

But the most alarming prodigy of all is a comet, and this superstition they have had in common with many other nations According to their shape and appearance comets are called by the Chinese *broom stars, hairy stars*, and *tail stars*, and they are said to point the tail towards the region of whose ruin they are the presage One of these appeared in May, 1820, and was observed by Mr *Reeves* at Macao, *on the 5th of that month, in the body* of Centaur, its position being such as to be cut by two

* Phil. Trans 1823 *On the Chinese year*

straight lines, one of them drawn through α and β, or the foot and easternmost arm of the Cross, and produced N.E., the other through ϵ and β, or the western foot of Centaur. After the first observation it became more visible by degrees, and then slowly disappeared towards the north-east. The Chinese affect to draw presages from the appearances of comets, and here they bring into play their foolish theory of the *five* colours.* If the appearance be red, particular consequences are to follow; if dark, they expect the overthrow of regular government, and the success of rebellions, &c.

A comparison between the ancient systems of Chinese and of Hindoo astronomy is rendered somewhat perplexing by the fact, that, while there are some points of resemblance, there are others in which they essentially differ: both of them have twenty-eight lunar mansions, and a cycle of sixty years; but a careful observation detects some important distinctions; the Hindoo cycle is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle; and the twenty-eight constellations of the Hindoos are nearly all of them equal divisions of the great circle, consisting of about 13° each, while the Chinese constellations are extremely unequal, varying from 30° to less than 1°. The author's father, in conjunction with Sir William Jones and MM. Colebrooke and Bentley, proved that the Hindoo astronomy did not go farther than the calculations of eclipses and some other phenomena, with the rules and tables for performing the same. Besides their lunar zodiac of twenty-eight mansions, the Hindoos (unlike the Chinese) have the solar, including twelve signs perfectly identical with ours, and demonstrating in that respect a common origin. As we know from Herodotus that the Egyptians had a week of seven days, so it is remarkable that the

* See p. 225.

Hindoos had anciently the same, the planetary names being given to the days exactly in the same order as among us in Europe, but Friday being the first. The Chinese reckon *five* planets, to the exclusion of the sun and moon; but they give the name of one of their twenty-eight lunar mansions successively to each day of the year in a perpetual rotation, without regard to the moon's changes; so that the same four out of the twenty-eight invariably fall on our Sundays, and constitute, as it were, perpetual *Sunday letters*. A native Chinese first remarked this odd fact to the author, and on examination it proved perfectly correct.

The Hindoos divide the ecliptic into 360 degrees, and, being the reputed inventors of decimal arithmetic, the singularity has been remarked of their using sexagesimal fractions in astronomy. It seems probable (as already observed) that the Chinese borrowed this division of the great circle from the Arabians. One coincidence with the Hindoos may be noticed. Sir William Jones remarks that, in their nuptial ceremonies, they had a constellation of *three stars*, called *abhyit*, for some astrological purpose: the Chinese ancient book of songs associates *three stars* with marriage, in this line of an epithalamium— "The three stars shine on the gate." The astronomical works of the Hindoos, like those of the ancient Chinese, make no mention of observations, nor even of an instrument. According to the conclusions of Delambre, the Hindoo knowledge of astronomy was greatly inferior to that of the Greeks; and it has been argued by Laplace, in opposition to the previous opinion of Bailly, that the Indian astronomy is not of the highest antiquity, but must have been imperfectly borrowed from the Greeks.

There can be no doubt of the instruments, mentioned by Du Halde as found by the Jesuits on their first

entrance into China, having been constructed by Arabians. De Pauw supposes that they were made at Balk in Bactriana, and passed into China during the Mongol government. The writer of this, however, observed in an old Chinese encyclopædia that the height of the North Pole was stated as being 36° above the horizon; and it appears from Du Halde that the instruments in question were also calculated for 36°. Now, as the elevation of the pole at any particular place is exactly the latitude of that place, it seems reasonable to conclude that those instruments were constructed when the Chinese observatory was south of Peking, and probably in Honân, a province in which the capital once stood. They would at least be useless in the north. The observation of Du Halde, that "the uses of the instruments were written in Chinese characters, with the names of the twenty-eight constellations," is no evidence against their construction by the Arabians, though it *is* against their transportation from Balk. The guns which were cast for the Chinese by the Romish priests were all inscribed with the characters of the country; and the ungrateful vanity of that people has invariably led them, after oorrowing anything from Europeans, to conceal the debt as much as possible. When Mr. Pearson made them his invaluable present of the vaccine inoculation, it was accompanied by a small pamphlet in Chinese (written by Sir George Staunton), containing some necessary directions for the use of the virus, and stating the discovery to have been English. An edition of this was very soon after published, in which not one word was retained as to its origin, nor any trace by which it could be known that the discovery of vaccination was otherwise than Chinese.

Their civil year is lunar, consisting of twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, with the

triennial intercalation of a thirteenth month, or, to speak more exactly, with the addition of a thirteenth month to *seven* years out of *nineteen* They probably at first adopted the sol lunar cycle of nineteen years, the same with the Metonic cycle of the Greeks, the years of which were marked with the *golden number*, and seven of them (as with the Chinese) consisted of thirteen lunations But the returning period of even *this* cycle being attended with a small error, their cycle of *sixty years* was at length adopted by the Chinese, comprising twenty-two intercalary moons This answered the double purpose of regulating the sol lunar year, and constituting a chronological era, with which they pretend to reckon back more than 2000 years B C The era, however, may have been ante dated, for the sake of an assumed antiquity

At the same time, it is observed by Dugald Stewart,* that, a cycle being commonly deducible from observations of physical events which are obvious to the senses, the most celebrated astronomical cycles are of a very remote antiquity, and were probably discovered at a period when the study of astronomy consisted merely in accumulating and recording the most striking appearances of the heavens We have before remarked that the Chinese have always been very attentive to the celestial phenomena, and patient observers of times and tides They appear very early to have divined that the moon had the principal share in causing the flux and reflux of the sea but they left the sun out of the question altogether M Klaproth remarked that, in an encyclopædia written before the close of the ninth century, it is said that "the moon, being the purest principle of water, influences the tides" Another writer observes in the twelfth century, that "the cause of the rising and falling of the sea consists in the proximity of the

* Philosophy, p 4[illegible]

moon; for the waters go and come according to the period of the day and the position of the moon, which they follow."

No very certain reason can be given why the Chinese fixed upon the 15th degree of Aquarius as a point for regulating the commencement of their lunar year: but they have an annual festival at the recurrence of that period, which bears some resemblance to the annual procession of the bull Apis among the Egyptians; and both ceremonies appear to have been connected with the business of husbandry, and with the opening promise of the year. It may possibly be the case that the 15th of Aquarius has a reference among the Chinese to the position of the winter *solstitial colure* at a remote period. The winter solstice is at present observed as a festival; but whether or not that proves its having once been the period of their civil year's commencement cannot easily be decided. In an astronomical sense, they may be said to have a solar year as well as a lunar, and the winter solstice marks its annual limit. This solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of fifteen days each on an average. The Imperial Almanac, published annually at Peking, with the seal of the Astronomical Board on the cover, is filled with much of the nonsense of judicial astrology. Mr. Barrow was informed by one of the European astronomers at the emperor's court, that "the calculation of eclipses, the times of new and full moon, the rising and setting of the sun, were intrusted to him and his colleagues; but the astrological part was managed by a committee of the Chinese members." This same person confessed that he was not very well qualified for his task, and expressed much gratitude on being presented with some copies of the Nautical Ephemeris, calculated for several years in advance.

The Chinese almanac, like many others of the kind in Europe, contains predictions and advice for every day in

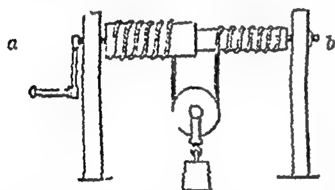
the year, and presents the same spectacle of the abuse of a little mystical learning to impose on the ignorant majority of mankind It even gives directions as to the most lucky days for going out, or for staying at home, for shaving the head after the Tartar fashion, changing an abode, executing an agreement, or burying the dead With this are mixed up, in the same page, a number of useful observations concerning natural phenomena pertaining to the season, though these remarks are interlarded with a number of vulgar errors as to the transformations of animals In their first moon, which is about our February, the ice is said to melt, the wild-fowl to fly northward, and the foliage of trees and plants to be renewed in the second, peach-trees blossom, swallows return, and there is much thunder and lightning in the sixth, the weather grows hot, and the period of heavy rains comes on in the ninth, wild fowl return to the south, the chrysanthemum flowers, trees turn yellow and shed their foliage in the twelfth, lakes and rivers are covered with ice, and the ground is frozen * This of course relates to the latitude of Peking, nearly 40° north

In the science of *mechanics* and *machinery*, the Chinese, without possessing any theoretical rules, practically apply all the mechanical powers, except the *screw*, with considerable effect. The graduation of their common steelyard must have acquainted them with the conditions of equilibrium in that class of lever, or the relations between the long and short arm, and the power and weight They use it constantly for weighing, not only the commonest articles, but the most valuable, as gold and silver The pulley is applied on board their vessels, but always with a single sheave, and apparently more for the purpose of giving a particular lead to the ropes, than with a view to the

* With these useful notices are mixed up very ignorant observations countenancing the grossest superstitions of the people

mechanical advantage to be gained by it. The application of the tooth and pinion is exemplified in the representation of a rice-mill moved by water, at page 37 of Barrow's Travels. They seem to understand, in practice at least, that power and velocity vary inversely in machinery; as, for instance, that power is gained, or time, according as the moving force is applied either to the circumference, or the axis of a wheel.

It is remarkable that they should seem always to have possessed that particular application of the principle of the wheel and axle, by which the greatest power is attained within the least space; and, at the same time, with the greatest simplicity, as well as strength of machinery. The cylinder *a b* consists of two parts of unequal diameter, with a rope coiled round both parts in the same direction, the weight to be moved being suspended by a pulley in the middle. Every turn of the cylinder raises a portion of the rope equal to the circumference of the thicker part, but at the same time lets down a portion equal to the circumference of the thinner; and, as the weight is suspended by a pulley, it rises at each turn through a space equal to only half the difference between the span of the thicker and thinner parts of the cylinder. The action of the machine, therefore, is very slow; but the mechanical advantage is great in proportion, or, in other words, "power is gained at the expense of velocity," according to an invariable law of mechanics."



The over-shot water-wheel is used commonly in corn-mills, wherever the nature of the country affords streams available for the purpose. In cottages, a domestic mill was frequently seen by our embassies, composed of two

circular stones put in motion by a single man or boy, or sometimes an ass or mule, the power being applied at the end of a lever fixed in the uppermost stone



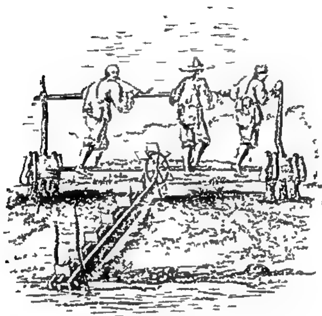
The juice of the sugar cane is expressed [illegible] similar to those used in India according to the description of Dr Buchanan It consists of two upright rollers, which are put in motion by a buffalo yoked to a beam passing from

the top of one cylinder. The mill is fed by introducing the cane between the rollers, by which it is crushed and carried over to the other side. The expressed juice runs through a channel below into a large reservoir, whence it is transferred to boilers, and, being there sufficiently inspissated, is sent in tubs to the refiners. In the above instance the mechanism might be evidently economised and improved by causing the cylinder, which communicates motion, to turn *two* others instead of only *one*. This is known to be the practice in our West Indian colonies.

The Chinese excel in their contrivances for raising water in the irrigation of their lands, and it is probable that these inventions are nearly as old as their husbandry itself. One of them is an ingenious species of chain-pump, which we give here, as it is well described and figured in Staunton's Embassy.* The pump consists, in the first place, of a hollow trough or trunk, of a square make. Flat and square pieces of wood, corresponding exactly to the dimensions of the cavity of the trunk, are fixed to a (jointed) chain, which turns over a roller or small wheel placed at each extremity of the trunk. The square pieces of wood fixed to the chain move with it round the rollers, and lift up a volume of water equal to the dimensions of the hollow trunk. The power used in working this machine is applicable in three different ways: if the machine be intended to lift a great quantity of water, several sets of wooden arms are made to project from various parts of the lengthened axis of the roller, over which the chain and lifters turn. These arms are shaped like the letter T, and made round and smooth for the foot to rest upon. The axis turns upon two upright pieces of wood, kept steady by a pole stretched across them. The machine being fixed, men treading upon the projecting arms of the axis, and

* Vol. ii. p. 480.

supporting themselves by the beam across the uprights, communicate a rotatory motion to the chain, the lifters attached to which draw up a constant and copious stream



Chain pump from Staunton

of water.* This manner of working the chain-pump is illustrated in the preceding cut, and is applied principally to raising water to small heights from rivers or canals: frequently to pumping out the holds of their merchant-vessels.

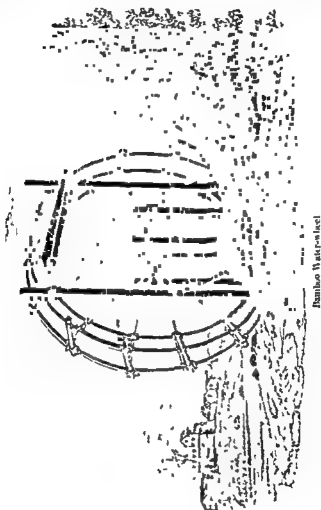
"Another method of working this machine," continues Staunton, "is by yoking a buffalo or other animal to a large horizontal wheel, connected by cogs with the axis of

* These lifters go up *through the inside* of the trough, and come down again above it, in a reversed position

the rollers over which the lifters or boards turn. This mode was observed by the travellers only at Chusan. A small machine of this kind (in the third place) is worked merely by the hand, with the assistance of a trundle and simple crank, such as are applied to a common grindstone, fixed to one end of the axis of the chain-pump. This last method is general throughout the empire. Every labourer is in possession of such a portable machine—an implement to him not less useful (in rice cultivation) than a spade to an European peasant. The making of those machines gives employment to a great number of artificers."

But by far the most ingenious and useful contrivance for irrigating lands is that which our embassies met with on the river that flows down, with a rapid stream, from the ridge of mountains bounding the Canton province on the north (and called the *Meiling* pass), towards the Poyang lake and the Yang-tse-keang. The velocity of the current has worn away the banks, which consist of a loose soil, to the depth in some places of thirty feet and more. Here the chain-pump already described becomes altogether unavailable, as the weight and pressure of a column of water of that height, and the friction of the length of chain required, put it out of the question. But Chinese ingenuity has converted the strength of the stream into a means of overcoming the very difficulties which it originally occasioned; and one is at a loss which most to admire, the cleverness and efficiency, or the cheapness and simplicity, of the contrivance. The wheel, which is turned by the stream, varies from twenty to thirty feet or more in height, according to the elevation of the bank; and, when once erected, a constant supply of water is poured by it day and night into a trough on the summit of the river's side, and conducted in channels to all parts of the sugar plantations which there chiefly occupy the lands.

The props of the wheel are of timber, and the axis is a cylinder of the same material; but every other portion of



Bamboo Water-wheel

the machine exhibits some modification or other of the bamboo, even to the fastenings and bindings, for not a single nail or piece of metal enters into its composition.

The wheel consists of two rims of unequal diameter, of which the one next the bank is rather the least. "This double wheel," observes Staunton, "is connected with the axis by sixteen or eighteen spokes of bamboo, obliquely inserted near each extremity of the axis, and crossing each other at about two-thirds of their length. They are there strengthened by a concentric circle, and fastened afterwards to the rims; the spokes inserted in the interior extremity of the axis (or that next to the bank) reaching the outer rim, and those proceeding from the exterior extremity of the same axis reaching the inner and smaller rim. Between the rims and the crossings of the spokes is woven a kind of close basket-work, serving as ladle-boards," which are acted upon by the strong current of the stream, and turn the wheel round.

The whole diameter of the wheel being something greater than the height of the bank, about sixteen or twenty hollow bamboos, closed at one end, are fastened to the circumference, to act as buckets. These, however, are not loosely suspended, but firmly attached with their open mouths towards the inner or smaller rim of the wheel, at such an inclination that when dipping below the water their mouths are slightly raised from the horizontal position; as they rise through the air their position approaches the upright sufficiently near to keep a considerable portion of the contents within them; but when they have reached the summit of the revolution the mouths become enough depressed to pour the water into a large trough placed on a level with the bank to receive it. The impulse of the stream on the ladle-boards at the circumference of the wheel, with a radius of about fifteen feet, is sufficient to overcome the resistance arising from the difference of weight between the ascending and descending, or loaded and unloaded, sides of the wheel. This impulse is in-

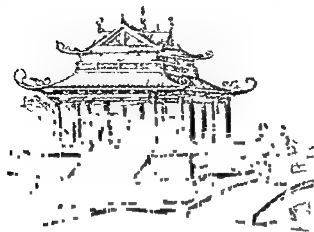
creased, if necessary, at the particular spot where each wheel is erected, by damming the stream, and even raising the level of the water where it turns the wheel The circumstance occasioned some obstacles to our progress up the stream towards the Meiling pass, as the water near such places rolled with the rapidity of a sluice When the supply of water is not required over the adjoining fields the trough is merely turned aside or removed, and the wheel continues its stately motion the water from the tubes pouring back again down its sides. These wheels extend on the river Kan keang from the neighbourhood of the pass to a considerable distance down its stream towards the lake, and they were so numerous that we never saw less than thirty in a day It is calculated that one of them will raise upwards of three hundred tons of water in the four-and twenty hours Viewed merely in regard to their object, the Persian wheel and the machines used for raising water in the Tyrol bear some resemblance to the one just described, but, as observed by Staunton they are vastly more expensive, less simple in construction as well as less ingenious in contrivance

It remains, under the head of this chapter, to say a word regarding the rules and principles which guide the Chinese in their *architecture* Mr Barrow has, with every appearance of probability, derived the shape of their roofs from the original use of the tent in their primitive pastoral state Whatever the purpose to which a Chinese building may be destined, its roof invariably represents something of the catenary curve which a rope assumes when suspended between two points, and which therefore enters into the general contour of a tent or a tent like edifice Owing to the same derivation there is in the appearance of Chinese edifices a want of durable solidity, while the use of wooden columns in lieu of stone adds to the defect

These columns are commonly thin in proportion to their height. As we refer the origin of the stone pillars in European architecture to the trunks of large trees, tapering in proportion as they rise from the ground, so the Chinese pillars may be traced to the original use of the bamboo, which in its slender proportions, and nearly uniform diameter throughout the whole length, assimilates to their columns at present.

The ornamental and honorary gateways (sometimes improperly termed triumphal arches) in the middle of Chinese streets, are of a similar construction. Their beauty arises wholly from the painting and gilding, and not from the proportions, which are weak and flimsy. The roof or summit, and what may be called the *entablature*, overweigh altogether the long and slender pillars beneath.* Every considerable house, as well as every temple, has a gateway before it constructed on the same general principles, and there is a high and broad passage through the centre, with a smaller one on either side. The same circumstances that may be ranked as drawbacks in general to Chinese architecture, fit it, at the same time, peculiarly to uses where only lightness is required. The ornamental pavilions in their gardens, often situated in the midst of sheets of water, and approached by bridges, are not alto-

* In Alexander's prints to our first embassy there is a sketch of one of these. The emperor occasionally orders a *pae-low* to be erected at the public expense, to transmit to posterity the meritorious name of some just magistrate, some officer who has been killed in fight, or even of some individual among the people who may have been distinguished by his own virtues or talents, or those of his progeny. These monumental gateways are generally constructed of stone or marble, but sometimes of wood. The height is often thirty feet or more. Under a projecting roof highly ornamented, and on a species of frieze above the four pillars, is always an inscription, setting forth the occasion of the edifice being erected, and the name and titles of the *individual* whom it commemorates.



[illegible]

gether inelegant structures, affording at the same time a cool retreat in summer evenings, but occasionally much infested by mosquitos bred in the water.

Of the more solid architecture of the Chinese something has already been said in describing their city walls, and the great national barrier towards Tartary. They occasionally build detached towers or castles to command important points, as that described in Lord Macartney's embassy, at the confluence of the canal with the Peking river. These partake exactly of the structure of the Great Wall, being built of brick on a foundation of stone, with a height of from thirty five to forty feet. The entrance is an archway in the side of the tower, at some height from the ground, so as to be accessible only by a ladder or steps. Of their more considerable forts, by far the best specimens in the whole empire are those four or five, built at an enormous expense, at the entrance of the Canton river. *In forcing the passage by these batteries in September 1834,* we found that a few rounds of [illegible] shot from his Majesty's ships [illegible]

mache' beat in a large portion of the castellated summit of the stone wall upon the garrison, and likewise knocked several of the lower ports or embrasures into one; but the lowest portion, or foundation, of the walls was of such immense solidity, that some hours of battering would be required to demolish them, and the only effect we could perceive through our glasses was the scaling off of large masses from the face of the stone-work wherever the shot had struck. Great difficulty was found in demolishing these defences in 1856, on account of their vast solidity.

Of Chinese bridges, some have been very much exaggerated in the accounts of Du Halde and the missionaries, as appears from the later reports concerning the bridge at Foo-chow-foo, visited during the unsuccessful commercial voyage of the ship 'Amherst' in 1832, and since the war become familiar to our countrymen. This same bridge, which proved a very poor structure after all, had been extolled by the Jesuits as something quite extraordinary. A bridge of ninety-one arches, being in fact a very long causeway, was passed by Lord Macartney between Soo-chow and Hâng-chow, and near the lake called Tae-hoo. The highest arch, however, was supposed to be between twenty and thirty feet in height, and the whole length of the causeway half a mile. It was thrown across an arm of the lake, on the eastern side of the canal. The late Sir George Staunton observed a bridge between Peking and Tartary, built across a river which was subject to being swelled by mountain floods. This was erected upon caissons of wattles filled with stones. It appeared to have been built with expedition, and at small cost, where the most solid bridge would be endangered by inundations. The caissons were fixed by large perpendicular spars, and over the whole were laid planks, hurdles, and gravel. It was only in Keâng-nan that solid bridges

they have remained ignorant of, or misapprehended. Superficial, however, as are the ideas they have collected, they constitute a scientific whole, which derives some value from the method to which it has been subjected. We conclude with a remark which is not destitute of interest to science itself: it is, that the Chinese and Japanese descriptions, when accompanied by the figures they refer to, may, with all their imperfections, enable us to distinguish the species we do, from those we do not possess, augment our knowledge of facts, diffuse some light upon the distributions of the natural objects of the ancient world, and consequently may be consulted with advantage even by *naturalists*, so long as circumstances shall continue to interdict European philosophers from countries so abundant in objects of natural history, and hitherto so little explored." In the seventeenth chapter allusion was made to the advantageous hints which the constitution of their written character had, from the earliest ages, afforded to the Chinese for a systematic nomenclature, and a rational classification of natural objects into certain genera *or families, according to the most striking and obvious* analogies that existed among them. The two hundred and fourteen roots, under which the whole language is arranged in Chinese dictionaries, include about one hundred and sixty, which serve at once (with the aid of other characters) as *component parts* in the written designations of all known objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and as *heads* under which they have been classed. "From this simple arrangement," observes M. Remusat, "the very ideas appear which regulated the formation of the compound signs, which ideas frequently coincide with such as intelligent naturalists might acknowledge and adopt as a basis for their arrangements. This may be observed on a glance at even their modern dic-

tionaries, although the written language of China has undergone alterations of all kinds, and admitted many irregularities, which have affected the nomenclature of natural objects as well as other parts of the language. In turning over the leaves of the commonest of these works, we easily recognise genuine natural families, imperfect no doubt, and founded upon inaccurate views, imperfect observation, and an unphilosophical analysis; but discovering almost always a judicious design, with sound and sometimes ingenious conclusions."

Of the thirty roots, or radical characters, which constitute the genera or families above alluded to, *fourteen* include the animal kingdom. The *mammalia* are comprised under nine of these, viz. three families of *carnivora*, one of *rodentia*, and three of *ruminantia*, as oxen, sheep, deer: while the horse and swine are the types of two other families. In the details of the above arrangement there has been (as might be expected) much confusion and a want of discrimination, in classing together animals between which there was no real analogy, as well as separating others that were nearly allied: the ape and monkey tribes, for instance, are classed with the dogs; and numerous other examples might be adduced of the same kind. Birds, one of the most numerous class of animals in China, are all comprised in *one family*. Then come the tortoise and frog tribes under *two heads*. Fishes constitute *one family*, and improperly include the cetaceous and saurian tribes, as well as lobsters, crabs, and some of the molluscæ. The *fourteenth* family of animals, in the Chinese dictionary system, consists of insects.

This may serve to convey some idea of the notions which the Chinese have of classification, and show at the same time in what they have failed. Their vegetable kingdom is divided into eleven principal families. The

first comprises all herbaceous plants, which have a common type, and are very numerous: the second family has *wood* for its radical character, and includes all trees, as well as plants with a woody stem: the bamboo, on account of its importance in use, and the great number of its varieties, stands at the head of the fifth class, and includes under it all reedy plants. No less than *four* separate radical characters serve as the heads under which the corn plants and esculent grasses have been arranged, and it follows of course that many repetitions and superfluous distinctions have taken place. The four together should have formed one natural family. The eighth family consists of leguminous plants, and has the bean for its type: the ninth comprises the cucurbitaceous, or gourd tribes: and under the tenth are included only about a dozen species and varieties of the alliaceous plants, as garlic, onions, and leeks. The importance attached to some of the smaller divisions no doubt arose from their having been principal articles of food from the first. The eleventh and last family consists of plants analogous to the hemp, which, from its consequence, has from the earliest times been designated by a simple and radical character.

The mineral kingdom has been classed by the Chinese lexicographers under five radical characters. The first family consists of gems, of which the famous *yu*, or jade, is the type: to these have been improperly added all factitious stones, with glass, amber, &c. The four remaining families are distinguished into stones, earths, salts, and metals. "It must be remembered," observes M. Rémusat very correctly of the system, "that this was not a methodical or systematic arrangement contrived by naturalists, in order to classify the objects they wish to describe, but a mere distribution of written signs, brought together according to their orthography, and classed by the makers

of dictionaries, solely with a view to facilitating and expediting the search for them. It cannot have escaped observation, that in this composition of signs there are certain scientific ideas whence this remarkable classification arises, as it were, spontaneously; and it may be asserted that there exists no other language in the world, the words of which, taken intrinsically, and quite independently of definition or accessary explanation, could afford even to the vulgar such just notions of the natural affinities of things. This results from the figurative nature of the characters, which has not been adequately appreciated; and we ought, perhaps, to give some weight to this circumstance, in the speculative comparisons we are often so fond of instituting between writing which is adapted to represent speech, and that which is immediately directed to the painting of ideas." * M. Rémusat proceeds to detail the classification of natural history in the great Chinese work on materia medica and therapeutics; but as this is a subject much less curious and interesting, and would besides exceed our limits, it must be omitted.

We may now proceed to a general consideration of such of the principal productions of China in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as have come under the notice and knowledge of Europeans; observing that, in a country whose intérior is so little accessible to us, there must be a great deal that remains to be known and described. The animals, as well as vegetables, of China belong almost exclusively to the temperate zone, for the low average of the thermometer (whose annual mean, as far south as Canton, is little above 70°) and the cold winters are unfriendly to the existence of numerous tropical tribes that are found in corresponding latitudes of India.

* See paper on "the state of the Natural Sciences among the people of Eastern Asia," as given in the Asiatic Journal, vol. ix. p. 89.

There is no subject connected with China (we must premise) on which Europe is less indebted to the Romish missionaries than natural history. The Jesuits, to whom was intrusted the charge of surveying the country and constructing a map of it, performed their peculiar task admirably, but they lost an opportunity, which may perhaps never again occur, for investigating and describing the natural features of the empire. The studies of zoology, botany, and mineralogy had certainly not, in their time, attained the scientific advancement which they have since reached, but there is a peculiar poverty and indistinctness about the missionary notices of such objects as they met with in the several departments of the three kingdoms of nature.

The first European naturalist by profession, that seems to have visited the celestial empire, was Peter Osbeck,* who went to Canton in 1750, as chaplain to a Swedish East Indiaman, and recorded such discoveries as he could make within the limited range open to him at that port. He had the advantage of having been a pupil of the great Linnæus, and was enabled by circumstances to extend his researches to a considerable distance about the city, with little molestation. As he collected and described many plants from the vicinity of Canton and Whampoa, the remembrance of his zeal and success was perpetuated by Linnæus in the *Osbeckia Chinensis*, and an assistant named Toreen was complimented with the *Torenia Asiatica*. It is remarkable that these were the only persons who, unaided by patronage or the assistance of their governments, did anything material towards the elucidation of Chinese natural history up to the end of the last century. The situation of Europeans at the very best was so uninviting, or rather so miserable, in that country, that it required some resolution, and no small zeal in the cause

* For some account of Osbeck see Chinese Repository, vol. xi, p. 85.

of science, to encounter the obstacles and annoyances that met them at every step. The trading pursuits of by far the larger portion of persons resorting to Canton, and to the ports formerly open to the eastward, also prevented the extension of researches in natural history. Since the war, however, and the acquisition of four new points of intercourse, a great deal has been done to increase our stores in the department of botany.

The embassy of Lord Macartney formed an era in this subject, as in most others connected with China, being amply provided with intelligent and enlightened men who made the best of the opportunities which they enjoyed. In Staunton's Embassy and in Barrow's Travels there is much valuable information relating to the subjects of the present chapter. In the second volume of Staunton we find four considerable lists of Chinese plants: the first comprises those found between the shores of the Yellow Sea and Peking; the second, the plants observed near Peking and *Jĕ-ho* in Manchow Tartary; the third relates to the productions of Shantung and Keang-nân; and the fourth extends the observations down to Canton.* Had it not been for the foolish jealousy and apprehensions of the Chinese, the embassies might have been rendered much more instrumental than they were to the promotion of natural knowledge. The natives can so ill appreciate the motives of men who pursue science for its own sake, that they always couple with the eager researches of Europeans all kinds of fanciful apprehensions respecting the ulterior designs which they may entertain while surveying and examining the face of the country.

A most able and indefatigable naturalist was appointed to attend the mission of Lord Amherst in the person of Dr. Clarke Abel, but a tissue of misfortunes unhappily

* Embassy, vol. ii. pp. 165, 276, 435, 524.

frustrated his objects and hopes Soon after his arrival in the country, a brain fever, brought on by exposure to a burning sun in the prosecution of his inquiries, confined him to his bed during a considerable portion of the journey, and in fact did all but bring him to the grave Much, however, was effected by the activity of his numerous friends, who brought him all the specimens they could collect to enrich his herbarium and cabinet The leisure of about a month, after reaching Canton, enabled him to classify and arrange his acquisitions in the way of plants and minerals, and to pack them for conveyance home But the crowning disaster still remained It is well known that the 'Alceste' frigate, in which Lord Amherst and his suite embarked for England, was wrecked in the straits of Gaspar on a sunken rock There the fruits of so much diligence and care were irrecoverably lost, or, as Dr Abel himself emphatically exclaimed—*ibi omnis effusus labor!* Some specimens fortunately reached England with Sir George Staunton, in a separate ship, and, among the few that escaped the wreck, one new plant received from Sir Joseph Banks the name of *Abelia Chinensis*

Among the resident English in China who have devoted their attention to the natural history of the country, the names of Messrs Beale, Reeves, and Livingstone are associated with most of the later acquisitions that have been made by us in zoology and botany The botanic garden of the first of these gentlemen at Macao, though far from extensive in its limits, contained what in this country would be deemed a precious selection of trees and plants, and in fact served as the nursery in which some of the rarest productions of China were prepared for transmission home In the garden was an aviary of curious or beautiful birds, and, as this was unique in its way, it may be described from the work of Mr Bennett, who visited

China in 1833.* The aviary is forty feet in length by twenty in breadth, and probably thirty feet high: it is divided into two portions, having communications between them, which are usually left open, but capable of being closed if necessary. It is contiguous to one side of the house, the windows of which look through the lattice-work into the aviary; and the whole of the enclosure above and around has a similar lattice-work of fine wire, surmounted by a dome at the summit.

In the aviary large trees and a variety of shrubs are planted for the convenience of the feathered inhabitants. In the branches of the former are placed small baskets to assist as nests to those birds whose habits lead them to build in trees, and in the same branches many of the present inhabitants of the aviary have been born and reared. Near a tank, constantly filled with water, a quantity of artificial rock-work is constructed, forming an ornament to the aviary, as well as an asylum for birds of that class who are accustomed to such situations when at liberty, and who breed in the crevices. Every precaution is taken to prevent the ingress of rats round the aviary, the attacks of those animals having caused much destruction among the birds when the place was first erected. There are separate cages for enclosing the males of any of the species who may have their combativeness too highly excited. The punishment for such characters is in the first place solitary confinement, and should they not reform under that treatment they are finally dismissed the aviary as incorrigibles. It once happened, Mr. Bennett relates, during a total eclipse of the sun, that, as that luminary became over-

* Wanderings, &c., vol. ii. p. 50. This work contains a highly-interesting description of a *live* bird of paradise belonging to Mr. Beale: the species which Linnæus himself, strange to say, named *Apoda*.

shadowed, the feathered colony, if not in consternation at the event, was exceedingly perplexed at the rapid and untimely termination of the day, and all retired supperless to bed, they received, however, a second surprise at the briefness of the night, for, before they could be well asleep, the cocks crowed at the reappearance of the sun, and all again resumed their daily amusements and occupations

We shall have to particularise hereafter some of Mr Reeves's numerous contributions to natural history, but may notice in this place a paper of Mr Livingstone,* addressed to the Horticultural Society, in which that gentleman reviews the means that had been adopted for enriching this country with the botanical productions of China, and states the remarkable majority of cases in which attempts to convey plants home had totally failed It had been long the practice for individuals to purchase plants on the spot, and to carry them to England in the best manner that a long passage of four or five months at sea appeared to admit of At a short distance above Canton, by the side of a creek or branch of the river, are a number of small *nursery-gardens well known by the name* of Fa-ty, or the "flower-grounds" Each of these contains nearly the same collection of plants, formed to meet the usual demand of Europeans It was here, Mr Livingstone observes, that the purchases were made with no sparing hand, notwithstanding the general want of success which they had pretty uniformly experienced

About the year 1804 a Scotch gardener was sent out from the royal gardens at Kew, for the purpose of enriching that splendid collection with the stores of China Great pains were taken to supply him with the most judicious instructions, and the cabins for the reception of the plants were contrived with care Yet, with every

* Indo Chinese Gleaner vol ii p 126

facility and advantage, it seems that, on comparing the plants actually sent with those which reached Kew alive and in a healthy state, this gardener was not more fortunate than private adventurers. It must be observed, however, that he did not attend the plants home, but remained in China to procure new ones. They accordingly fell victims to the ignorance or the neglect of those on board the ships, who either gave them too much water or none at all, and who exposed them to the spray of the sea in bad weather, or denied them a needful supply of fresh air in fine. The gardener himself, in the mean while, leading a solitary life in China, gave way to habits of intoxication, and became unfit for his business. Since that time no other attempt was for many years made; but it seems obvious that all the care and attention in selecting or preparing rare plants in China could be of little avail, unless they were under proper skill and management during the long voyage home. Mr. Livingstone calculates that not more than one plant in a thousand reached England in safety; but if we take only *half* the proportion, it will be very lamentable to those who appreciate the advantages of enriching this country with the useful or beautiful productions of foreign soils.

Since the war, however, great acquisitions have been made by the agency of Mr. Fortune, originally despatched to China by the Horticultural Society. He penetrated to the interior, and has successfully brought home many trees and plants to enrich our plantations and gardens. Among the former are the *Cryptomeria Japonica* and *Cupressus funerea;* and among flowers the *Dialætra* and *Weigela,* both of them hardy and beautiful garden plants.

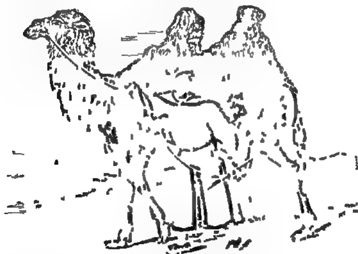
As animals are, for obvious reasons, more generally diffused over continents than plants, it follows that the number of cases in which the zoological productions of

China have been found peculiar to that country, or not known in other parts of Asia, are extremely rare in comparison with the botanical ones It has been always remarked that in either instance, whether of plants or animals, they are such, in general, as characterise a temperate, and not a tropical climate For this reason the larger and more ferocious descriptions of carnivorous quadrupeds are neither numerous nor common In the forests of Yun-nân, to the south-west, the Bengal species of tiger is said to exist ; indeed the numerous representations of that animal, and the stories connected with it in Chinese books, are proofs that it is sufficiently well known in the empire At Canton, however, which lies so nearly in the latitude of Calcutta, it is quite a stranger, as well as in those provinces to the north through which our embassies passed Some smaller animals of the same genus were seen by Pere Gerbillon when he went with the emperor on his hunting excursion to the north of the Great Wall, as well as bears, and an abundance of deer Lions are almost a fabulous animal among the Chinese Specimens may have reached Peking from some of the neighbouring countries to the south and west, but the Asiatic lion is quite a different animal, and much inferior in power, to the African species ; The woods of Southern China abound in a fierce and untameable, though small description of wild-cat With a taste that is quite unaccountable to ourselves, this animal is considered by Chinese epicures as an exquisite species of *game*, and served up in stews at table, after being fed for some time in a cage By way of a great compliment, some European gentlemen were asked to partake of the flesh of one of these wild grimalkins, but they of course declined the flattering invitation

The domestic dog of China cannot be better described

than in the words of that accurate observer, Mr. White of Selborne: "My near neighbour, a young gentleman in the service of the East India Company, has brought home a dog and bitch of the Chinese breed from Canton; such as are fattened in that country for the purpose of being eaten. They are about the size of a moderate spaniel, of a pale yellow colour, with a coarse bristling hair on their backs; sharp upright ears, and peaked heads, which give them a very fox-like appearance. Their hind-legs are unusually straight, without any bend at the hock or ham, to such a degree as to give them an awkward gait when they trot. When they are in motion, their tails are curved high over their backs like those of some hounds, and have a bare place each on the outside from the tip midway, that does not seem to be matter of accident, but somewhat singular. Their eyes are jet black, small, and piercing; the insides of their lips and mouths of the *same colour*, and their tongues blue. The bitch has a dew-claw on each hind leg; the dog has *none*. When taken out into a field, the bitch showed some disposition for hunting, and dwelt on the scent of a covey of partridges till she sprang them, giving tongue all the time. The dogs in South America are dumb; but these bark much in a short thick manner like foxes, and have a surly savage demeanour like their ancestors." The account goes on to state that these dogs are "not domesticated by the Chinese, but fed in sties." This, however, is a mistake, for, although often eaten, they are very generally domesticated as guards, and a vigilant watch is called *shen-kow*, "an accomplished dog." The food on which they subsist is principally vegetable, and consists mainly of rice. This race of animal closely resembles the breed represented in the plates to the Arctic voyages, and seems to extend along the whole of northern Asia and America, being perhaps the original of the species.

Bears are quite common in the hilly parts of Shensy, west of Peking They have often been seen in cages at Canton, whither they had most probably been brought from the westward perhaps from Yun nan or Sze chuen The paws of these animals which abound in fat are eaten by the Chinese as a delicacy The country upon the whole is too well cultivated and thickly peopled to afford lodging and entertainment to many of the larger wild animals however much they may have abounded originally Similar reasons may account (besides climate) for the paucity of the quadrumanous tribes of apes and monkeys Some of these animals exist on the island of Lintin, near the mouth of the Canton river but it is most probable that they are descended from a few individuals of the



Chinese Camel-driver

genus which may have got loose upon the island from *the numerous junks and ships perpetually arriving from* the seas to the south

Dromedaries are much used as beasts of burthen be

tween Peking and Tartary; but in China itself the reasons which cause human labour to supplant every other have prevented their being adopted; nor did we see one of these animals between Peking and Canton throughout the whole empire. Chinese horses are but rare, and of a very poor and stunted breed, probably from the same cause that renders their horned cattle so extremely diminutive—the deficiency of food and care. For their bulk, however, the horses are bony and strong, about the size of, or a little larger than, Shetland ponies, and at the best very rough and ill kept, with their fetlocks overgrown with hair. There is a white spotted species, often represented in Chinese pictures, and which might be considered as the produce of imagination had it not been verified by the actual observations of our embassies. The whole equestrian establishment of a mandarin, or person of wealth, is ragged and beggarly in the extreme: they have no idea whatever of either condition or neatness in the turn-out of their horses. Asses and mules are common in the north of the empire. The mules are generally of a good size, and said to bear a higher price than horses, as being capable of more labour on less food.

Of the common ruminant animals, the Chinese possess several species of deer, particularly a spotted kind, which is sometimes kept about their residences. Gerbillon describes a variety of antelope abounding on the borders of Mongol Tartary, and called by the Chinese *Huâng-yang*, "yellow-goat." This animal is found towards the sandy desert of Shamo, together with vast numbers of hares and a peculiar sort of birds styled in Chinese "sand-partridges," perhaps without being a true variety of that species, for they are not very exact in their nomenclature. The sheep of China are the large-tailed kind, so common in Africa; and this extraordinary determination of fat to

the tail would almost appear to be the reason why they are not found to be such good stock as European sheep As the Chinese themselves never use milk, cows are only met with near Canton or Macao, of a peculiarly small breed perhaps the very smallest of the ox tribe, as they sometimes do not exceed the dimensions of an ass, being at the same time of a clean and symmetrical shape, and without the hump common to the kine of India The buffalo used in ploughing up rice fields is also a very small species not so large as our English cattle with a skin of dark slate colour, thinly covered with hairs. It has all the sluggish habits of the species, and in summer seeks refuge from the flies that torment its hairless hide, by plunging up to the nose in muddy tanks, where it rolls in the ooze and covers itself with a coating of soil These ugly animals are rendered very tractable by those who use them in agriculture and may generally be seen driven by a young boy, who will occasionally fall asleep upon the beast s back It is probably in consequence of the de rivation of the Budhist religion from India that most Chinese have a prejudice against eating beef of any kind though they kill it freely for the use of foreign ships

The domestic pig of China is well known in this country, where it has been introduced into our farm yards, from being found an excellent and thriving stock on the homeward voyage Pork is the only flesh food that a Chinese of the lower ranks ever consumes, and even this is commonly substituted by salt fish as a cheaper aliment to mix with rice The wild boar may be found in the half-reclaimed countries on the western borders, but not in Central China or on the east coast, where tillage and population have arrived at their present height. Of the other wild pachydermatous tribes, the elephant is not at

present an inhabitant of China, unless it be in Yun-nân, nor is he used in that empire for purposes of either peace or war. The emperor has a few at Peking, but they are sent as tribute from Siam or elsewhere, and merely kept for curiosity and state. The one-horned rhinoceros of Asia is found in the forests of the extreme west and south. The horn is sometimes converted, by carving and polishing, into a sort of cup, the root or point of junction with the nose being hollowed out, while the summit of the horn serves as the pedestal or handle. The notion of its being a charm against poison was imported probably by the Mongols from India.*

Of rodent animals, the common rat attains sometimes to an immense size, and is well known to be eaten by the lowest orders of the Chinese. These creatures inhabit hollows in the banks of rivers and canals, and are taken at night by means of a lantern, which, being held to the mouths of their holes, causes the inmates to approach the entrance to reconnoitre; when the light dazzles their eyes

* There is a curious notice of the Siberian mammoth in Sir George Staunton's translation of the Chinese Embassy to the Tourgouths. "In the very coldest parts of this northern country," says the writer of the narrative, "a species of animal is found, which burrows under the earth, and which dies if it is at all exposed at any time to the sun and air. It is of great size, and weighs 10,000 *kin*. Its bones are very white and shining, like ivory. It is not by nature a powerful animal, and is not therefore very dangerous or ferocious. It is found generally in the mud upon the banks of rivers. The Russians collect the bones of this animal, in order to make cups, saucers, combs, and other small articles. The flesh of the animal is of a very refrigerating quality, and is eaten as a remedy in fevers." This account of the popular notions prevalent among the natives corresponds, as the translator observes, nearly with that given by Mr. Bell. He indeed qualifies it by adding that he gives it only as the report of the superstitious and ignorant; and he says nothing of the flesh having been actually eaten. More recent discoveries, however, have confirmed the truth of a portion of these relations; for not only bones, but the flesh of the entire Siberian elephant has been found undecayed amidst the ice and snows.

in such a manner as to lead to their easy capture Mr Reeves discovered a *glirine* animal, nearly allied to the bamboo-rat of Sumatra with which it has been associated under the name of *rhizomys* Mr Gray describes it as a new genus, "in teeth and general appearance most nearly allied to *spalax*, from which it differs in its tail of moderate length, its exposed eyes and ears, and the more complex character of its molar teeth It moreover lives upon, and not under, the ground, being found about bamboo-hedges, on the roots of which it principally subsists" To Mr Reeves also we are indebted for the knowledge of two small carnivorous quadrupeds, new in zoology, and distinguished, since the arrival of the specimens, by the names *Helictis* and *Paguma* The first is described by Mr Gray as possessing a dentition resembling that of *gulo* or *mustela*, but differing from both those genera in some particulars of the upper carnivorous teeth The entire length of the animal is twenty-three and a half inches, of which the tail measures eight, and it smells strongly of musk The second animal is allied, in respect to its teeth, with the genus *viverra*, from which it is distinguished by the shape and inferior size of its skull, the space between the eyes being broader, and the nose both broader and shorter The skin has the odour of civet *

The ornithology of China is distinguished by some splendid varieties of gallinaceous birds, as the gold and silver pheasants, to which have been lately added the *Reeves's pheasant*, deserving of a particular description from Mr Bennett The longest tail feathers approach the extraordinary dimensions of six feet, and, even in the spacious aviary of Mr Beale, already described, it was found that the ends of these magnificent trains were broken by the bird's movements As they come quite from the

* Proceedings of Zoological Society, 1831 p 95

north, it has proved extremely difficult to procure specimens, nor has the hen-bird been ever obtained. Four cocks were brought to Canton in 1830, and purchased for a hundred and thirty dollars, or about thirty pounds sterling. These furnished the specimens brought home by Mr. Reeves; the difficulty of procuring the females being attributed either to a determination on the part of the sellers to prevent the birds being bred, or to their imagining that the inferior plumage of the hens might render them less attractive to purchasers. This obstacle is the more to be regretted, as the high latitude from which the species are procured renders it likely that they might be propagated here in a natural state. Another description is called by Mr. Bennett the *medallion* pheasant, from a beautiful membrane of resplendent colours, which is displayed or contracted according as the animal is more or less roused. The brilliant hues are chiefly purple, with bright red and green spots, which vary in intensity according to the degree of excitement, and become developed during the early spring months, or pairing season of the year.

The country abounds in wild-fowl of all kinds, among which the immense flocks of geese, which during the winter months cover the Canton river, always excite the notice of strangers. They migrate to the north during the summer, and are distinguished, like all the tribe, by their gregarious habits; but the Chinese, without any apparent foundation in fact, make use of them as emblems of connubial attachment, and as such they are always carried in wedding processions. There is much more ground for this character in the instance of the *Yuen-yâng*, a teal of splendid plumage, usually called the "mandarin-duck," whose name is, with reference to the same conjugal quality, applied figuratively to two species of fine black

tea, which are generally put up in the same box, and used *together*; these are pekoe, and a superior kind of souchong. Mr. Beale's aviary afforded a singular corroboration of the fidelity of the birds in question. Of a pair in that gentleman's possession, the drake being one night purloined by some thieves, the unfortunate duck displayed the strongest marks of despair at her bereavement, retiring into a corner, and altogether neglecting food and drink, as well as the care of her person. In this condition she was courted by a drake who had lost his mate, but who met with no encouragement to his addresses from the widow. On the stolen drake being subsequently recovered, and restored to the aviary, the most extravagant demonstrations of joy were displayed by the fond couple.* But this was not all, for, as if informed by his feathered Penelope of the gallant proposals made to her shortly before his arrival, the drake attacked the luckless bird who would have supplanted him, beat out his eyes, and inflicted so many injuries as to cause his death. Specimens of these curious and handsome ducks have been brought to this country, and some that were placed in the Zoological Gardens have been successfully bred. The plumage of the female is as plain as that of the drake is ornamented; but the male, during four summer months, changes his feathers, and becomes as plain as his mate. This teal, unlike the rest of the palmipedes, generally roosts in high situations, upon trees or rocks, and his favourite position was over the window of Mr. Beale's aviary.

Wild ducks are as numerous near Canton, during the winter months, as the geese. They abound especially in the interior, on those extensive shallow lakes through which the canal is carried, and the curious mode of catching them is very characteristic of the Chinese. Large

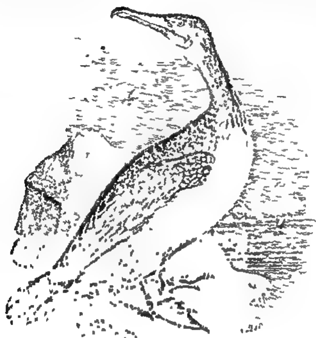
* Mr. Bennett's Wanderings, vol. ii. p. [illegible]

hollow gourds are purposely thrown into the water in great numbers, and allowed to float about. The birds being at length accustomed to approach these with impunity, their captors disguise themselves by placing similar gourds over their heads, with holes to see and breathe through, very much in the manner of a helmet. Then wading quietly along the shallow waters, with their bodies immersed above the shoulders, they have nothing to do but to approach the birds gently, and pull them under water by their legs in succession. It has been remarked that the same practice has been recorded by Ulloa of the natives of Carthagena in the New World, upon the lake Cienega de Tesica.

The fishing-cormorant, employed on the same lakes, has been pictured in the folio plates to Staunton, and described as "a brown pelican or corvorant, with white throat; body whitish beneath, spotted with brown; tail rounded; irides blue; and bill yellow." While fishing, these birds are prevented from swallowing what they catch, by means of a ring over the lower part of the neck; but when the work is over the ring is removed, and they are allowed to feed upon the refuse. Sometimes, however, they are said to be so well trained as to need no restraint as to feeding whatever. A few of them were observed as far south as Nanngan, in the neighbourhood of the Mei-ling pass.

A species of pelican has been seen on a group of rocks called the Nine Islands, lying about six miles north-east of Macao, but it is probably quite distinct from the variety that is used in fishing. Among the miscellaneous birds of China may be enumerated quails, often trained to fight; the common ring-dove, of which great numbers breed in the woods about Canton; and the peculiar crow of the country, which is marked with white about the neck. It has been noticed already that this bird is considered sacred

either for some service that he is supposed to have rendered the present dynasty, or because he is the emblem of filial duty; from a notion, well or ill founded, that the young



Fishing Cormorant

ones assist the old when they are disabled. In Europe the same character has been attributed to the stork, but the stork is, in China, considered as emblematical of long life. Figures of this bird, as well as of the pine-tree, are represented on the visiting tickets which are left at the new year; and they imply the wish that the person so complimented may have "many happy returns of the season." Among the other common birds of China, we must not omit a delicate species of ortolan, which appears in the neighbourhood of Canton about the time when the

last crop of rice is cut. As it feeds on the ears of grain, it is for that reason called the "rice-bird," in the same way that the term *wheatear* is applied to a similar description in the south of England. Mr. Gray, in his 'Zoological Miscellany,' has given the descriptive characters of twelve species of birds belonging to a large collection brought home by Mr. Reeves.

But it is time to quit this part of the subject, and to notice those reptiles of China that have come under observation; concerning which it is remarkable that the largest kind of saurians, as the crocodile and alligator, are unknown even as far south as Canton. Great numbers of the small lizard tribes are visible during the hot months, some of them infesting trees and shrubs, while others inhabit holes in rocks or old walls. Several fresh-water tortoises have been sent home, and described in the Zoological Proceedings for 1834; and two new genera of batrachians, or the frog kind, are noticed by Mr. Gray. Notwithstanding its situation, under the tropic, Canton is little infested by the venomous kinds of serpents. The species most dreaded is a slender snake between two and three feet in length, and called by the Chinese "the black and white," from being surrounded from head to tail with alternate bands of those colours. Mr. Bennett brought home an individual of this species, which had been killed after biting a Chinese on the foot, and causing his death in a few hours. The head was cut off by a countryman of the sufferer who came to his assistance, and who, having bruised it, applied it as a poultice to the bitten part. It may be questioned, as the narrator observes, whether the poison mingled with the mashed head may not have served to hasten the fatal termination.

Of fishes, a large collection of Chinese specimens has been lodged by Mr. Reeves in the British Museum. The

golden carp is one of the most distinguished kinds, and has long been known and propagated in Europe from the original specimens which were carried by the Dutch, first to Java, and thence to Holland They ornament most of the gardens in China, being kept in artificial ponds, or large earthen and porcelain vessels, interspersed with tufts of mosses, or ferns over rock-work It is sometimes necessary to cover these ponds with nets, to preserve the inmates from numerous king-fishers, which come early in the morning to prey on them Of edible sea fish, the best kind near Canton is a sort of rock-cod, called *Shek pan*, which has exactly the meaning of that term A flat fish, called *Tsâng yu* by the Chinese, and "pomfret" by Europeans, is esteemed little inferior to the first Soles are good and plentiful, but the fish most valued by native epicures is the sturgeon, partly because it is scarce, and partly on account of its gelatinous nature—a quality always valued in the dishes of the country The Chinese stew made from this fish is so palatable as to have been introduced at the tables of Europeans Some gastronome or other has observed that every country affords at least *one good dish*

Among insects, it has been elsewhere noticed that the locust commits occasionally great ravages in particular districts, and rewards are given for its destruction Some of the most poisonous tribes, as scorpions, are not met with at Canton, but the centipede, which the Chinese call by exactly the same name, *pĕ tso* (hundred feet), is common There is a monstrous spider that inhabits trees, attaining to such a size and strength as to enable it to devour small birds A large species of *cicada* is common also among trees, emitting a loud and even stunning noise by the vibration of two flaps under the abdomen, supposed to be a call to the female They generally keep up this

whizzing sound most constantly during the hot sunny days. Dr. Abel enumerates the *Scarabæus molossus*, the *Cerambyx furinosus*, as well as the mole-cricket, of a large size. At a mountain lying eastward of Canton, called Lo-fow-shan, there are butterflies of a gigantic size and very brilliant colours, so celebrated as to be alluded to in poetry, and a selection of the most splendid specimens sent annually to Peking. The *pĕ-la-shoo*, or wax-tree, affords nourishment to an insect which is supposed to belong to the coccus tribe, but has not been very exactly ascertained. In the 'Asiatic Researches' (vol. xiv. p. 182) is described an Indian insect which generates a featherlike secretion from its abdomen; this, dropping on the leaves, hardens there into a substance resembling wax. It is probably identical with the species observed by our first embassy on the coast of Cochin-China, which is figured in the first volume of Staunton,* and described as "of a curious structure, having pectinated appendages rising in a curve bent towards the head, not unlike the form of the tail feathers of the common fowl, but in the opposite direction. Every part of the insect was in colour of a perfect white, or at least completely covered with a white powder." The stem of the particular shrub, resembling privet, which was covered by the insects, was entirely whitened by a similar substance.

In the department of botany our limits will not admit of noticing any but the most remarkable or important plants and trees of China. At the head of these of course stands the tea-plant. The specimens brought from the *black* and *green* tea countries differ slightly in the leaf, the latter being a thinner leaf, rather lighter in colour and longer in shape than the other. But, besides this, the great difference in the preparation contributes to mark the distinctions between the two kinds of the manufactured article; for the Chinese themselves acknowledge that

* Page 353.



Insects producing Wax from Staunton.

either black or green tea may be prepared from any tea-plant The green teas are less subjected to the action of fire than the black, and therefore retain more of the original colour and peculiar qualities of the leaf; but they are at the same time infinitely more liable to suffer from time and damp If the two kinds of tea-leaves are examined, after having been expanded in hot water, it will be observed that the black contain the stems of the leaves, as well as some portion of the stalks on which they grew, while the Hyson leaves have generally been pinched off above the leaf-stem. The black tea thus contains much of the woody fibre, while the fine green is exclusively the fleshy part of the leaf itself, which is one good reason why it should be dearer.

Chĕ-keang produces green tea; but the principal district is in Keang-nân, at the north-west extremity of a

range of hills dividing that province from Chĕ-keang, between the thirtieth and thirty-first parallels of north latitude. The tea-plant was first seen by us in the embassy, on the return from Peking, not far from this district, on the southern bank of the Yang-tse-keang, where the soil was composed partly of a micaceous sand. The black-tea country is in Fokien, between 27° and 28° latitude, on the south-east declivities of a range of hills dividing that province from Keang-sy. The tea-shrub succeeds best on the sides of mountains, where there is a small accumulation of vegetable soil. We observed it always elevated above the plains, in situations where the soil was a disintegration of sandstone or of granite, similar to the *habitat* of the single camellia, from whose seeds an oil is extracted. Dr. Abel hence infers that the hills at the Cape would afford the best situation and climate for the growth of tea; and it has been actually found to flourish on the higher parts of St. Helena. As a substitute for tea, the poorer Chinese sometimes use an infusion of dried fern-leaves, and we found these commonly sold for the express purpose near the Poyang lake.

The *camellia* bears the same name, among the Chinese, with the *tea-shrub*, and possesses most of its botanical characters. They in fact constitute two genera very closely allied, of which the distinctions, consisting principally in the seed, have been accurately noted by Dr. Wallich. The seed vessel of the tea is a three-lobed capsule, with the lobes strongly marked, and each of them of the size of a black currant, containing one round seed. When ripe, each of the three lobes bursts vertically in the middle, and exposes the seed. The capsule of the camellia is not lobular externally, but contains altogether three seeds, like that of the tea, though of a longer shape.

In the year 1834 it was discovered that the real tea-



Camellia oleifera.

plant was indigenous to the Company's territories in Upper Assam, bordering on the Chinese province of Yun-nân: and there now appears to be every reason for feeling certain that it may be cultivated, under proper management, with complete success, for commercial purposes, as well as for local consumption. An Assam tea company has been actually established, in consequence of the successful out-turn of some specimens of produce sent home to England.

While Lord Hardinge was Governor-General of India, he successfully established tea-plantations in the country of Kumaon, bordering on the Himalaya range. The author of this furnished at his request some native Chinese

from the tea-districts, together with the means of growing and manufacturing the article; and the exertions of Mr. Fortune since then have contributed greatly to the progress and success of the undertaking.

In our works of more than a century back, as in the 'Spectator,' Pope's poems,* &c., we always find the term Bohea applied to the best tea. Our principal trade was then at Amoy and Chinchew in Fokien; and the name, as before observed, is corrupted from the appellation of a celebrated mountain † in the black-tea districts of that province. The term is now applied in England to the lowest description of black tea, called by the Chinese *Ta-cha*, "large tea," from the size of the leaves, which are allowed to remain on the shrub until they are full-grown and coarse. It is a general rule that all tea is fine in proportion to the tenderness and immaturity of the leaves. In the green-tea districts the plants themselves are never allowed to reach a large size, but frequently renewed; while, in the black, both the plant and the leaves that form the last picking attain their full growth. The finest black tea, called Pekoe, consists of the spring buds as they begin to expand; and, in like manner, the tender leaflets of the green-tea plant are made into an expensive kind called *Loong-tsing*, or Hyson-pekoe, which is highly esteemed by the Chinese, but not brought to Europe, as it is so delicate and slightly fired as to spoil with the least damp. But we are anticipating the subject of tea as an article of *commerce*, which will come under a future chapter.

The *Laurus camphora*, one of the most remarkable

* "Where none learn ombre, none e'er taste bohea."
Rape of the Lock.

† Soong-lo, a general name for all *green* tea, is also the name of another mountain in Keang-nân, about 30° lat.

productions of China, as well as Japan, is a fine timber-tree, growing in the southern provinces to the height of fifty feet, and sometimes measuring twenty in circumference, with large branches eight or nine feet in girth From the wood, which is highly scented with camphor, are obtained great quantities of that gum resin The process has been very exactly described by Dentrecolles Fresh-gathered branche , cut into small pieces, are steeped in water for some days, and then boiled in a proper vessel, being continually stirred about with a stick until the gum begins to adhere in the form of a white jelly The fluid is next poured into a glazed vessel, and, being left at rest for some time, is found concreted The crude camphor is then purified by sublimation as follows —a layer of dry earth, finely powdered, is laid at the bottom of a metal vessel, on this is placed a layer of camphor, and then a layer of earth, and so on alternately until the vessel is filled, and the series terminated by a layer of earth, over this is laid a covering of green mint A second vessel is now inverted over the first, and luted on The whole is then put over a regulated fire, and afterwards allowed to cool, when the camphor is found to have sublimed and attached itself to the upper vessel The wood of the camphor-tree is very extensively used for chests and furniture, being proof against insects As it works without any tendency to splitting, it is excellently calculated, and much employed at Canton, for building European boats Another wood, that of the *Melis azedarach*, vulgarly called "sham wood," is also a very common material among carpenters

On the northern limits of the Canton province two species of fir, the *Pinus massoniana* and *lanceolata*, grow in abundance The summits of the limestone cliffs, which border the river soon after its commencement to

the south of the Mei-ling pass, supply the large rafts of fir which are floated down with the stream. These are formed of smaller rafts united together by twisted osiers, and support the wooden dwellings of those who guide them along by means of long bamboo poles. The *Nân-mo,* a description of cedar which resists insects and time, appears to be exclusively used for imperial dwellings and temples. It was an article of impeachment against the minister of Kien-loong, who was put to death by the son and successor of that monarch, principally on account of his enormous wealth, that he had presumed to use this wood in the construction of his private palace. The *Tsze-lân,* also called *Mo-wâng,* or "king of woods," is much valued as a material of furniture, and somewhat resembles what we denominate rosewood. A common tree in the south is the *yâng-shoo,* or bastard banyan, being a variety of the *ficus religiosa.*

The same neighbourhood produces the *dryandra cordata,* from the seeds of which the Chinese extract a varnish for boats and coarser implements of use. Being insoluble in water, it is found very useful as a coating for tubs and basins, besides covering the paper umbrellas of the country, large quantities of which are exported to India. The finer varnish, however, is obtained from the *Tsiĕ-shoo,* or lacker-shrub, a species of *rhus,* from which the varnish distils like gum. It is said by the Chinese to be unwholesome to the manufacturers in a liquid state, and these poisonous qualities, which it possesses in common with many vegetable varnishes, are guarded against with great caution by the persons who collect it. They are said to work with masks over their faces, and with hands covered. The lackered manufactures of the Chinese are well known; and though the varnish is commonly used with a jet black or with red, it is capable of taking all colours.

The *Croton sebiferum*, from which the Chinese obtain their tallow, has been already noticed, and it has been observed that the use of vegetable substances was probably thus forced on them by the want of a sufficient number of the larger animals in their general economy "The seed of the croton," as Staunton remarks, "in its external appearance, bears some resemblance to the berries of the ivy As soon as it is ripe the capsule opens and divides into two, or more frequently three divisions, and, falling off, discovers as many kernels, each attached by a separate foot-stalk, and covered with a substance of a snowy whiteness, contrasting beautifully with the leaves of the tree, which in this season (autumn) are of a tint between a purple and scarlet" Another useful tree is the mulberry, most commonly used in the feeding of silkworms, though the same species differs in some degree from that of Europe in its growth The leaves are smaller, of a lighter green, and much thinner The fruit is produced, when required, in great quantities, but it is small, sweet, and insipid. The principal cultivation of the young tree for feeding silkworms is near Soo chow in Keang nân, not far from the sea, and in one of the finest climates of the world. Between that city and Hâng chow, Mr Barrow observed "plantations of the mulberry-tree were extended on both sides of the canal, and into the country beyond the reach of sight. They appeared to be of two distinct species: the one the common mulberry, *Morus nigra*, and the other having much smaller leaves, smooth and heart shaped, and bearing a white berry about the size of the field strawberry"

That gigantic grass, or reed, the bamboo, is so well *known in many other countries, that it needs scarcely to* be noticed here, except to remark the variety of uses to which it has been put by the Chinese It is employed

in building scaffolding and sheds of all kinds; and the frame-work of their matted houses, for theatrical exhibitions, is run up with bamboos in a few hours. Some of the numerous varieties of this plant, particularly a black sort, serve as the materials of ornamental furniture. Longitudinal strips of the outer part form towing-ropes for boats; and of the small splinters baskets of all kinds are made. The inner portions, beaten into a pulp, form paper; and the young tender shoots, being the germs of the real stem of the plant, rising out of the ground like asparagus, are used for food in the same way as that vegetable, by boiling or stewing; or they occasionally make sweetmeats. The large tubes serve as pipes when the divisions at the joints have been removed; and for every purpose wherein strength combined with lightness is required, the hollow cylindrical shape, as in the feathers of birds, is the best adapted. The Chinese agriculturist would be entirely at a loss in numberless cases without the assistance of the bamboo, with which he constructs the fences of his enclosures, and many of the instruments of his husbandry. The siliceous concretion called *Tabasheer*, sometimes found in the interior of the joints, forms an item in their materia medica.*

The plant from which the pithy substance vulgarly called "rice-paper" is prepared was for many years a mystery in Europe. At length Mr. Reeves sent a specimen, supposed to be the plant, to the Horticultural Society, but it died shortly after; and it was not until the lapse of some years that Sir W. Hooker was able to designate the real plant as the *Aralia papyrifera*. This has been proved to be identical with the specimen first transmitted by Mr. Reeves; and since Mr. Fortune sent home

* The bamboo-stem blossoms but once, and then dies, like other grasses.

seeds in abundance it has become well known as a plant of handsome foliage A number of useful plants are, as might be expected, common to both India and China, among which may be named the cotton shrub and indigo plant, the first of which provides the clothing of the mass of the people, and the last supplies the usual dye for it Near the flat road between Peking and the Great Wall, Sir George Staunton observed, in the alluvial soil, a species of *polygonum* cultivated, and was informed that its leaves, macerated and prepared like those of the indigo, yielded a blue dye This might be tried with advantage in other climates which are too cold for the growth of indigo

A brief notice only can be taken of the remaining useful plants The *smilax*, or China root of commerce, commonly known as a sudorific is used by Chinese doctors for a variety of complaints, and may be seen growing near Canton That valuable medicine, rhubarb, grows to the northward, in the cold and mountainous province of Shensy, the colour is originally whitish, and it assumes its red appearance in drying *Curcuma*, or turmeric, is used sometimes as one ingredient in colouring black tea green to deceive foreigners, and the root likewise forms an article of export from Canton Ginger is commonly cultivated all through the interior, and sold green in the shops as a vegetable A fine oil is extracted from the kernels of apricots to the north, and this is exactly the case among the inhabitants of Tartary, close to the Himmaleh range bordering on Bengal The Chinese cassia, an inferior cinnamon, is grown in the province of Kuâng sy, and largely exported in European ships A species of seaweed, or fucus, found on the sea beach in the neighbourhood of Macao, is used as a jelly It is first steeped in fresh water, and hung up to dry, being then boiled in water, it acquires, on cooling the consist

ence and appearance of a jelly, and is used with various fruits to form conserves. The tobacco-plant seems to be grown nearly everywhere, but has different degrees of strength, varying probably according to soil and climate. To the north it is of a pale colour, and sold in the leaf, which is reduced to a coarse powder by the purchaser. To the south it is said to owe its occasional reddish colour to being steeped in a solution of opium. It is cut into fine shreds for use, by means of a plane, applied to the edges of a quantity of leaves strongly compressed. The cultivation of the poppy was forbidden in China altogether.

Some notice must be taken of the most remarkable fruits and flowers of China. Among the former there are three distinct species of the orange, as different as one sort of fruit can be from another of the same genus. The first is the China orange of Europe; the second is of a pale yellow colour, but very sweet, and with a highly aromatic rind, being the commonest and cheapest sort in the country;* the third, and perhaps best sort, has a deep crimson rind when ripe, quite detached from the fruit, the lobes of which are almost loose, with a hollow space in the centre of them. The whole has a flattish shape, sometimes four or five inches in diameter, and the loose skin, when broken, opens like a puff-ball, disclosing the juicy lobes surrounded with a kind of net-work of fibres. This has obtained at Canton the name of "mandarin-orange," which has been converted by botanists into *citrus nobilis*. The Chinese have besides several diminutive species of the genus *citrus;* one of which, called *Kum-kat*, makes a good sweetmeat when preserved whole. Small red limes are common, but they are not equal to

* Incorrectly called in England the mandarin orange, a term which properly belongs to the next, or third sort.

the lemon of Europe The nearest approach to it is a curious result of horticultural ingenuity, by which a peculiar kind of citron is made to run entirely into rind, the whole terminating at the head in long narrow processes like fingers, whence it has obtained the appellation of *Fo-shou*, "the hand of Fŏ" The odour of the mass of rind is very powerful and fine but so entirely is this strange production the result of art operating on nature, that it does not appear a second time after the plant has been purchased

The flat peach, a curious natural species, to which the Chinese give, on account of its shape, the name *Ping taou*, or "cake-peach," is accurately figured in the Horticultural Transactions,* from the first specimen produced here in 1822, and thus noticed "This fruit is of truly singular form, and perhaps will be best described as having the appearance of a peach flattened by pressure at the head and stalk, its upright diameter, taken through the centre, from eye to stalk, being $\frac{11}{16}$ of an inch, and consisting wholly of the stone, except the skin, that of its sides (which swell round the centre) is 1⅞ inch, its transverse diameter being 2½ inches" Some other curiosities of Chinese gardens are less natural, as their flower pots containing stunted stems with full grown fruit The thick branch of a fruit-tree is deprived of a ring of bark, and the place covered round with a lump of rich loam This is kept moist, and when the radicles have pushed into the loam the whole is taken off and placed in a shallow pot The branches most loaded with blossoms are selected, and, the abscission taking place when the fruit is nearly ripe, they are in that state sold in pots

When the dwarfing process is intended to be in imitation of old forest trees, the branch which has pushed

* Vol iv p 512

radicles into the surrounding loam is separated from the tree, and planted in a shallow earthenware flower-pot of an oblong square shape. The pot is then filled with small lumps of alluvial clay, sufficient to supply a scanty nourishment to the plant, and water is added in a regulated quantity. The branches are represented by cutting and burning, and bent into shapes resembling those of an old forest-tree in miniature. Roughness is produced in the bark by smearing it with sweet substances that attract ants; and the plant in time acquires the desired smallness of leaf, and general stunted appearance. The elm is most frequently used for this purpose; nor do the dwarfs require any further attention, when once fashioned, than to have the young shoots kept down by clipping.*

Among the peculiar fruits of China, the *Lichi* has been naturalized in Bengal. Another of the dimocarpus sort, called *Loong-yen*, or "dragon's eye," is much smaller, and has a smoother skin. The *Loquat* is a fine fruit of the *mespilus* kind, not unlike an apricot in colour and appearance, but is commonly spoiled by being plucked while still immature. A specimen of the ripe fruit was exhibited by the Horticultural Society in 1825, from the gardens of Earl Powis. The *Wampee*, as it is called at Canton, has been sometimes compared to the gooseberry, which however it resembles only in size. The fruit, which grows in bunches on a good-sized tree, bearing leaves of a highly aromatic flavour, has a yellow skin (whence its name) enclosing a rather acid pulp that surrounds two or three smooth seeds of a greenish colour. Mangoes ripen in the south of China, but they are small and inferior, and the blossoms often fail in producing fruit; hence it is that, when the term "mango-flower" is applied

* See a description of the process, Hortic. Trans., vol. iv. p. 230.

to any person, it means that he promises more than he performs

Grapes in the neighbourhood of Canton are often unsuccessful, the alternations of dry heat and rain being too much in excess, while occasional typhoons tear the vines to pieces Lord Macartney's embassy found the vine cultivated largely on the borders of the river between Hâng-chow and the port of Ning po, in latitude 30°, whence the fruit is carried in junks to Canton As the vines spread from the bank, small upright posts are driven into the water at several feet distance, and the branches trained on them, thus gaining space over the shallow water To the north are seen both apples and pears, but the latter are tasteless, and the former mealy and bad, though with a fine colour and smell There is a species of date produced in Shantung, which, when dried like the French plum, has a flattish oval shape and a dark-red colour, with shrivelled skin and pleasant sweet taste To the north also are walnuts, with two kinds of chesnuts, one the common European species, the other a dwarf kind, the nuts not larger than filberts, and only one in each capsule The Chinese have besides the *Arachis hypogæa*, or ground nut, which is extensively cultivated for the sake of its oil, the common food of their lamps. The seeds, although originally a part of the flower, and connected with it by filaments, ripen in a singular manner under ground Previous to gathering them, the stems of the plants are cleared away with a hoe The seeds are then taken up with the earth, and placed in a large sieve suspended between three poles, one man feeding the sieve, while another shakes it and separates the dirt The arachis has been found to thrive in this country, when placed in a tan-pit with pines, each plant affording from twenty to thirty pods

At the head of cultivated flowers the Chinese place the

Nelumbium, or sacred lotus, whether considered in regard to its utility or its beauty. It is often raised for mere ornament in capacious earthenware or porcelain tubs, containing gold-fish. Its tulip-like but gigantic blossoms, tinted with pink or yellow, hang over its broad peltated leaves, which in shape only, but not in size, resemble those of the nasturtium, the stalk being inserted near the centre of the leaf. When cultivated on a large scale for the sake of its seeds and root, which are articles of food, it covers lakes and marshes to a wide extent. The seeds, in form and size like an acorn without the cup, are eaten either green or dried, when they resemble nuts. The roots are sliced and eaten as fruit, being white, juicy, and of a sweetish and refreshing taste. Another highly esteemed flower is the *Olea fragrans*, consisting of minute florets of a white or yellow colour, growing in bunchy clusters, just where the leaves spring from the twigs. It flowers through a great part of the year; and in damp weather the fine odour of the blossoms is perceived at some distance. The fruit is a small olive; but it seldom appears on the trees, which commonly shed their flowers without fruiting. The slow growth of the shrub justifies the expression of *tardè crescentis*, applied by Virgil to its congener, the common olive. It is remarkable that a branch of this fragrant olive is one of the rewards of literary merit, and an emblem of studious and peaceful pursuits; while in Europe likewise the olive was attributed to Minerva, and became the emblem of peace. The capital of Kuâng-sy province is named Kuei-lin-foo, from the country abounding in plantations of the *kuei-hua*, or *Olea fragrans.* It is now found at Madeira.

The famous *Mow-tân*, or tree-peony, scarcely survives a year so far south as Canton, and never blossoms there twice: very large prices are sometimes given by the

Chinese for the plants which are brought to that place. A flower much cultivated is the *Chrysanthemum indicum*, which is valued for the variety and richness of its colours. The Horticultural Society is in possession of forty original drawings from China, depicting as many varieties of the flower. Upwards of twenty are now cultivated in this country, and some very beautiful specimens have been depicted in the Transactions.* The *Moo le hua* (*Jasminum grandiflorum*), a powerful smelling white flower, is sometimes worn in China, as well as all over the East, by women in their hair, and has given rise in the former country to a song, of which the music may be found in Barrow's Travels. The *Choolan* (*Chloranthus inconspicuus*), a small greenish yellow blossom resembling strings of beads, is used in scenting the tea that bears its name. As a wild plant, the *Myrtus tomentosa*, or downy myrtle, of which the flowers, when they first expand, are of a rose colour, grows in great beauty on the hills of the Canton province and at Hongkong, as does also, in Keâng sy, the *Eugenia microphylla*, a beautiful myrtle-looking plant that covers the sides of every hill, and of which the thick terminal clusters of berries are eaten as fruit.

For such scattered lights as we possess of the geology and mineralogy of the Chinese empire, we are principally indebted to the observations of the two embassies of 1793 and 1816, and it may therefore be as well to give a summary of these observations in the order they were made, from the first landing of the missions in the Peking gulf to the termination of their journeys at Canton. That portion of the most northern province that extends from the mouth of the Peiho to Tien tsin, where the canal terminates, bears every mark of a recent and alluvial

* Vol. v. p. 152.

formation. There is not a pebble to be seen; but the whole flat consists of a mixture of clay and sand in strata alternating with beds of shells. So little is the country raised above the ordinary level of the river which flows through it, that there seems some difficulty in confining the latter within its bed. "If the obstacles," observes Staunton,* "that deflect a river's course consist of rocks or elevated compact ground, no subsequent accidents are likely to change the bed once formed; but if the waters flow through a country nearly level, and between banks of so loose a mould as to be incapable of resisting a partial swell or rapid motion of the river, it will probably on such occasions form new and circuitous channels for itself. It did so in the present instance, and to a degree of inconvenience which appears to have induced the government to take pains for confining it within its usual bounds; and, accordingly, extraordinary quantities of earth have been placed along its sides, in order immediately to fill up any breach which from time to time might be made in them. There are mounds of this kind in the form of truncated wedges all along the banks of the Peiho, which may have partly been composed of mud collected from the river's bed. At present the banks of the river are higher than the adjacent plains. Those plains extend as far as the eye could reach; and the windings of the river through them made the masts of the vessels sailing on it appear throughout the country as if moving over the fields, in every direction, while the water lay concealed."

Between Peking and the Great Wall, on the way to Jĕ-ho, or the "hot springs," lying to the north-east in Manchow Tartary, our first embassy observed, for the only time in China, a *chalky* appearance,† and geological

* Embassy, vol. ii. p. 17. † Ibid. p. 175.

features approaching those familiar to us in the south east of England In the whole distance between Peking and Canton no secondary formation so recent as chalk has been met with, and at the latter place a cargo of English flints in ballast always finds a market, being used as a material in the manufacture of coarse glass The plain on which Peking itself stands is an alluvial flat, but the country rises rapidly into mountains towards the west, where the Chinese are said to obtain great quantities of coals for the use of the capital These coals, from the specimens supplied to the last embassy, Dr Abel supposed to be a species of graphite, which, from its analysis, has been found allied to Kilkenny coal Of the higher mountains bordering on Tartary, those who accompanied Lord Macartney observed that the lowest stratum was of sand and sandstone, the next above was coarse-grained limestone, full of nodules, and of a blue colour, this was covered by an irregular and very thick layer of indurated clay, of a bluish and sometimes of a brown red colour, communicated by iron, which in places was so abundant as to give the clay the appearance of ochre In some parts were perpendicular veins of quartz, intermixed with granite at the tops of the mountains

When the embassies entered on the canal, they met with nothing but a succession of swamps and lakes, through the provinces of Shantung and the northern part of Keang-nân, affording cultivation on a large scale to the *Nelumbium*, or lotus, and the *Trapa bicornis* This is the country which, from the earliest ages of Chinese history, appears to have been subject to disastrous inundations, which we have supposed it was the merit of the great Yu to reduce and regulate The floods are at present perpetually renewed in a greater or less degree, by the bursting, from time to time, of the banks and

dikes of the Yellow River—a destructive, rather than beneficial or useful stream, which, as already observed, the late emperor himself styled "China's sorrow." On reaching Nanking, and ascending the course of the Yang-tse-keang, the country rapidly improves, the swamps disappear, and the shores consist of a bluish-grey compact limestone, under a layer of vegetable mould. The islands in the river, on the authority of Dr. Abel, are an agglomerate composed of round and angular fragments of quartz, limestone, and felspar-porphyry, united by a thin argillaceous cement, or buried in sandstone. On reaching the Poyang lake, the mountains called Leu-shan, which border it on the north-west, were found to be composed of granite, containing milk-white felspar, grey quartz, and greyish-black mica. Occasionally appeared mica-slate, with but little quartz. Dr. Abel observes, "very large perfect crystals of felspar were found in the same place, many of them three or four inches in the largest diameter, and often conjoined with masses of mica in nearly equal dimensions."

At a short distance from the Poyang lake some shallow pits were seen of a species of coal which, from its imperfect carbonization and the evident traces of vegetable substance in its composition, resembled the Bovey coal of Devonshire. The alluvial character of the spot where the latter is found bears some resemblance to the neighbourhood of the lake, which receives the drainings from the granite mountains in the neighbourhood. It has been before stated * that some of the materials of Chinese porcelain are obtained near the Poyang; and in this circumstance there is a further similitude, for it is observed by Dr. Kidd, "an inferior kind of porcelain-earth is found in that part of Bovey in Devonshire which is near

* Chap. XVIII.

the London road. It is met with not much below the surface of the earth, and from a consideration of its situation and the attendant circumstances, appears evidently to be a natural deposition of earthy felspar. Whoever considers the swampy nature of that heath, the appearances observable on its surface, and its relative situation to the adjoining granite hills may easily be convinced that it is derived from the detritus of these, washed down and deposited by water, for this heath is as it were a natural basin which must necessarily receive whatever is brought down from the adjoining high ground, and its surface in a great measure, consists of a white sandy quartz and occasional crystals and fragments of felspar, that evidently correspond with the quartz and unaltered felspar of the neighbouring granite.

On ascending the river Kan keang towards the Mei-ling ridge the banks were observed to be composed of the old red sandstone resting on granite, and on reaching a point called *Shĕ pa tan*, or "the eig[illegible] rocks that obstructed the stream con[illegible] a dark coloured compact slate. The [illegible] stream seemed to have worn away the [illegible] sandstone into a narrow channel the [illegible] ravine, shaded by the pines that [illegible] soil on either hand. From thence [illegible] increases up to the pa[illegible] the substance was examined [illegible] limestone, under an argil[illegible] structure. The road wa[illegible] the narrowest part be[illegible] in length, as many as [illegible] The rock was di[illegible] sandstone wa[illegible] almost the dark [illegible]

exposed to the weather it was reddish. On descending the southern side of the ridge, the road was lined with natural pyramidal heaps of limestone, which still preserved the remains of their original horizontal stratification.

Soon after passing the city of Nanheung-foo at the foot of the ridge, Dr. Abel observes that the hills which formed the banks of the river exhibited a breccial structure at their base, covered with beds of ferruginous clay, which gave to the soil a remarkable redness. Bricks were making of this, which came from the furnace of a blue colour, and such is the hue of all Chinese bricks from Peking to Canton. Dr. Abel disproved, by experiment, the previous notion that the blue brick is only sun-dried, and found that a portion of the red clay actually became of that tint on being subjected to the fire. In descending the river towards Canton, the embassies passed a cliff some hundred feet in height, which consisted of greyish-black transition limestone, containing deep fissures and natural caverns, some of which have been converted by a very little labour into temples and adyta devoted to the goddess Kuân-yin. Over the front of the principal cavern hangs an enormous stalactite formed by the percolation of water charged with carbonic acid through the rock above.

The dark-grey marble used at Canton is of the coarsest grain, and unsusceptible of a fine polish.* In the shops abound large quantities of striated gypsum, or alabaster, which works very easily into small figures. This substance, after being converted by burning into plaster of

* There is one species valued on account of the curious resemblance which the figures on its polished surface bear to trees, animals, &c. But this is said to come from Yun-nân. There is reason to suppose that the figures are sometimes artificial, from their too close resemblance to particular objects.

Paris is used in combination with oil as a cement for the seams of boats and junks. The Chinese turn it to various other purposes honest and dishonest. It is sometimes used as a tooth powder, but the strangest application of it is as a *gruel* in fevers under the idea of its being cooling. Perhaps the persuasion of the wholesome or at least innocuous qualities of powdered gypsum renders them less compunctious in using that substance to adulterate pounded sugar candy which it closely resembles, and we shall see, in a future chapter, that it serves as one ingredient in converting black teas which come down damaged to Canton into what are sold as *green*

The coal at Canton is far from pure, it contains a small proportion of bitumen abounds in sulphur, and leaves much earthy residuum. The coal mines by the river were observed to be in the sides of cliffs rising up directly from the water, and worked by driving a level from the river into the side of the mine the coal being laden in boats from the mouth of a horizontal shaft. The character given by Du Halde of the coal to the northward throughout the empire is much the same. He says the fires made from it are difficult to light but last a long time. He adds that "it sometimes yields a disagreeable smell, and would suffocate those sleeping near it, but for a vessel of water, which attracts the fumes, so that the fluid becomes charged with them" This may be the sulphuric acid, for which water has a strong affinity. There can be no doubt of the abundance of coal throughout China, nor of its extensive use, points which were both proved by the large supplies furnished to the boats of the embassy, and the heaps exposed for sale. The application of this mineral as fuel so long ago as the end of the thirteenth century, is shown by the following

accurate description of Marco Polo:—He says, "there is found a sort of black stone, which they dig out of mountains, where it runs in veins. When lighted it burns like charcoal, and retains the fire much better than wood; insomuch that it may be preserved during the night, and in the morning be found still burning. These stones do not flame, excepting a little when first lighted, but during their ignition give out a considerable heat." *

From the neighbourhood of Canton to the sea, the rocks are composed of red sandstone resting on granite, until, on reaching the clusters of islands that line the coast, these are found to consist of a coarse granite only, crossed by perpendicular veins of quartz. Over the irregular surfaces of the islands, and at the summits of the highest, are strewn immense rounded boulders of the same rock. They are generally imbedded in the coarse earth, which is a disintegration of the general substance of the islands, and, as this is washed from under them, roll down the steep declivities until they reach a level space, and commonly stud the sandy margins of the islands with a belt of piled rocks, some of them many tons in weight. The scenery of these islands has been often compared to that of the Hebrides, and is quite as barren. A single instance of trap formation was detected by Dr. Abel, at an island visited by the 'Alceste' frigate with Lord Amherst's embassy on board, and destined one day to be a British colony under the name of Hongkong. "I examined," he says, "the rocks by the waterfall, and found them composed of basaltic trap, exhibiting in some places a distinct stratification, in others a confused columnar arrangement." † Close to this was a mass, insulated by the sea-water, composed of two kinds of

* Quarto edition, page 273.

† Abundance of trap rocks have been since found at Hongkong.

rock, granite and basalt, whose junction exhibited some curious facts A dike of basalt passes upwards through the granite, and spreads over it. It is not in immediate contact with the granite, but separated by three narrow veins which interpose, and follow the dike through its whole length, the width of each not exceeding four inches, while that of the basalt is as many feet. The veins were of three kinds, first, granite and basalt mixed together in a confused manner, second pure felspar third, a sort of porphyry composed of very perfect crystals of felspar in a basaltic base Some islands near Chusan exhibit basaltic rocks, and many more would probably appear on further investigation

No active volcano is known to exist in China, but the line of mountainous provinces which form the western side of the empire, from Yun nan to near Peking exhibits what are generally considered as slumbering volcanic symptoms, such as wells of petroleum, salt and hot water springs, gaseous exhalations, and occasionally severe shocks of earthquake In Yun nan there are salt water wells near Yaou gan foo, in latitude 25° 35′, the south west part of the adjoining province of Sze chuen abounds in the same in Shen sy, near the city of Yen-gan foo, in latitude 36° 40, there is found petroleum, and in Shân sy there are hot water springs, as well as jets of inflammable gas, said to be employed for the purpose of distilling saline water procured from wells in the neighbourhood This connexion of the gaseous exhalations with saline springs has been considered as a corroboration of the fact, the same having been observed in Europe and America.* The Chinese are said to convey the gas to the place where it is consumed by bamboo pipes. These are terminated by a tube of clay to resist the action of

* De la Beche Geology p 139

the fire; and the combustion thus produced is so intense that the caldrons are rendered useless in a few months. A very severe and destructive earthquake occurred in Sze-chuen, during 1817, and another of the same descrip-



Joo-ee, formed of Jade

tion is remembered at Peking, as having happened in 1731. The slight shocks which have been only just perceived in the neighbourhood of Canton were probably nothing but distant vibrations, communicated from some

portion of that line of active volcanoes which extends from the north east extremity of Asia through Japan, Loo choo, Formosa, Luconia, and other islands, to Java

We may conclude with noticing some of the principal minerals of China not already described At the head of these must be placed the famous *Yu* stone, being nephrite or jade, of which was composed the *Joo ee*, or emblem of amity, sent by the late emperor to the Prince Regent

The colour is a greyish white, passing through intermediate grades into a dark green * "It is semi transparent and cloudy, fractures splintery, and is infusible without addition " † The country in which it is principally found is said to be Yun nân, where they discover it in nodules within the beds of torrents This stone is so extremely hard, that the Chinese, in cutting it, use their powder of corundum, sometimes called adamantine spar, as they do in cutting lenses for their spectacles from rock crystal ‡ The *corundum* is met with in granitic rocks, of which it is sometimes a component part Its specific gravity is about 4, and its hardness very great From the subjoined analyses, stated in centesimal ratios by Dr Kidd, it appears that the constituents of corundum, as well as its specific gravity, are nearly the same as those of *emery*, which is used for the like purpose by European lapidaries §

Chinese corundum		*Emery*	
Alumine	84 0	Alumine	60
Silex	6 5	Silex	3
Oxyde of iron	7 5	Oxyde of iron	4
		Residuum	13
	98 0		100

* A very large specimen may be seen at the British Museum cut into the form of a tortoise and found imbedded in the banks of the Jumna

† Dr Abel

‡ This is very abundant, and the best comes from Fokien.

§ Mineralogy vol i p 153

As China abounds in the primitive rocks, it is consequently rich in metals. Gold is obtained chiefly in the native state from the sands of the rivers in Yun-nân and Sze-chuen, near the frontiers of the Burmese country, which is well known for the quantity of gold it produces. What is called the Kin-shâ-keang, or "Gold-sand River," is a portion of the great Keang in the earlier part of its course; and the largest amount of the precious metal is said to come from Ly-keang-foo, near that river, and Yoong-châng-foo, on the borders of Ava. In Yun-nân are also worked silver-mines; and indeed the great quantities of silver brought to Lintin for many years past, to be exchanged for opium and exported to India, have proved that there *must* be abundant sources in the empire. Ordinary copper, whence the base metal coin of the country is made, comes from Yun-nân and Kuei-chow. A good deal of this is called *Tze-lae*, or "natural," as being found in the beds of torrents. An abundance of *malachite*, or green copper ore, is obtained near the great lake in Hoo-kuâng, and is pulverized by the Chinese for green paint. The famous *pĕ-tung*, or white copper, which takes a polish not unlike silver, is said to come exclusively from Yun-nân. A considerable quantity of quicksilver is obtained in Kuei-chow; and there is a rich mine of zinc in *Hoo-pĕ*.

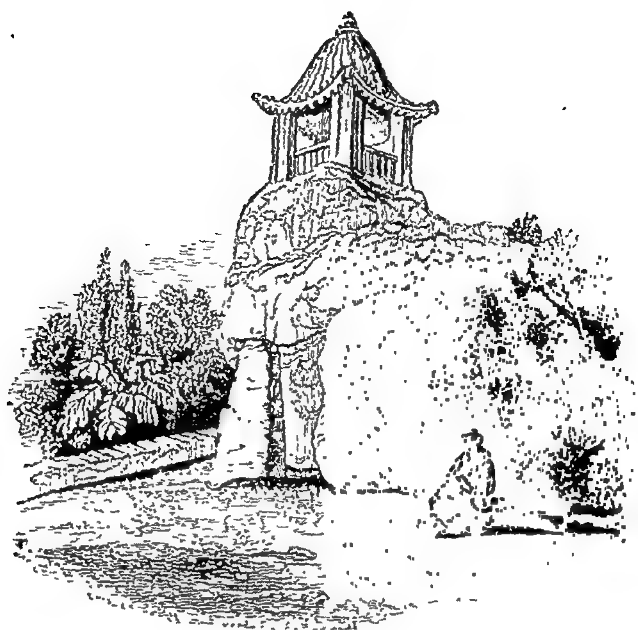
CHAPTER XXII.

AGRICULTURE AND STATISTICS

Climate and meteorology — Typhoons — Discouragements to agriculture — Objects of cultivation — Absence of pasture — Allotment of

Existing abuses

In connexion with the subject of this chapter, it may be as well to make some general remarks on the climate and meteorology of such parts of the country as have come under the observation of Europeans A distinguishing feature, the unusual *excess* in which heat and cold prevail in some parts of the empire at opposite seasons, as well as the low average of the thermometer round the year, in comparison with the latitude, has been already noticed and explained as resulting, according to the investigations of Humboldt, from the position of China on the eastern side of a great continent. Although Peking is nearly a degree to the south of Naples—the latitude of the former place being 39° 54, of the latter 40° 50—the mean temperature of Peking is only 54° of Fahrenheit, while that of Naples is 63° But as the thermometer at the Chinese capital sinks much lower during winter than at Naples, so in summer does it rise somewhat higher the rivers are said to be frozen for three or four months together, from December to March, while during the



Cave of Camoens, Macao

last embassy, in September, 1816, we experienced a heat of between ninety and one hundred degrees in the shade. Now it is well known that Naples and other countries in the extreme south of Europe are strangers to such a degree of long-continued cold, and not often visited by such heats. Europe, observes Humboldt, may be considered altogether as the western part of a great continent, and therefore subject to all the influence which causes the western sides of *continents* to be warmer than the eastern; and at the same time more temperate, or less subject to *excesses* of both heat and cold, but principally the latter.

The neighbourhood of Canton, and of other cities on the coast, to the sea causes this tendency to be greatly modified; and indeed the climate of the larger portion of the empire seems to be, upon the whole, less subject to

extremes than that of the capital Taking it all the year round, and with the exception of some oppressive heats from June to September, it may be questioned whether a much better climate exists anywhere than that of Canton and Macao, the former place being as low as latitude 23 8 north, and the latter about a degree to the south of it. The mean annual temperature of those places is what commonly prevails in the 30th parallel It is surprising to contrast their meteorological averages with those of Calcutta, a city which stands very nearly in the same latitude The following table was the result of observations made at Canton during a series of years

	Thermometer					Mean Height of Barometer	Average fall of Rain in Inches	
	Mean Maximum	Mean Minimum	Mean Temperature	Range				
				From	To			
January	57	45	51	65	29	30 23	0 675	
February	58	45	51 5	68	33	30 12	1 700	
March	71	60	65 5	79	45	30 17	2 150	
April	76	69	72 5	84	59	30 04	5 675	
May	78	73	75 5	86	69	29 89	11 830	
June	84	79	81 5	89	74	29 87	11 100	
July	88	84	86	94	81	29 84	7 750	
August	86	83	84 5	90	79	29 86	[illegible] 900	
September	84	79	81 5	88	75	29 90	10 925	
October	76	70	73	85	60	30 04	5 500	Total Rain,
November	68	61	64 5	79	48	30 14	2 425	
December	63	52	57 5	69	40	30 25	0 975	70 625
Annual Means	74·1	66 7	70 4	81 3	57 6	30 03		

(the average fall of rain was taken from a register kept, for sixteen years, by Mr Beale at Macao), by which it appears that about 70½° of Fahrenheit is the average

temperature of Canton and Macao, and that the months of October and April give nearly the mean heat of the year. The total fall of rain varies greatly from one year to another, and has sometimes been known to reach ninety inches and upwards. Vegetation is checked in the interval from November to February, not less by the *dryness* than by the *coldness* of the atmosphere; the three winter months being known sometimes to elapse with scarcely a drop of rain. The north-east monsoon, which commences about September, blows strongest during the above period, and begins to yield to the opposite monsoon in March. About that time the southerly winds come charged with the moisture which they have acquired in their passage over the sea through warm latitudes; and this moisture is suddenly condensed into thick fogs as it comes in contact with the land of China, which has been cooled down to a low temperature by the long-continued northerly winds. The latent heat given out by the rapid distillation of this steam into fluid, produces the sudden advance of temperature which takes place about March; and its effect is immediately perceptible in the stimulus given to vegetation of all kinds by this union of warmth with moisture.

With the progressive increase of heat and evaporation those rains commence which tend so greatly to mitigate the effects of the sun's rays in tropical climates. In the month of May the fall of rain has been known to exceed twenty inches, being more than a fourth of all the year, and this keeps down the temperature to the moderate average marked for that month; while, in Calcutta, there is no portion of the year more dreaded than May. At length the increasing altitude of the sun, which becomes just vertical at Canton about the solstice, and the accumulated heat of the earth, bring on the burning months

of July, August, and September, which are the most oppressive and exhausting of the whole year The extreme rarefaction of the atmosphere now begins to operate as one of the causes tending to the production of those terrible hurricanes, or rushes of wind, called typhoons (*Tae-foong*—"great wind"), which are justly dreaded by the inhabitants of southern China, but which chiefly devastate the coasts of Haenân, and do not extend very much to the north of Canton

The name typhoon, in itself a corruption of the Chinese term, bears a singular (though we must suppose an accidental) resemblance to the Greek τυφων The Chinese sailors and boatmen have from habit become very clever prognosticators of these hurricanes, and indeed of all kinds of weather, without the aid of the barometer They have a common saying, that "lightning in the *east* denotes fine weather—in the *west*, successive showers—in the *south*, continuous rain—in the *north*, violent wind It is quite certain that typhoons always commence in the north quarter The principal circumstances to be observed concerning these hurricanes are, the state of the barometer previous to and during the storm, the influence of the moon, and the localities in which they prevail The barometer falls slowly for many hours, often a whole day before the commencement, the mercury sometimes descending nearly to twenty seven inches during the progress of the gale, and its rising is a sure sign of subsidence Another sign of the approaching storm is the long and heavy swell which rolls in upon the sea beach, without any apparent cause, for some time before the hurricane begins, but which may perhaps be explained by so much of the usual pressure of the atmosphere (equal to two inches, or a fifteenth part of the mercurial column) being removed from the surface of the water, and this

circumstance may likewise partly account for the overwhelming seas that are so much dreaded by ships encountering the typhoons. The most likely periods for their occurrence are August and September, just at the change of the moon. The gale commences at north, goes about to east and south, and finishes at west. Typhoons seldom prevail below 10° north latitude, or much above the parallel in which Canton lies; and their range west and east is from the shores of Cochin-China to 130° longitude.

About Haenán and the strait which divides that large island from the main land, the typhoons are so dreadful that temples are built expressly to deprecate them, and on the fifth day of the fifth moon the magistrates offer sacrifices. In addition to the prognostics already noticed, they are preceded by a thick muddy appearance of the atmosphere, and a show of unusual disquiet among the sea-fowl. Thunder is considered as a symptom of mitigation. They seldom reach forty-eight hours, and their duration is commonly confined to twenty-four. In the year 1831, on or about the 21st September, a typhoon blew with unusual fury at Macao. It commenced at night: and by three or four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, the whole place was one scene of devastation, probably not unlike the ruin occasioned by the tornadoes in the West Indies. Houses were unroofed, ships stranded, and the solid granite quay in front of the town completely levelled. Great blocks of stone, some tons in weight, were carried a considerable way up acclivities, which might appear impossible, but for the fact that the heaviest bodies are less ponderous in water than out of it, by the weight of the fluid they displace.

No small portion of the destruction occasioned by typhoons extends to the productions of agriculture and

husbandry The wind which blows from the south and east, being charged with salt water, has a withering effect on all the vegetation near the coast, trees are broken or rooted up, and rivers, already swelled by the summer rains, are driven in floods over the low lands which rice cultivation chiefly occupies But besides hurricanes and floods, other disasters attend on Chinese husbandry Long continued droughts are not unfrequent, assailing various portions of the empire by turns The ravages of locusts are particularly dreaded in the north Père Bouvet, in a journey from Peking to Canton during the year 1693, observed that "in Shantung the country was laid waste by a frightful multitude of grasshoppers, called from their colour *Hoang-choong*, 'the yellow insect or locust' The air was full of them, and the earth covered in such a manner, even in the great roads, that our horses could not move without raising clouds of them at every step The insects had entirely destroyed the hopes of the harvest in this country the mischief, however, did not extend far, for, within a league of the place where this havoc was made, all was perfectly free" The plague of locusts is said to occur when great floods have been followed by a long drought

These are some of the chief natural discouragements to agriculture in a country which possesses a large proportion of fertile lands, watered by the innumerable branches of those two great trunks, the Yellow River and the Keâng There is perhaps no point relating to China that has been more overstated than the condition of its agriculture was by the early missionaries, probably in consequence of the contrast which it presented to the existing state of husbandry in Europe at the time when they wrote The opinion formed by Dr Abel was, "that, much as the Chinese may excel in obtaining abun

dant products from land naturally fertile, they are much behind some other nations in the art of improving that which is naturally barren." They exhibit, however, great perseverance and skill, about the neighbourhood of Canton, in gaining muddy flats from the water by extensive and well-constructed embankments. The subject on which most exaggeration has prevailed is the system of terrace-cultivation, which certainly exists in hilly districts, and may even be seen from the vessels at Whampoa, but is by no means carried to the marvellous extent that has been supposed. "While passing through the mountainous provinces of the empire, we naturally looked for that far-famed terrace-cultivation which had led to the notion of China being one vast garden, with hills terraced from the base to the summit. The wild and wooded tracts which were occasionally passed at length convinced us that they do not often attempt to cultivate a surface naturally sterile or difficult, except in the immediate vicinity of towns; and that the terracing of hills is generally confined to those lower situations where an accumulation of their degraded surface affords a soil naturally productive."

The following is a summary view of the different sorts of cultivation observed by our embassies from Peking to Canton. Upon first landing on the shores of the Gulf of Pechely, the extensive alluvial flats along the river leading to the capital exhibited a dreary waste, with only occasional patches of cultivation, confined chiefly to the *Holcus*, or tall millet, and small clumps of trees surrounding houses or temples. The banks of the river sometimes alone showed traces of tillage, and even these, where of a sandy nature, remained barren. This continued until we approached the immediate neighbourhood of Tien-tsin, which terminates the Grand Canal to the north, and

which city and the sea the whole country is
a unreclaimed marsh, the inhabitants bearing in
eral appearance the proofs of its unhealthiness.
perhaps the best safeguard from an invading
the side of the coast After passing Tien-tsin
ible improvement was observed towards Peking,
ous additions to the number of cultivated plants
he holcus, beans were grown, with the *Sesamum*
from which they extract an esculent oil, and the
communis, or castor-oil plant, but, above all,
ae, or white lettuce, which is salted, and conveyed
Canton The trees comprised elms, willows, and
of ash The fields were not divided by any sort
, but, as in every other part of the empire, by
litches or drains, or by a ridge serving for a

the travellers turned down the canal, on their
ards Canton, a great part of the land on both
Shantung had, as Mr Ellis observed "suffered
ely from inundation that it was impossible to
orrect opinion of its usual appearance" But the
of the *Nelumbium* argued its being generally
On entering Keâng-nân the country began to
and the northern parts of that province were
ertile, being cultivated chiefly with rice and
In the neighbourhood of Nanking the banks of
river Keâng were planted with groves of *Thuya*
, and with rice in flat alluvial patches It was in
of the country that the cotton-shrub was first
In proceeding along the river towards Keâng-
e lake, the cultivation of rice prevailed, but on
ing the side of the lake, the country became hilly
led It was here that the finest scenery com-
for the whole of Keâng-sy, from the Poyang

lake to the Mei-ling pass, was more or less mountainous. The cultivation of this province in grain, vegètables, and sugar-canes bore no proportion to the hills, which were either entirely barren or covered with plantations of the single white camellia, whose seeds afford the favourite vegetable oil of the Chinese. The shrub is generally from six to eight feet in height, bearing a profusion of large white single blossoms. "The hills over which it spread," observes Dr. Abel, "looked in the distance as if lightly covered with snow, but on a nearer view exhibited an immense garden. Their general bleakness and declivity unsuited them to ordinary modes of culture, and the soil was of a red sandy nature."

But, besides the camellia, other plants or trees of great utility and beauty were observed in Keâng-sy, as the *Croton*, whose berry supplies a vegetable tallow, fir and camphor trees, and the varnish-shrub. As the stream of the river became most rapid towards its source, and the neighbourhood of the Mei-ling pass, those water-wheels, already described in Chap. XX., became numerous, for irrigating the sugar-cane plantations. On arriving at the ridge which divides off the Canton province to the south, extensive woods appeared to cover both sides; and, from the pass itself to within two days' journey of Canton, we saw little else than a succession of sterile, but highly picturesque mountains. Down as far as Chaou-chow-foo the river was lined with barren limestone cliffs, their intervals thickly wooded, but with little appearance of agriculture. From the latter place southwards were red sandstone rocks, gradually flattening into an alluvial country, which, as it approached Canton, was cultivated richly with rice and fruit-trees. *Below* the last city the river forms a great delta, the whole of which has been converted, by means of embankments, into an extensive level for the

cultivation of rice * Out of this level are seen frequently to rise clusters of granite hills, like islands in a sea

The foregoing describes the whole track of the embassy in 1816, but Lord Macartney's mission deviated at the point where the Keăng is crossed by the canal, near Chinkeang foo, and, instead of proceeding up that great river to the northern extremity of the Poyang lake, they continued their course on the canal to Hâng-chow-foo Then, crossing the province of Chĕ keang, they entered Keang sy to the east, and reached the lake at its southern end In the course of this route they observed the cultivation of the Nanking cotton-shrub, and the plantations of young mulberry trees for the nourishment of silkworms Here also rice formed a principal item in farming, and the hills were planted with the useful trees and shrubs observed elsewhere On approaching the neighbourhood of the Poyang lake from the east, the country consisted of swamps, the drainings from the hills, intersected by *numerous branches of rivers, and the industry of the* inhabitants was turned from agriculture to the business of fishing, as well as of entrapping the numerous varieties of wild-fowl which there abound

No good land is ever reserved in China for *pasture*, which in fact can scarcely be considered as forming a department of their husbandry The few cattle that they have are turned out only upon waste lands, which are never improved by any sort of artificial manuring or dressing To this must partly be ascribed the poor and stunted appearance of their cows and horses *The flesh of flocks*

* The member of the emperor's council, who contended against ... of the ... ered — Shall the fine fields of ree crops a year be given up those fields in comparison parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned

and herds is scarcely tasted except by the rich, and no Chinese ever uses either milk, butter, or cheese. "Not only has it been the care of the government, *from the earliest ages*, to give every direct encouragement to tillage, and to the production of food for man alone, but there have always existed some absurd prejudices and maxims against an extended consumption of flesh-food. The Penal Code denounces severe punishment against those who kill their own cattle without an express licence.* It is a well-known principle that, where tillage exists to a considerable extent, the rent of land reserved for pasture must, in proportion to its goodness, be equal *to that of land employed in producing grain*: † and this, under a rice-cultivation, where three crops per annum, or two of rice and one of vegetables, are said sometimes to be obtained, must have such an obvious effect in raising the comparative price of meat as must discourage its consumption among a frugal people like the Chinese, even without the intervention of any positive law.

There is accordingly no people in the world (the Hindoos excepted—and they use milk) that consumes so little meat, or so much fish and vegetable food; nor, again, is there any country in which fewer cattle are employed for the purposes of draft and burthen. Where every institution tends to keep a population up to the very utmost limits of a bare subsistence, and where neither pride nor prejudice steps in between the labourer and his work, human exertion naturally supplants every other. In the southern parts of the empire, therefore, beasts of carriage and draft, with the exception of a few miserable riding-horses and a few buffaloes for ploughing, are nearly unknown. Towards Peking and the borders of Tartary, the case

* Book iv. sect. 223.

† Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. 11.

becomes altered, but the Great Wall may still be considered, generally, as the boundary that separates two peoples, *one of them exclusively pastoral, and the* other as exclusively tillers of the earth *

The provincial government of Canton, in 1833, obtained the sanction of the emperor to a very sensible plan for inviting the poorest people to settle down on waste spots of land wherever they might find them, cultivating these in the best way they could for their own sole benefit, without any tax or other charge whatever The land, thus entered on might hereafter become liable to the land-tax, but it was made the freehold property of the first cultivators, with a deed of grant from the government, and, as the object was the relief of the poor, no rich person was allowed to apply The edict by which the foregoing regulation was promulged, observed, that "in government there is nothing so important as a sufficient supply of food for the people If the poor people will but spend their strength on the southern lands, food and raiment will be supplied, and they will never be brought to abandonment and disgrace, nor become the associates of vagabond banditti All those who sink down to depraved courses have been impelled to them either by hunger and cold, or by voluntary laziness In Canton province thieves and robbers are exceedingly *numerous, and they have no doubt originated* in these causes In attempting to eradicate their evil practices, the first thing is to provide them with the means of subsistence" †

Under all the circumstances, it is very surprising that the potato should have made so little progress as an article of cultivation and food since its first introduction

* Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol ii 4to

† Chinese Repository vol i p 503

at Canton. Nothing indeed could more convincingly demonstrate the strength of Chinese prejudices than their indifference to that, as well as to other European vegetables, as cabbages, peas, &c., which, with the potato, have been cultivated at Macao for half a century. The rice-fields near that place are, during winter, converted to the growth of kitchen vegetables, including potatoes: but these are mainly for the supply of the European and native Portuguese population. Even the shipping near Canton is supplied with potatoes from Macao, where they are sufficiently abundant and cheap; but at the former place their use is not enough extended to have reduced their price. It is probable that from climate, soil, or other causes, joined to the ancient prejudice in its favour, rice will long continue to be preferred as an object of cultivation. The labour bestowed upon it is of a more compendious nature than that devoted to the growth of kitchen vegetables, and, in the southern parts of the empire, perhaps better repaid by the produce. In the case of everything except rice, the Chinese seem to manure rather the plant itself than the soil, supplying it copiously with their liquid preparation; and the motive to this is economy, for the heavy rains wash away all the soluble parts of the earth, leaving a sterile mass of sand and stones.

Every substance convertible to manure is diligently husbanded. The cakes that remain after the expression of their vegetable oils, horns and bones reduced to powder, together with soot and ashes, and the contents of common sewers, are much used. The plaster of old kitchens, which in China have no chimneys but an opening at the top, is much valued: so that they will sometimes put new plaster on a kitchen for the sake of the old. All sorts of hair are used as manure, and barbers'

shavings are carefully appropriated to that purpose The annual produce must be considerable, in a country where some hundred millions of heads are kept constantly shaved Dung of all animals, but especially nightsoil is esteemed above all others, which appears from Columella to have been the case among the Romans Being sometimes formed into cakes, it is dried in the sun, and in this state becomes an object of sale to farmers, who dilute it previous to use They construct large cisterns or pits lined with lime plaster, as well as earthen tubs sunk in the ground, with straw over them to prevent evaporation, in which all kinds of vegetable and animal refuse are collected These, being diluted with a sufficient quantity of liquid are left to undergo the putrefactive fermentation, and then applied to the land They correct hard water by the addition of quicklime and are not ignorant of the uses of lime as a manure "The Chinese husbandman Sir George Staunton correctly observes,* "always steeps the seeds he intends to sow in liquid manure, until they swell and germination begins to appear, which experience (he says) has taught him will have the effect of hastening the growth of plants as well as of defending them against the insects hidden in the ground in which the seeds were sown Perhaps this method has preserved the Chinese turnips from the fly that is often fatal to their growth elsewhere To the roots of plants and fruit trees the Chinese farmer applies liquid manure likewise, as contributing much towards forwarding their growth and vigour' With regard to fruit trees, they have found that the best situations for planting them are by the sides of rivers "Few situations," observes a paper in the Horticultural Transactions, "combine so many advantages for the plantation of

* Embassy vol ii p 476

orchards or fruit-trees as low grounds that form banks of rivers. The alluvial soil, of which they are generally composed, being an intermixture of the richest and most soluble parts of the neighbouring lands, with a portion of animal and vegetable matter, affords an inexhaustible fund of nourishment for the growth of fruit-trees." *

The sides of Chinese rivers are commonly high embankments of rich mud, thrown up as dikes for the protection of the lands which have in a great measure been gained from the river. These banks are six or eight feet in breadth at the top, five or six in height, and descend to the water at an inclination deviating about 30° from the perpendicular. The roots are in this manner *fed* by the water without being *swamped*, and the rich appearance of the fruit-cultivation along the Canton river, in oranges, plantains, and other produce, seems to attest its efficiency: at the same time, the advantages of the system may be partly frustrated by the exposure of such situations to plunder from passing boats, where there is a crowded population; and this may perhaps account in some measure for the perverse habit, which has been remarked in the Chinese, of plucking fruit before it is entirely ripe. The worst enemies of fruit-cultivation near some parts of the south coast are the typhoons, which break and destroy the trees.

The highly ingenious mechanical contrivances adopted under various circumstances for the irrigation of lands have been already described in the nineteenth chapter. Occasionally a single bucket is used, attached to the extremity of a long lever, which is nearly balanced and turns upon an upright, as may be observed in some parts of our own and various other countries. Where the elevation of the bank over which water is to be lifted is

* Vol. vii. p. 135.

trifling, they sometimes adopt merely the following simple method:—A light water-tight basket or bucket is held suspended on ropes between two men, who, by alternately tightening and relaxing the ropes by which they hold it between them, give a certain swinging motion to the bucket, which first fills it with water, and then empties it



Mode of Irrigation.

by a jerk on the higher level; the elastic spring which is in the bend of the ropes serving to diminish the labour. This mode of irrigation is represented in the preceding cut from Staunton.

The rice grown by the Chinese is of a much larger grain than that which is common in India and [illegible]

principally of two sorts, the white, or finer, and the red, or coarser kinds. They have a great prejudice in favour of their own native produce; but, when this is scarce, are ready enough to purchase what comes from abroad. The Canton government encourages the importation of foreign rice by exempting the ships which bring it from port-charges; but this advantage is in great measure rendered nugatory by the dishonesty and exactions of the lower mandarins, which have sometimes caused ships to proceed no farther than Lintin, where the rice has been sold to coasting-junks. At other times, however, this mode of avoiding a portion of the heavy expenses of the Canton river has occasioned an importation of from fifteen to twenty thousand tons in the ships of various nations—a small quantity, after all, for the demands of an enormous population. A considerable quantity of grain is used for fermented liquors and for distillation. The mandarins are such bad political economists as frequently to prohibit, when there are fears of scarcity, the appropriation of grain to these purposes; being ignorant that, if really required for food, the price would prevent its conversion to the other purpose; and, above all, that such a use of it always maintains a surplus supply, which may be resorted to in case of extremity.

The plough used in rice-cultivation is of the simplest construction. A sharp coulter, or blade, in front of the share, is found needless, as the ground is of a light loamy description, and they never have to cut through turf. The plough is in some parts of the country drawn through the soil by human strength; in others by oxen, asses, and mules, yoked together indiscriminately. The ploughshare terminates at the back in a curve, which serves as a mould-board to turn aside the earth. In the Canton province the soil of the rice-fields is ploughed by means of a

small buffalo, of a dark grey or slate colour, called by the Chinese *Shuey-neu* "water ox," from its propensity for muddy shallows, where it wallows in the mire, with habits more allied to some of the pachydermatous than the ruminating tribes When sufficient rain has fallen in spring to allow the rice-fields to be laid under water, they are subjected to the plough in that condition, the buffalo and his driver wading through the wet and slime up to their knees —an operation to which the "water-ox" is admirably fitted by nature After this a rake or harrow with a single row of teeth, and frequently a man standing on it, is dragged through the soil in order to break the lumps and clean the ground

The rice is first of all sown in a small patch duly prepared and flooded with water, and subsequently transplanted to the fields where it is to grow A short time previous to being sown the seed is immersed in liquid manure, which promotes its future growth, and renders it less obnoxious to worms or insects In two or three days after being committed to the ground the young shoots appear, of a beautiful light green colour, and when they have reached a proper height they are removed to the fields which had been prepared for their reception The process of transplanting, as observed in the Chinese Repository,* exhibits a division of labour that is perfect One person takes up the shoots, about six inches in length, and hands them to another, who conveys them to their destination They are received by another party of labourers, standing ankle deep in mud and water, some of whom dibble holes into which they drop the plants by sixes, while others follow to settle the earth about the roots, the distances between these tufts being six or eight inches every way The field is then kept flooded accord-

* Vol iii p 231

ing to its wants, or to the circumstances of the season; and any unusual deficiency of water is of course fatal to a grain which, from its nature, the Americans of Carolina call "swamp-seed."

The fields are weeded and otherwise attended to between seed-time and harvest; and when the rice, by turning yellow, is known to be nearly ripe, the water is gradually drawn off; so that, by the end of June or beginning of July, when it is time to reap, the fields are nearly dry. The tufts of grain are cut singly near the ground, by means of a species of sickle or crooked knife, and then carried off in bundles or sheaves to be threshed. The floor employed for this purpose is of hardened earth, either with or without an admixture of lime. The grain has been said to be trodden out sometimes by cattle, but the most usual implement for threshing is the common European flail. They have a winnowing machine precisely like ours, and there seems to be the best evidence for the fact that we borrowed this useful invention from them.* To get rid of the tenacious husk of the rice, it is pounded in stone mortars, of which the cone-shaped pestles are worked by horizontal levers attached to them. A wheel moved by water turns a cylinder, to whose circumference are attached cogs, which, meeting the extremities of the levers, strike them down alternately, and thus raise the pestles at the other end.

For the second crop of rice the ground is immediately cleaned of the old stubble and roots and laid again under water. Fresh plants are inserted as before, and the harvest is gathered in November. When other grains are sown, it is not by broadcast, but by the drill method, with a view to economizing the seed. One drill-plough

* A model was carried from China to Holland; and from Holland the first specimen reached Leith.

was observed by Mr Barrow different from the rest. ' It consisted of two parallel poles of wood, shod at the lower extremities with iron to open the furrows, these poles were placed on wheels a small hopper was attached to each pole to drop the seed into the furrows, which were covered with earth by a transverse piece of wood fixed behind, that just swept the surface of the ground The third annual crop obtained from the land consists of pulse, greens and other vegetables obtained during the dry and cold winter months At this period the rice fields near Macao produce an abundance of potatoes, peas, and cabbages, for which the Chinese summer in that latitude would be too hot and rainy In lieu of a spade they use a large heavy iron hoe, which is a more expeditious but far less efficient instrument, as it barely turns the earth to half the depth of the other ' This hoe serves them instead of every variety of tool for weeding trenching, digging or whatever may be the operation required in the field or garden

The tendency, which has already been noticed in the Chinese institutions, to reduce tenements in general to a very small size is probably one of the causes of the simple and economic processes that prevail in their husbandry The cultivator, being possessed of no superfluous capital, derives the most that he can from the soil by the cheapest method, and is lavish of nothing except it be his labour ' The land is never allowed to lie fallow, but its fertility is restored and maintained by an indefatigable system of tilth and manuring This may serve partly to explain the diligence with which all putrescent substances are converted to this purpose, and especially the most disagreeable one for which the Chinese are so noted The extreme paucity of every species of cattle for purposes of either food or cultivation deprives them of the principal

source of European fertilization, and at the same time suggests the substitute; to which may be added the circumstance of each tenement being in general a small patch of land immediately contiguous to the dwelling of the cultivator. But independently of both manuring and fallowing, there appears to exist some ground for the opinion that the absence of *both* expedients may be supplied to a considerable extent by repeated ploughings or exposures of the soil. The author has still in his possession a letter from the late Sir Joseph Banks, in which that distinguished person observed, with reference to a work on the agriculture of the Hindoos, as follows: "What astonishes me is, that no mention is made in any part of it of manures or of any fertilizing process, except repeated ploughings, of which, in the case of sugar, a great many are said to be necessary. We find in Europe that repeated ploughings increase the fertility of the soil; but can it be that we, who seldom exceed four, are so ignorant as not to know that by a much greater quantity of labour the fertility may be proportionably increased?"

In what has already been said of the social and agricultural state of China, enough may perhaps have appeared to account, in some measure, for the very numerous population which that country unquestionably possesses, though the actual amount is a point not so easily to be ascertained. There certainly never has been known a people that held out so many direct encouragements to the growth of population, or so completely set at nought all those prudential restraints which have been proposed to us by Mr. Malthus. But it must be admitted that they pay the penalty in the shape of a great deal of consequent poverty and misery, clearly resulting from those parts of their system which tend constantly to increase their numbers beyond the existing capability of the country to maintain

them, and prevailing in spite of circumstances favourable to a general distribution of the means of subsistence It may be as well to review, in the first place, the principal causes which conduce to the unexampled population of China, and then to exhibit the different statements as to the actual amount

We have already seen that the advantages with which the country has been gifted by nature have been improved to the utmost by its industrious inhabitants, in the actual state of their knowledge and social condition; that agriculture, the source of food, has been honoured and encouraged beyond every other pursuit, and that the culture of the land (even when divested of the exaggerations of early writers) and the nature of its produce are such as to afford the largest return, under the circumstances, to the labour employed It has been remarked, too, that the prevalence of agricultural over manufacturing occupations must tend to prolong life, as well as to increase food Excepting those of the emperor in the vicinity of the capital, there are no extensive parks or pleasure-grounds reserved from the operations of productive industry In the prevailing absence of wheel carriages and horses, the least possible ground is occupied by roads; and the only tracts devoted to sepulchral purposes are the sides of barren hills and mountains There is no meadow-cultivation whatever, nothing is raised for the food of cattle, but all for man, and this is a more important circumstance than it may at first sight appear

In China there exists, as we have observed, the smallest possible number of horses and of any animals for the purposes of labour, carriage, or draft; and these maintain themselves as they can on pastures unsusceptible of cultivation Scarcely any domestic animals are kept unless for food There is a very limited con-

sumption of any kind of meat among even the higher orders; and the lower subsist almost exclusively on the productions of tillage.* Now it has been calculated that, in Great Britain, above a million horses are engaged in transporting passengers and goods, and that the support of each horse requires as much land as would feed eight men. Here then are eight millions supplanted; and it is when this point has been reached that the maintenance and use of horses become so comparatively costly as to give rise to inventions for superseding them, like steam-carriages. In China, whatever cannot be transported by water is borne on men's shoulders, and the very boats on their canals are tracked by men.

In no other country, besides, is so much food derived from the waters. The missionaries employed in constructing the map of the empire observed that a large number of boats were collected from various parts on the great Keâng, at a particular period of the year, to procure the spawn of fish. A portion of the river being dammed up with mats and hurdles, the water becomes charged with the spawn, which is carried in vessels to distant places, and distributed wherever fish can subsist. Besides the ordinary contrivances of nets and wicker-traps of all kinds, the Chinese have several modes of taking fish peculiarly their own. During moonlight nights they use long narrow boats, having wooden flaps at their sides, descending to the surface of the water at a particular inclination, and painted white. The fish, being deceived by the light reflected from these boards, leap upon them, and are turned over into the boat with a jerk. We have already had occasion to observe that the innumerable

* The present price of meat in England is about four times that of bread; or, where an acre of ploughed land will feed a given number of persons, it would require nearly four of pasture.

fishing-boats on the southern coasts maintain a race of hardy sailors, who have more than once, by their piratical combinations, given great trouble to the government, and were gained over at last only by concession * The vast quantities of fish which are caught are mostly salted, and thus consumed with rice It is on the lakes and swamps of Shantung and Keang nân that the fishing bird is trained to exercise his piscatorial habits in the service of man, and they may now be seen on the pieces of water within the town of Ning-po. Numbers of them were observed by our embassies perched in every boat, from which, at a given signal, they disperse themselves over the water and return regularly with their prey



Fishing with Birds.

The political causes which tend to swell the population of China are numerous and powerful Among these are the paternal rights which continue during life, and render a son, even in that over-peopled country, an important acquisition How effectual and necessary male children

* Since our war they have again become as numerous as ever

are considered to the support of aged parents, is proved by the laws of the country, which grant life sometimes even to a condemned homicide, if the want of another son or grandson, above the age of sixteen, renders his existence necessary to the support of a parent. In some cases the next nearest relative, as a nephew, may be reprieved from death under the same plea.* We have seen before that the power over children is in reality absolute, and it appears that the original relation of the offspring to both their parents remains in full force, notwithstanding the divorce of the latter. The other cause which renders male children so desirable is the sentiment regarding sacrifices at the tombs, and in the temple of ancestors, on which the whole plot of one of their plays has been mentioned as turning. In default of male children, there is a legalized mode of adoption, by which the line is perpetuated, and the family prevented from becoming extinct. Even the tendency of slavery to check population is counteracted, by a law which makes the owners of domestic slaves, who do not procure husbands for their females, liable to prosecution.

But the perpetuation of families does not tend more to the density of the population than the manner in which those families live and are maintained. It is a universal system of *clubbing* on the most economical plan. The emperor observes, in the Sacred Instructions, that nine generations once lived under the same roof, and that "in the family of Chang-she, of Keang-chow, *seven hundred* partook of the same daily repast. Thus ought all those who are of the same name to bear in remembrance their common ancestry and parentage. . . . May your regard for your ancestors be manifested in your mutual love and affection; may you be like streams diverging

* Peking Gazettes. Royal Asiatic Trans. [illegible]

from their sources,* or trees branching from their stems The claims of kindred being thus strengthened and enforced, and supported besides by common opinion, the property of families is made to maintain the greatest number possible, and even if any prudential scruples respecting marriage were supposed to exist in the mind of a Chinese this would tend effectually to remove them

Another political cause that aggravates the over-population of the country is the obstacle that exists, both in law and prejudice, to emigration 'All officers of government, soldiers, and private citizens, who clandestinely proceed to sea to trade or remove to foreign islands for the purpose of inhabiting and cultivating the same, shall be punished according to the law against communicating with rebels and enemies' Necessity of course renders this in a great measure nugatory, but it must discourage emigration, because, even supposing a subject to have amassed a fortune in foreign countries, there is the clear letter of the law to hang perpetually over him on his return, and it is precisely in this way that all [illegible] and extortion in China is exercised—by [illegible] law against a man But, independently [illegible] ment of his native place, and of [illegible] is always abhorrent to the mind of a Chinese [illegible] consequence is, that no person [illegible] desperate ever quit their co[illegible]

In the general list of ca[illegible] important one—the [illegible] own way, has been enjoye[illegible] plete establishment of [illegible] now considerably exce[illegible]

* This comparison [illegible] sources and a gene[illegible] tree is correct.

witnessed The estimate of three hundred and thirty-three millions, obtained from one of the conductors of Lord Macartney, is confessedly a document in *round numbers*, but, being declared to be founded on official returns, might at least be considered as an approximation to the truth, if the accounts derived by us, directly from their own statistical works did not unfortunately discredit themselves by the contradictions and inconsistencies that pervade them

Grosier, on the authority of Amiot, who quoted the *Ye-tung chy*, or statistical account of the whole empire, made the population in 1743 amount to one hundred and ninety-eight, or two hundred millions There is nothing incredible in this, considering that the area included within the limits of China proper is above eight times that of France But on comparing it with the three hundred and thirty three millions of Lord Macartney's authority, just fifty years afterwards, an increase of considerably more than half within that period seems very large The true point of difficulty is the degree of credit that is to be attached to the Chinese census The division of the whole population into hundreds and tithings seems calculated to secure some degree of correctness in the returns, yet it has been stated, on native authority, that "the ordinary report of the population is a mere matter of form, to which no particular attention is paid. When a census is especially called for by the emperor, the local officers just take the last one, and make a lumping addition to it, in order to please his majesty with the flattering idea of increase and prosperity Now, although it is true that the enormous census of three hundred and thirty-three millions was not made to impose on foreigners, yet it might have been made by this proud nation to impose on themselves." *

* Letter in Chinese Repository vol i p 38

In a paper by Dr. Morrison, appended to [illegible] the Anglo-Chinese College in 1823, there is [illegible] obtained from a native work, of the [illegible] of Revenue at Peking, which [illegible] cognizance of the population. It app[illegible] commencement of the present dynasty of M[illegible] perors, and soon after their [illegible] census was taken, with reference to [illegible] bility to military service, of all males [illegible] under sixty years of age. The poll-tax [illegible] merged in the land-tax, the census [illegible] poll-tax for ever interdicted. [illegible] afterwards restored by the Emperor K[illegible] any view to taxation, but simply [illegible] of numbers in each province and [illegible] be taken by the heads of [illegible] three or five years. The first [illegible] magistrate, the next from him to the [illegible] vince, while these last [illegible] supreme government. The [illegible] was to have some guide in [illegible] relief during periods of drought, [illegible] to particular districts; [illegible] execution of their duties.

When the [illegible] sions to the embassy of Lord M[illegible] the fifty-eighth year of [illegible] issued a proclamation [illegible] call [illegible] upon all [illegible]

[illegible]

land (he says) does not increase in quantity, although the people to be fed increase so rapidly." Here is the highest authority to prove that a very great increase had really taken place; but when we come to the particulars, they are such as to stagger all belief. The emperor goes on to say that in the forty-ninth year of Kâng-hy (A.D. 1710), or under the old system of the poll tax, the population of the empire was rated at 23,312,200 and odd; and that by the late census, according to returns sent from all the provinces, it amounted to 307,467,200!

"The increase," observes Dr. Morrison, "seems so enormous in a period of about eighty-two years, that some error in the figures might be supposed. However, the emperor remarks that the increase had been about fifteen-fold, which shows there was no mistake; since fifteen fold would make the amount three hundred and forty-five millions."* Dr. Morrison proceeds to say that "the statement proves Mr. Malthus's position, that population may double itself every twenty-five years; for this is nearly doubling it every twenty years." Indeed it proves a great deal too much, unless some way can be discovered of reconciling the account with bare possibility. But we must remember that a great portion of the country was *unsubdued* in the reign of Kâng-hy. The southern parts of the empire held out obstinately against the Tartars, and some of them were long governed by independent Chinese rulers. These, then, must of necessity have been, for the time, excluded from a census of the subjects of the Manchow dynasty. At the time when the numbering took place by order of Kien-loong, every portion of the present empire was united in peaceful subjection to his sway, and had, besides, enjoyed unusual

* The increase according to the numbers given is something more than thirteen fold.

peace and prosperity during his reign of extraordinary duration.

Again, we must call to mind that the census, so remarkable for its small *amount under Kâng-hy*, was with reference to a *poll-tax* and to *military service*, two objects which were of all others the least calculated, during an unsettled and half-subdued state of the country, to ensure a correct or full return. It was long before the Chinese could get over their natural aversion to the Tartar dominion; and, for the first generation or two, it is likely that great numbers would seek refuge, either in some part of China still independent, or in some neighbouring countries or islands, as we have seen that they did in Formosa. The Manchow conquest is said, by the combined effects of war and emigration, to have reduced the population of China to less than half its amount under the *Ming* race; but the conquest has been followed by almost unexampled peace and prosperity during a period considerably exceeding a century and a half; and this circumstance, in connexion with those several parts of the Chinese system which we have already noticed as [illegible]nently favourable to increase, must have had its effe[ct in] peopling the country. The unrestrained march of [popu]lation in its "geometric progression" is easil[y com]prehended in a new country, like America, with [abundant] fertile land: but, in China, it is necessary to [account for its] apparently sudden and extraordinary in[crease on par]ticular and specific grounds.

A census said, on the authority of a ([illegible] work of some note, to have been taken i[n the] year of Keaking (1812), goes beyond f[ar that given] to Lord Macartney, and makes the po[pulation amount to the] number of 3[illegible]1. If the other [illegible] there is less difficulty in believing the [illegible]

last exhibits in nineteen years. It must be left to the reader's own judgment to determine how far the accuracy of a Chinese census is to be trusted, after he has been informed that the account is made up from the returns received in detail from every village in the empire, in which the houses are provided with what is called a *Mun-pae*, or "door tablet," on which are inscribed all the individuals of the family. The lists are transmitted *through several channels before they reach Peking*, and may occasionally, if not always, be liable to falsification by those who wish to flatter or gratify the court by the idea of increase. Taking the area of China at 1,200,000 square miles, we should, on the latest estimate, have three hundred inhabitants on a square mile, which is more than has been attributed to England or Holland.

Mr. Malthus, without seeming to have been aware of the disproportion between the census of Kâng-hy and that of Kien-loong, appears disposed to credit the 333,000,000 stated to Lord Macartney as the actual population of China at the end of the last century, on the ground of the extraordinary encouragements which are there given to the continual multiplication of the species. "The natural tendency," he observes, "to increase is everywhere so great, that it will generally be easy to account for the height at which the population is found in any country. The more difficult, as well as the more interesting part of the inquiry, is to trace the immediate causes which stop its farther progress. The procreative power would, with as much facility, double in twenty-five years the population of China, as that of any of the states of America; but we know that it cannot do this, from the palpable inability of the soil to support such an additional number." The great increase that has certainly taken place since the depopulating effect of the Tartar ...

likely in reality to be considerably less than the Chinese census) has been in some measure a mere restoration to the land of the population which it *before* maintained; in which respect the situation of the country has, to a certain degree, and for the time, been as favourable to increase as that of new colonies.

It is pretty generally admitted that, as the preventive checks in any country operate feebly in restraining the overflow of population, the positive checks will be called into more powerful action; and in this respect China affords a signal corroboration of the Malthusian doctrine. We have seen that the poorest persons are urged to marriage equally with the richest, by motives inherent in their institutions, and sentiments instilled into them from their birth. The only classes among whom the preventive check operates at all, are the priests of Fŏ, on whom celibacy is enjoined by their tenets, and the domestic slaves, whom the interests of their masters may occasionally prevent from marrying—though in the latter case we have seen that the law has stepped in with its interference in favour of increase. The positive checks are epidemics, starvation,* and infanticide, as far as the latter prevails. The general healthiness of the country is remarkable; but the Peking Gazettes occasionally bear testimony to the ravages of sickness in particular districts, often the consequence of previous famine, whether resulting from drought, inundation, locusts, or other causes. The Sacred Edict warns the people against "those years which happen from time to time, when epidemic distempers, joined to a scarcity of grain, make *all places desolate*."

The public granaries are very poor provisions against

* The ordinary wages of labour appear, from the *Leu-lee*, to be equivalent to about sixpence a day, and this gives little more than a bare subsistence.

seasons of dearth, partly from the malversations and dishonesty of those who conduct them, and partly from their bringing the government into competition with the corn-dealer or factor, whose natural interest is much better calculated to equalize the prices of grain, and make the plenty of one year supply the dearth of another, than the artificial interference of the government. When rice is cheap, he is prevented from buying and storing it up, and its very cheapness occasions its undue consumption, just as if a ship's company should eat up two months' provision in one month The free and unrestrained business of the corn-factor would provide by far the best public granary, though it might deprive the government of some part of the display and pretence of its paternal character But the natural diffusion of food through *space* is equally restricted with its diffusion through *time* As it is the policy of Chinese rulers to restrict the intercourse of different parts of the empire to inland navigation, a reference to the map will immediately show that the inland trade between some provinces on the coast is impeded by lofty mountains, where rivers take their rise, and where they are therefore unnavigable The plenty of one province, accordingly, in such a bulky commodity as grain, cannot easily supply the want of another except by *sea* and that channel is interdicted

This inconvenience is sometimes so plain as to be discerned, and to lead to the removal of the impediments An edict was issued by the emperor a few years since, of which the following is an extract —"The viceroy of the two provinces of Fokien and Chě keang has recommended a temporary relaxation of the restrictions on the coasting trade, and the holding out of encouragement to merchants to import grain from Chě-keang by sea In the past year the harvest of rice in Fokien has been so bad as to

raise the price of grain to an unusual height. The same viceroy states that the harvest in Chĕ-keang has been comparatively plentiful, and the coasting navigation affords such facilities for transmission, that he recommends some relaxation of the restrictions upon it, as an encouragement to merchants to supply the wants of the people. Let this be done according to his recommendation, and let the treasurer of Fokien hold out encouragement to the merchants of the provincial capital and its dependencies to proceed to Chĕ-keang with proper licences, and import grain by sea. Let the lieutenant-governor of Chĕ-keang make known to the merchants of his province, that if they wish to transmit grain to Fokien they may receive permits from the treasurer for that purpose. Let them be allowed, after proper inspection, to proceed through the several seaports without detention or hindrance. When the price of grain in Fokien shall have sunk to its usual level, let the customary restrictions be resumed."

The impediments to free trade in the produce of the land arise partly from the principal revenues being derived from agriculture. A land-tax has from the earliest ages been the chief resource of the government. We learn from the book of Mencius* that in lieu of the present system, by which one-tenth, or less, is levied from the land, a mode formerly prevailed called *Tsoo* (assistance), by which the government obtained a ninth of the produce, or about eleven per cent. A certain portion of land was divided into nine equal parcels, of which one was reserved for the state, and the rest given to eight different farmers, who united in tilling the public field as a tax for their several portions.† This was considered as superior to all

* Shang-meng, ch. v.

† An ode in their Book of Songs says, "Let the rain descend first on our public, and then on our private fields."

other systems, on the ground of its constant equality, and just proportion to the variations of the seasons, but it was of course found impracticable in the long run, and the mode of taxation called *Koong* substituted, by which an average of several years produce was made, and a tenth of this fixed as a permanent tax "But," says Mencius, "although in years of abundance the fixed rate is small, yet in bad years, when the produce is deficient, he who should be the parent of the people injures them by taking the fixed average amount Our rent charge in lieu of tithe, calculated on an average of the last seven years, remedies the evil noticed by Mencius in the permanent tax

Some observations by Sir George Staunton, the translator of the Penal Code, in connexion with the present subject deserve to be quoted at length — It has long been a disputed and is still perhaps to be considered a doubtful question whether the tenure by which the land is in general held in China is of the nature of a freehold, and vested in the landholder without limitation or control or whether the sovereign is in fact the universal and exclusive proprietor of the soil while the nominal landholder is like the zemindar in India, no more than the steward or collector of his master The truth probably lie, in this instance, between the two extremes It is well known that several of the merchants who trade with Europeans at Canton have considerable landed possessions, and that they esteem those possessions to be the most secure, if not the most important, portion of their property The missionaries resident at Pekin, under the protection of the court, had likewise their possessions in land granted them by different emperors for the support of their establishments Besides, the ordinary contribution of the landholder to the revenue is supposed not to exceed

one-tenth of the produce—a proportion very different from that which is required from the ryots, or actual cultivators of the soil in India, and which leaves enough in the hands of the landholder to enable him to reserve a considerable income to himself, after discharging the wages of the labourer and the interest of the capital employed upon the cultivation of his property. . . . . . As there are no public funds in China, the purchase of land is the chief, if not the only, mode of rendering capital productive with certainty and regularity, and free from the anxiety and risk of commercial adventure.

"On the other hand it must be admitted that the Penal Code clearly evinces that there are considerable deductions *to be made from the advantages just mentioned*: that the proprietorship of the landholder is of a very qualified nature, and subject to a degree of interference and control on the part of government, not known or endured under the most despotic of the monarchies of Europe. By the 78th section (of the Code) the proprietor of land seems to be almost entirely restricted from disposing of it by will. By the 88th section it appears that the inheritors must share it amongst them in certain established portions. By the 90th section those lands are forfeited which the proprietors do not register in the public records of government, acknowledging themselves responsible for the payment of taxes upon them. Allotments of lands even appear to be in some cases liable to forfeiture, merely because they are not cultivated when capable of being so.* By the 95th section no mortgage is lawful unless the mortgagee actually enters into the possession of the lands, has the produce thereof conveyed to him, and makes himself personally responsible for the

* But we have seen that they are sometimes given free of taxes, and with no other condition but that of cultivation.

payment of all taxes, until the lands are redeemed by the proprietor" * Thus the Chinese possess the benefits of a *public registry of real property*, which was established with a view to securing to the emperor his revenues from the lands

We have seen that the capitation or poll tax imposed by the Tartars was soon taken off again, and it was Yoong-ching, the second emperor of the dynasty, who, in order to avoid the trouble and uncertainty attending the collection of the land-tax from the tenants, ordained that it should ever after be taken from the landowners In order to comprehend in any way the subject of the Chinese revenues, we must premise, that from the produce of taxation in each province the treasurer of that province deducts the civil and military expenses, and all outlays, whether for public works or otherwise, remitting the *surplus* to Peking either in money or kind The difficulty, then, of ascertaining the real expense that attends the administration of the whole empire arises from this surplus being the only point that has been clearly ascertained, is well as from a considerable portion of the taxation being levied in *commodities*, as grain, salt, silks, and stores of different kinds Whether this cumbrous and wasteful system arose from the want of a convenient circulating medium (in the absence of any gold or silver coin), or from some other cause, we will not pretend to explain, but it is deserving of remark that no small part of the allowances of public servants, especially at Peking, as well as of the stipends of courtiers and imperial relatives, is paid in the shape of *rations* and *supplies*. Without possessing, as it would seem, the means of an exact computation, Du Halde states that the total expense of the

* Appendix to *Leu-lee*, p 526

imperial government through the empire must be two hundred millions of taëls, or upwards of sixty millions sterling, of which only *twelve millions* are transmitted to Peking. The accuracy of the latter amount seems pretty nearly confirmed by what appeared in a Peking Gazette, dated November, 1833. A Tartar officer therein states that the whole receipts from land-tax, salt monopoly, customs and duties, &c., do not exceed forty millions of taëls. This is twelve or thirteen millions sterling, and can of course mean *only* the revenue transmitted to Peking, after paying the expenses of the provinces; for a country eight times the size of France could hardly be governed for that sum. Again, it appears from a statement by Dr. Morrison that the surplus from land-tax transmitted to Peking by *two* provinces was *five* millions of taëls, which, taken as an average for eighteen provinces, would give forty-five millions; but one or two of them supply much below that average, and the true total may therefore be forty millions, as above.

With reference to the grain that is transmitted to the capital, Padre Serra informs us that it is laden in about ten thousand boats, each boat carrying eleven hundred sacks. In addition to the independence of sea-navigation, it was for the express purpose of securing this supply that the Grand Canal was constructed. One of its names is the "Grain-remitting River" (Yun-leang-ho); and the statement extracted by Dr. Morrison from a Chinese account of the Board of Revenue at Peking confirms the foregoing assertion of Padre Serra; for the actual number of grain-junks is there reckoned at 10,455. On quitting *Tien-tsin* in 1816, and proceeding towards the capital, the vast number of these vessels ranged along the southern bank of the river drew our attention. From about noon until late at night we sailed rapidly past an

unbroken line of them, anchored in a regular manner with their heads to the shore, and close to each other, the stern of every junk resting upon the side of the one immediately next to it down the stream Each of them was said to carry above a hundred tons, but this must probably be beyond the average of their burthen, since it would give the enormous amount of more than a million tons in grain It is likely that some of them are employed not exclusively in remitting grain, but that the silks, teas, and other tribute from the provinces are likewise laden on board Tien tsin is only about fifty miles from the sea and an invading enemy, by reaching that point, might either take possession of the grain junks, or destroy them, and thus starve the capital

It is a rule on the canal that all private vessels should make way for the grain junks, and the people in the latter sometimes abuse their privilege "The late outrageous and violent conduct of those on board the grain junks (said an edict of the present emperor in 1824) towards private merchants and individuals, has rendered it necessary to enact certain regulations for their future government and control * The superintendent has reported that it has been the custom for every division of these vessels to employ the people of the province and district whence it came, as being the best skilled in the management of the vessels This has given occasion to numbers of houseless vagabonds from distant parts to conduct themselves in a disorderly and unlawful manner, relying upon their great number for impunity Let the headman in each vessel be made responsible, and let him be

* In the year 1848 some disbanded men of the Imperial grain junks behaved so ill in the neighbourhood of Shanghae as to occasion considerable trouble to the English at that place and very energetic measures were required on the part of the consul to secure their punishment

compelled to return lists of his crew, as a check upon their conduct. Let the returns contain a description of the age, appearance, and other particulars of each person; and let every man have a badge or mark round his middle, in order that when the vessel comes to an anchor he may be duly registered. When the grain-junks enter any particular district, let the civil and military officers, attended by their soldiers and followers, resort to the spot, and exert themselves in quickening the progress of the vessels, as well as in the preservation of order."* A portion of the land-tax in grain is reserved, in each province, for the supply of the public granaries, to be sold at a reduced rate to the people in times of scarcity.

Another principal source of revenue in China, next to the land-tax, is the duty on *salt*, which yields a very large amount in consequence of the immense consumption of salted fish, as well as other provisions. The trade in salt is a government monopoly, farmed by a certain number of licensed merchants, who in point of wealth vied with those other monopolists, the late Hong merchants of Canton. This necessary of life is chiefly procured in the eastern and southern provinces on the coast, though they appear to have mines of rock-salt, as well as salt-springs. Large square fields in the marshes adjoining the sea are made perfectly level, with elevated margins. The sea-water is then either let in by sluices, or pumped in by the method commonly used in irrigation. The water, which lies on the surface to the depth of a few inches, is then evaporated by the heat of the sun. The huge stacks or rather *hills*, of salt, observed by our embassies at Tien-tsin, were calculated by Mr. Barrow† to contain 600,000,000

* Royal Asiatic Transactions, 4to. vol. i.

† "The number of entire stacks was two hundred and twenty-two, besides several others that were incomplete. A transverse section of

lbs, and occupied the north side of the river, or that opposite to the grain-junks, but these lay *above* the city, while the heaps of salt bags lay *below* it on the river We find from Marco Polo that a like revenue was derived by the Mongol emperors from this necessary of life

In China no considerable quantity of salt can ever be removed except by a permit There appear, from the Penal Code to be similar restrictions attending certain government monopolies of both tea and alum* for home consumption "Whoever is guilty of a clandestine sale of these articles shall be liable to the same penalties as in a clandestine sale of salt † Ginseng is another monopoly of the emperor The collection of this root in Manchow Tartary is confined to the "eight banners" each division having a portion of territory allotted to it for the search of the medical treasure That collected at Ningkoota used to be reserved for the sole use of the emperor and his family, the rest being distributed in rewards to officers and courtiers Tickets or permits are given to those employed in collection and severe punishments enacted against all such as presume to gather ginseng without licence The Hong merchants used to be *compelled* to buy ginseng, whether they wanted it or not, to the extent of 120,000 taels per annum Several

each stack was found to contain seventy bags None of these stacks were less in length than two hundred feet some extended to six hundred Supposing the mean, or average length of those stacks to be four hundred feet of which each bag occupied a space of two feet there would then be in each stack two hundred sections or fourteen thousand bags and in the two hundred and twenty two stacks upwards

* It has been observed before that alum is used as a precipitate in clarifying the water of the rivers for use

† Penal Code sect cxli

mines of metals also afford a revenue. In Yun-nân is a river called *Kin-sha*, or "golden-sanded," some part of the produce of which is paid to the government.

Taxes on the transit of goods are another source of income to the emperor, as well as customs on imports and exports. A considerable addition to the prices of teas exported by us from Canton was made by the duties levied by the government at different passes between that port and the countries where it is grown. This was one of their main reasons for confining the European ships to Canton; for if we obtained the teas nearer to the places of growth and manufacture, all that was saved in the price to the purchasers would have been lost in the transit duty to the revenue. Besides these burthens, and the profits of the Hong merchants, were to be reckoned the regular and irregular charges levied by the Hoppo, or chief commissioners of customs. This officer was always a Tartar favourite of the emperor, selected from one of the three tribes about the court; and as many of them are distinguished by their *number* and not by their *name*, a former Hoppo of Canton (in 1828) was styled "His Excellency *Seventy-four*." It was the business of the Hoppo, in addition to amassing an immense private fortune from the European trade in the course of four or five years, to remit to Peking annually 1,470,000 taëls, or Chinese ounces of silver, and to make three presents to the emperor; one in the fifth moon, another on his majesty's birthday, and a third at the end of the year.* The whole amounted to about 800,000 taëls in value, and consisted principally of European articles obtained from the merchants. As the *foreigners* were those who ultimately paid these charges, the government had none of its ordinary scruples to restrain exaction.

* Padre Serra's Notices, Royal Asiatic Transactions, vol. iii. 4to.

The civil and statistical work,* abstracted by Dr Morrison, after stating all the sources of income, proceeds to give the items of expenditure It begins with the salaries and allowances in silver, grain, and silk, to the princes and nobles about the court, which have already been noticed in the eleventh chapter The officers of government receive both pay and allowances, the pay being often a mere trifle, but the allowances on a liberal scale The legal emoluments of the governor of a province are 15,000 taels, or 5000*l*, in silver, the value of which is much higher with them than with us The treasurer of a province who collects and remits the land-tax, &c, has 9000 taels After paying the court, the civil service, and the army, the Board of Revenue has to issue relief to those districts of the empire which have suffered from drought, inundation, locusts, or earthquakes The various sources of regular income appear to be inadequate to the necessities of the state, and hence the need of resorting to *unacknowledged fees and assessments* "His present majesty on his accession,' observes Dr Morrison, "ordered all fees to be discontinued, but he did so by the advice of a novice All the governors of provinces immediately memorialized, and declared the orders utterly impracticable The emperor then turned round, confessed his inexperience, censured his adviser, and revoked the order"

It has been observed before that the Tartar soldiers are paid, in part, by grants of land In western Tartary, parties of military, of 800 or 1000, are settled down to cultivate the waste lands, serving at the same time to control the native population They generally produce grain enough for their own subsistence Soong ta-jin (the conductor of Lord Macartney) recommended that

* *Ta-tsing Hoey-tien*

each man should have a piece of land given him as a perpetual inheritance: but the government objected, on the ground that he would neglect martial exercises to cultivate his private farm; and that region (they added) was too important to intrust to undisciplined troops. The Chinese troops settled towards the Russian frontier, from the Saghalian westward, are generally agriculturists. To a station on that river some criminals were sent, to be coerced by the regular troops, and to work for them. They behaved well, and the Emperor *Yoong-ching* (the third of the Manchows) forgave their crimes, and granted them lands. He remarked on that occasion, "It may be seen from this occurrence, that, if criminals have a path of self-renovation opened to them, there is reason to hope they will reform their vices and become moral."

Some mode of increasing its regular income attracted the serious attention of the government of China. In a Peking gazette,* dated the 11th of October, 1833, there appeared the result of deliberations between the several supreme boards, and that particular one which has especial charge of the revenue. They had formed a committee of ways and means, and the object was to increase the income for current expenses, because, during the last few years, the outlay had exceeded the receipts by more that thirty millions of taëls. They were, in short, employed upon the great problem of government, which has been thus defined by Voltaire—"à prendre le plus d'argent qu'on peut à une grande partie des citoyens, pour le donner à une autre partie." The defalcation is attributed, and with apparent reason, to the suppression of two rebellions among the Mahomedan Tartars, adherents of Jehanghir Khojah, and to the inroads of the Meaou-tse, north-west of Canton. But besides these

* Chinese Repository, vol. ii. p. 430.

sources of expense, there has been an unprecedented train of calamities in the shape of deluge and drought, making it necessary to remit large amounts of land-tax in different provinces, while the repairs of the Yellow River, and its neighbouring streams, drained both the general and provincial treasuries Expense was thus increased, at the same time that income was diminished At length came the crowning disaster of the war with England, which, besides its inevitable expenditure and losses, imposed an indemnity of 27,000,000 dollars, including the Canton ransom

The expedient that was adopted for raising money, being directly contrary to what may be termed the leading principle of the Chinese system, that of eligibility to office by learning and talent alone, might perhaps be considered as boding ill to the actual rulers of the country The rank of *Kuyin*, which qualifies for employment, and, by the fundamental law of the country, should be attainable by no other road than that of approved learning, has been *sold for money*, as offices in France were under the old regime But so opposed is this to the universal sentiment of the empire, and to the expectations of the proper candidates for employment, that a short limit is set to the period of its exercise On the occasion in question the term was restricted to about nine months The system is considered altogether bad Many of the old purchasers remain unemployed, and those who get into office, having bought their places, deem it but fair to repay themselves as fast as possible from the people Various other expedients have been proposed, some were for opening the mines, some advised raising the price of salt, others recommended that rich merchants and monopolists should subscribe for the wants of the state It has been already mentioned that one or two of the late Hong merchants

obtained the decoration of the peacock's feather for contributing a round sum towards the military operations against the mountaineers. The present government of the country is evidently hard pressed for means, and distressed by any unusual draft on its resources.

Although, as we have before endeavoured to demonstrate, the very different condition of China in respect to wealth and prosperity has argued a system of government much superior to what prevails under other Asiatic despotisms; although, as long as we are to judge of the tree by its fruits, a large share of good government *must have been the general rule*; it is evident that the rule is without its exceptions The emperor—the theoretical father of his people—does not find it so easy *openly* to impose new taxes as his necessities may require them; and his power, though absolute in name, is limited in reality by the endurance of the people, and by the laws of necessity. Our own country has proved the fact of the largest amount of direct taxation being levied under a limited monarchy, and through the delegates of the people themselves; and the English House of Commons has done a great deal more than the Emperor of China could probably *attempt* with safety. He is therefore obliged, to a certain extent, and on particular occasions, to let functionaries pay *themselves*—the worst possible form of taxation. The real amount levied in this manner from the people becomes greater than the nominal, and the excess is incalculably more mischievous than if fairly and directly obtained. In reference to this system and its consequences, the Chinese have a saying, that "the greater fish eat the smaller; the smaller eat the shrimps; and the shrimps are obliged to eat mud."

CHAPTER XXIII

COMMERCE

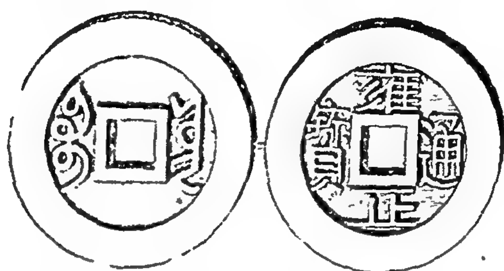
Coinage of base metal — Silver passes by weight — Paper currency — Pawnbroking — Interest of money — Internal commerce — Disad

tion of tea — Spurious green teas — European tea trade — Increase of English trade since 1842

THE government of China issues no other coin than the base metal *Tchen*, composed of copper and zinc, with perhaps some lead, and in value considerably less than the tenth part of a penny * On one side is the title of the reigning emperor, with two words denoting "current value," while the reverse bears a Tartar inscription In the centre of each of these coins is a square hole, through which they are strung together by hundreds to save counting, and in this state look something like strings of sausages Many years ago, a specimen of a single coin having by some chance been dropped in an unfrequented part of the United Kingdom, the person who picked it up carried the mystery to a learned antiquary, who having written a long essay on the subject, in which every conjecture was hazarded but the true one, a representation of the strange coin, with the essay

* It appears that the white shells called *cowries* have been, and perhaps still are in use as a medium of exchange about the provinces bordering on India and Ava, particularly Yun nan They are called by the Chinese *Hae-fei* fat of the sea, and three of them seem to have been exchanged for one copper coin

appended, was published in a standard work of some eminence. With a view to diminish the chance of such a mistake for the future, a facsimile of the coinage of one of the Manchow emperors is here given:—



The curious, as in other countries, make collections of the ancient copper coin, in the order of succession of the reigns under which they were issued. It is said, however, that there are fabricators of these, as well as of numerous other antiques, of which the Chinese are so fond. A series mounting up beyond the Christian era has been brought to England; and if a string of *tchen* taken at hazard be examined, it will often be found to contain some coins of an ancient date. During former periods of Chinese history, money seems to have been made of other materials besides copper, being coined into a great variety of shapes, with symbolical figures of various animals. So greatly has the current coin of the reigning dynasty been debased compared with its nominal value, that the greatest difficulty is experienced in repressing the practice of forging it. In the Peking Gazette for June, 1824, there is the confession of a convicted forger, who declares that, "being in great want, he, in concert with a former acquaintance, agreed on a plan for counterfeiting old worn-out *tchen* by casting lead, which being smuggled into circulation, they were to share the profits. They

procured a stone and made a mould for the coin, and, their instruments being ready, they hired an empty apartment attached to a temple, and there coined upwards of 7000 tchen, but soon after putting these in circulation they were seized with all their tools'

In the same year there appeared a curious paper from the viceroy of Fokien to the emperor, being "A report concerning the depreciation of the current *tchen* in comparison with silver bullion, requesting the imperial assent to a temporary suspension of the coinage, with a view to prevent needless waste In the provincial mint (for it seems there is one in each province) the average coinage of ten days had been 1200 strings of *tchen* (each string containing 1000, or ten divisions of 100 each), and therefore the total coinage of one year averaged 43 200 strings or 43,200,000 *tchen*), the use of which had been to pay the militia of the province In order to procure the copper and zinc required for coinage, officers had been regularly deputed to Yun nân and Hoo pĕ, and it was calculated that the expenses of transmission and coinage, added to the cost of the metal, had amounted, on an average, to 1 tael and 261 parts (in silver) for every 1000 *tchen* But the present market value of fine silver in exchange for the coin, was only 1 tael weight for 1240 *tchen*, this difference being added to the above, the total disadvantage amounted to more than 500 parts in each tael, and the annual loss in the province to 20,000 taels.' To understand this, it must be observed that 1000 *tchen* ought to purchase or represent 1 tael of fine silver, but that more than 1500 were now required for that purpose, including the first cost of the coin to the government

The viceroy then alludes to an inconvenience arising from the bulk of the base metal coin, in comparison with its value, in which respect it somewhat resembles the

iron money of Sparta. "The province of Fokien," observes the Chinese functionary, "being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great; and the merchants who resort hither with their goods, finding it inconvenient to carry back such a weight of coin, exchange it for silver as a more portable remittance; in consequence of which silver and copper coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values; the former rising, and the latter falling to an unusual degree. It has always been the rule (he adds) to pay the militia in coin, at the rate of 1000 for a taël of silver; but now a taël of silver in the market being worth 1240 *tchen*, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their coin for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance." The remedy proposed by the viceroy was, that the mint should be shut, and all farther coinage suspended; the militia receiving their pay in silver until the relative values of silver and *tchen* approached nearer to a par.

The only coin of the country being copper, it follows that all transactions, beyond mere daily marketing and the lowest class of payments, must be carried on by a *weight* of silver, of which the taël expresses one Chinese ounce, divided decimally into 10 *mace* (in the language of Canton), which are still farther divided into 10 *candareens* —the names of weights and not coins; so that 10 copper *tchen* should, in exchange, equal 1 *candareen* of silver; 100 should equal 1 *mace;* and 1000 should pass for 1 taël; though, from the paper before quoted, it seems the exchange *varies* between copper and silver. It has appeared impossible to establish a silver coin in the country, from the unconquerable propensity of the people to play tricks with anything more valuable than their base copper money: indeed, we have seen that they forge even *that.*

On the introduction of Spanish dollars in commerce, they were at first found to be so convenient, that the coinage of dollars in imitation was for a time allowed, but though these commenced at a higher rate than the foreign dollars they soon sank greatly below the standard, while the foreign coin preserved its wonted degree of purity * The manufacture of imitation dollars, being now prohibited, is still carried on to a considerable extent Some are alloyed with lead, while others are made of base metal and coated with silver The Spanish dollars imported at Canton very soon became punched into such a state, with the private marks of all those through whose hands they passed, as to be saleable only by weight The fraudulent Chinese even introduce bits of lead into the punch holes, and none but freshly imported dollars can ever be received but with a very strict examination called shroffing

The smallest payments in the interior, if not made in the copper *tchen*, are effected by exchanging bits of silver, whose weight is ascertained by a little ivory balance, on the principle of the steelyard. The astonishing inconvenience of such a system might have been expected to lead to a silver coinage, but it still continues, and in this want of a circulating medium may perhaps be sought the real cause of so much being effected by barter, as well as of the payment of a considerable portion of taxes and rents, and other obligations, in produce instead of money Those payments to government which are not made in kind are in silver of a prescribed rate of fineness. This is cast in stamped ingots of one and ten taels in weight, of which ninety eight parts in one hundred must be of pure silver, the alloy being therefore only two per cent The *Sycee*, as it is called at Canton, paid in exchange for opium, and sent home in considerable quantities to this

* Chinese Commercial Guide p 64

iron money of Sparta. "The province of Fokien," observes the Chinese functionary, "being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great; and the merchants who resort hither with their goods, finding it *inconvenient to carry back such a weight* of coin, exchange it for silver as a more portable remittance; in consequence of which silver and copper coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values; the former rising, and the latter falling to an unusual degree. It has always been the rule (he adds) to pay the militia in coin, at the rate of 1000 for a taël of silver; but *now a taël of silver in the market being worth 1240 tchen*, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their coin for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance." The remedy proposed by the viceroy was, that the mint should be shut, and all farther coinage suspended; the militia receiving their pay in silver until the relative values of silver and *tchen* approached nearer to a par.

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These [illegible]

country, is of the same description of bullion; and as it was found, on assay at the Bank, to contain a considerable admixture of gold, which the Chinese had not been able to detect or separate, it has proved very profitable to the importers, raising the premium on *Sysee* in China to five or six per cent. With the imperfect means that exist there of ascertaining the real quality of the bar-silver received in exchange for opium, it is only surprising that it should have turned out rather *above* than *below* the stipulated value.

Besides the inferior grade of pawnbrokers, there are in every considerable town a respectable class of what are called "money-shops," approaching in some degree to our private banking establishments. Officers charged with the collection of the revenue deposit with these the receipts on account of taxes and duties; and the money-shop is paid by a liberal allowance for waste, in melting and reducing the silver to the quality of government *Sysee*, for the purity of which it is responsible. "Taxes are generally handed over to them by the government; mercantile duties are frequently paid into their banks by the merchants from whom they are owing; and the banker in such case gives the merchant a receipt for the amount, accompanied by a certificate that it shall be paid to government within a certain period. The refined silver is cast into ingots, and stamped with the name of the banker and date of refining. Should any deception be afterwards discovered, at whatever distance of time, the refiner is liable to severe punishment. . . . . From private individuals these banks either receive deposits drawable at will, in which case no interest is allowed, or they take money at interest not exceeding twelve per cent., in which case some days' notice must be given before any portion can be wit[illegible] hey do no[illegible] ear to differ

materially in any respect from similar establishments in Europe, but there are no chartered or privileged banking companies Paper money has formerly been issued by the government, but is not now known,' * except as private notes, invented by merchants for mutual accommodation On our first resort to Foochow foo they were found extremely common, and bore the endorsements of all those through whose hands they had passed

Allusion was made, in the first chapter, to the paper money issued by the Mongol conquerors of China, as mentioned by the Arabian traveller, Ibn Batuta, who states that all the silver coin had vanished from the circulation, and been melted down, in consequence of the depreciation which took place in the paper from over-issues Marco Polo gives the following distinct account of the same paper money —"In this city of the Kambalu is the mint of the Grand Khan, who may be said to possess the secret of the alchymists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process he causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry trees the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind (*liber*) which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree This, being steeped and afterwards [illegible] cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois, the next size for a Venetian groat, others for two, five, and ten groats, others for one, two, three, and as far as ten *besants* of gold The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of

* Chinese Commercial Guide p 66

pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and, when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer deputed by his majesty, having dipped into vermilion * the royal seal committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal tinged with the vermilion remains impressed upon it; by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence.

"When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of his majesty's dominions, nor dares any person at the peril of his life refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for. . . . When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only three per cent., they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as of drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they, in like manner, apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his majesty's armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver. Upon these grounds it may certainly be affirmed that the Grand Khân has a more extensive command of treasure than any other sovereign

* This is exactly the mode of sealing at the present day. Keying sealed with myself the convention at Boca Tigris, on board the 'Vulture' frigate, in 1846, with his seal of office as Imperial Commissioner, being a solid cube of the purest gold, measuring about two inches every way.

in the universe"* When Marco wrote, it is probable that the abuse of the system had not taken place, and that the paper money still retained its credit He seems to have thought that the issue might be unlimited

The shops of pawnbrokers are at present very numerous in China, but they are under strict regulations, and any one acting without a licence is liable to severe punishment The usual period allowed for the redemption of the pawned goods is three years, and this, being compulsory on them by law, is said to be injurious, as the pledges must often lose their value by the length of time The highest legal rate of interest on deposits is three per cent per month, but in winter months the money advanced on wearing apparel may not exceed two per cent, on the alleged ground that poor persons may be able the more easily to redeem These pawn shops have the usual effect, at Canton, of affording facilities to thieving, and it is only surprising that native servants have been there found so generally honest under all the circumstances The Chinese principle of *responsibility*, however, comes into play and becomes the more necessary on account of the facility of escape beyond the reach of any European No native servant is hired by prudent persons without being *secured*, that is, without some trustworthy individual being responsible for him, and so perfectly familiar and habitual is this to all, that they recognise the obligation in its fullest extent, and violate it less often than might be expected.

The legal limit to the rate of interest is three per cent per mensem, and thirty per cent per annum, but this of course is very seldom reached, except in pawning, and other such short loans Whatever number of years may have elapsed, the government does not enforce any claim

* Marsd n s edit on p 353

for interest accumulated beyond the amount of the principal, or, in Chinese phrase, "the offspring must not be greater than the mother;" * and all compound interest is unlawful. The ordinary rate of interest at Canton is from twelve to fifteen per cent., which alone seems very high, and must be ascribed to the scarcity of large capitalists in a country where the subdivision of property is carried so far, as well as to the general insecurity of loans. Where the nature of private credit is not very good, the system of lending on *pledges* prevails more generally, as it does in China, and pawnbroking ascends much higher in the scale of the community; just as Lombard-street was once composed of pawnbrokers' shops. According to the *Mémoires sur les Chinois*,† the motive of the government in legalising such a high rate of interest as that above stated is "partly to facilitate loans, and partly to discourage luxury and prodigality, by hastening the ruin of such as borrow merely to spend."

Sir George Staunton, in a note to his translation of the Chinese law of usury, accounts in the following manner for the high limit fixed by the code: "The rate of interest upon a pecuniary loan must, generally speaking, be influenced by a two-fold consideration. Besides what is considered to be strictly equivalent to the advantage arising from the use of the money, the lender must be supposed, in most cases, to receive likewise a certain compensation for the risk to which he exposes his *principal*. The *former consideration* will always be limited by, and bear a certain ratio to, the peculiar state and degree of the general prosperity of the country; but

* This idea is not peculiar to China: "Que de *filles*, O Dieu, mes pièces de monnoie ont produites! Voyez, la plupart sont déjà aussi grandes que leurs *mères*."

† Vol. iv. p. 299.

the latter can evidently be determined by no rule or proportion which does not include the consideration of the relative situation and circumstances of the parties interested in the transaction In England, indeed, where the security of property and the exclusive rights of individuals are so well understood and so effectually protected by the laws, it may in general be almost as easy to guard against risk as to compensate for it But in China where the rights connected with property are comparatively vague and undefined, and, being distinct from the source of power and influence, are less the object of the law's regard—where, owing to the subdivision of property, there are few great capitalists—and where also there is but little individual confidence except between relations who holding their patrimony in some degree in common can scarcely be considered as borrowers or lenders in the eye of the law—it is not so surprising that it should be deemed expedient to license in pecuniary transactions the insertion of stipulations for very ample interest, and in point of fact there is no doubt that the law in this respect, indulgent as it is, is frequently infringed upon

'In a state of things so unfavourable to the accumulation and transfer of property there cannot at any time be much floating capital, and the value of that capital, as far as it is denoted by the interest which it bears, it is natural to expect will be high in proportion to its scarcity in other words, where there are many borrowers and few lenders, and where it forms no part of the system of government to grant to the former any peculiar degree of protection or encouragement, it seems a necessary consequence that the latter will both demand and obtain a more than ordinary compensation in return for the use of their property Trade, therefore, as far as it requires

such aid, cannot be so extensively carried on as it is in those countries in which, there being more available capital, that capital is procurable at a cheaper rate, and accordingly a smaller return of profit is found adequate to the charges of commercial adventure."

The *internal* trade of a vast country like China, governed on such exclusive principles, must of course constitute the principal part of its commerce. The European trade at Canton and the other four ports is not very considerable when compared with the extent of the empire and the amount of its population; and the foreign intercourse that is carried on in native junks is limited by the imperfections of nautical science and skill, as well as by the unfitness of the vessels themselves, and the discouragement to all external adventure. The visits of the junks to neighbouring countries do not extend beyond Japan to the north, the Luconian islands to the east, Batavia to the south, and the Straits of Malacca to the west. To Japan they sail in June and July, taking their departure from Ningpo and Amoy, laden with silk piece-goods, china-ware, and sugar, together with drugs, as rhubarb and ginseng; to which is added the sandal-wood imported before from India and the South-sea Islands, in English and American ships. To Luconia they take a variety of goods, bringing back nothing but rice or dollars. Between China and Batavia, a junk never sails either way except in the favourable monsoon, quitting its own shores in February or March, and returning in July. The exports are tea, china-ware, and drugs of various kinds, in return for what is called at Canton "Straits produce," as areca-nuts, rattans, edible birds'-nests, pepper, &c. Within a late period a considerable trade in junks has originated with Sincapore, interfering probably with that formerly carried on with Batavia.

It has been remarked that raw produce of all kinds has generally found a better market in China than foreign manufactured goods Those laws which forbid the use of things not sanctioned by custom, added to the usual pride and self sufficiency of the people are a bar in most cases to the extended consumption of European manufactures It is enacted in the Penal Code that "the houses apart ments vehicles, dress, furniture, and other articles used by the officers of government and by the people in general, shall be conformable to established rules * The trans lator observes in a note ' It is certain that, generally speaking the pleasure which the possessor of superior wealth may be supposed to derive from the display of it a Chinese, whatever his situation, is in a great measure, if not wholly, prevented from enjoying It is rather in the necessaries than the superfluities of life that they generally deal and that great variety of climate within the empire which makes the northern and southern pro vinces dependent on each other for supplies, renders the whole country at the same time independent of foreigners The south provides the great staple of rice, as well as sugar, the east furnishes silk, cotton, and tea, the west metals and minerals, and the north, furs and a variety of drugs whose growth is unsuited to a warmer climate

The transit-duties on this internal commerce afford a very considerable revenue to the government and were perhaps first suggested by the expense of constructing the Grand Canal They now extend to nearly all articles of consumption, and it has been calculated that the addition made to the price of tea, at Canton, by government charges, as well as by the long and laborious carriage from the pro vinces where it is grown (but from which we were until lately

* *Leu Lee* sect 1 5

interdicted, amounted to 150,000*l.* on black teas alone. The labour and expense of transport, independently of the duties, may be gathered from the description of the difficulties encountered by the boats of the embassy of 1793, in pushing up the river towards the frontier pass of Chě-keang province. "After seven days of tedious navigation," says Barrow, "if dragging by main strength over a pebbly bottom, on which the boats were constantly aground, and against a rapid stream, could be so called, we came to its source near the city of Chang-shan Hien." The same difficulties are experienced up the other stream in Keang-sy, towards the Mei-ling pass. As we ascended the river in 1816, files of men stood with large iron hoes on each side of the boats, scraping a channel for them through the pebbly bottom.

"We are confined at Canton," it was observed before the war, "to a single port of a single province—that single province divided from the rest of the empire by a barrier of high mountains, and chosen purposely by the Chinese government as the point farthest distant from the capital. In order to be consumed at Peking, where the coldness of the climate would render them most useful, our woollens must travel a distance of 1200 miles, and cross the mountainous barrier, at the foot of which they are unladen from boats, and carried on men's shoulders across the pass called Mei-ling. The consequence is, that only one-ninth of our woollen exports is consumed in the northern provinces, including the capital. ... proved by Mr. Ball, who, after much minute inquiry, ... monstrated the advantages that might accrue to our ... de, could the Chinese government be persuaded to ... mit us to a port farther north, and nearer to the tea-... vinces. He clearly proved, what might always have ... n surmised, that Canton from its geographical situa-

tion was 'of all other ports the most unfavourable to European trade' Our metals, as they will not bear the expense of transport, are almost entirely consumed in the province where they are landed; and hence their very limited amount" But the expense of carriage was only a part of the disadvantage, for to that must be added the government-dues "It is not to be supposed," observed Mr Ball, "that any reduction can be effected in the transport duties The Chinese are unlikely to grant privileges to foreigners which necessarily entail a loss on themselves" *

The policy of the Tartar dynasty, in having been the first to confine the European trade with such obstinacy to a point so unsuited to its extension, might be explained on two grounds first, the desire to remove the danger of external involvements from the vicinity of the capital, secondly, as above, to derive the largest possible revenue from internal transit The direct annual revenue accruing from Canton was ascertained to exceed 1,200,000 taels on *imports* alone, but this bore no proportion to other gains of an indirect nature † Contributions were exacted from the Hong merchants under various names, as "Uses of the army," "Yellow River," "Imperial tribute,' &c. and the *Consoo* fund, at first intended as a provision for

* It was a stipulation in our treaty that the inland transport or transit duties should not exceed the amount actually existing in 1842 but this of course has been the most difficult point to maintain, and even to ascertain

† The true way to estimate the importance of the foreign trade to the Chinese is rather by the quantity of tea and silk exported than by that of imports from abroad Were the millions of pounds weight annually taken away of an article like tea, into whose manufacture human labour enters so largely, thrown back on their hands, the consequences would be disastrous We must include, besides all the labour and capital employed in transporting it by land from great distances

defraying the debts of bankrupt Hongs, was a rich source of revenue to the Chinese, as well as a heavy loss to our own trade; besides which, the inferior offices of the customs at Canton, being farmed out, were necessarily maintained by irregular charges on European commerce.

As the Consoo fund owed its origin to the particular constitution of that set of monopolists called Hong merchants, it is proper to observe that this body and their privileges (now happily extinct) originated as much in the peculiar policy of the government as in the cupidity of the individuals themselves. The pride and jealousy of the rulers of the country kept them studiously aloof from a direct intercourse with foreigners, finding it most convenient to throw the trouble and responsibility of managing persons, of whom they stood in great fear and dislike, on subordinate delegates, and to practise their impositions through this inferior channel. The Hongs consisted of eleven individuals, of very different degrees of wealth and character; they did not form a joint-stock company, but were licensed to trade individually; although the whole body was, until the year 1830, liable for all the foreign debts of each member. This liability was then very much relaxed, as it was found that such a responsibility on the part of the body had given to the poorer members a degree of credit, and a facility in obtaining loans from Europeans, which had been the principal cause of the numerous bankruptcies, either real or fraudulent, among the indigent or improvident Hongs. In the year 1837, as already detailed in the fourth chapter, a fresh claim was raised by the foreigners against two bankrupt Hongs, to the amount of about three millions of dollars; and after much trouble the Consoo became liable for the payment, but with an extended term of between eight and

ten years This immense debt was paid at once out of the indemnity received for the war

The Consoo fund, whence such large sums were drawn in the liquidation of debts incurred by ruined or dishonest merchants was derived from charges amounting to about three per cent laid by the body of Hong merchants on foreign exports and imports and hence it became a severe burden on the fair trade of Canton Instead of being allowed to terminate with the liquidation of the debts for which they were first levied, it seems that these charges continued in full force and served to meet the increased demands of the government on the Consoo Under these circumstances, there could be no room for surprise at the pertinacity with which the provincial authorities supported a monopoly so profitable and convenient to themselves and by means of which they could benefit at the expense of Europeans without coming into direct collision with a race who were not disposed to accord those acts of deference and homage so grateful to the pride of Chinese rulers.

But in addition to the duties levied, the port charges and other expenses attending shipping in the river were extremely heavy The old routine of a vessel's arrival, and her preliminary arrangements, were as follows On nearing the coast from the southward the Ladrones two small but lofty islands was first made A point lying southeast of Macao, called *Cabrita* by the Portuguese, was then passed, and off the town is an exposed anchorage of from three to four fathoms Ships sent their boats ashore at Macao for a Chinese pilot who was not often procured until the next morning, and therefore, when the weather was bad vessels ran up at once to Lintin for shelter The charts constructed at the charge of the East India Company afforded ample directions for piloting a ship to

Commercial Guide) like the Hong merchants, are obliged to pay largely for their licence, and are besides liable to heavy exaction chiefly from the underlings of office, as the Hong merchants are the prey of the higher officers. They also have the same difficulty in obtaining leave to retire from business, though in a less degree. The Hong merchants are required to be sureties for the linguists before the latter can obtain their licences. The business of the linguists is to procure permits for delivering or shipping cargo, to transact all affairs with the custom house, and to keep accounts of the duties and port charges; and every ship is compelled to pay 173 dollars, or about 40*l.*, as a fee to its own linguist. Some time after reaching Whampoa, each vessel is *measured* by the Hoppo's officers for the levying of the port charge. On a ship of 850 tons, these charges, in addition to the various disbursements above stated, amount altogether to nearly 5000 dollars, or between 800*l.* and 1000*l.* sterling.

It is clear that such heavy exactions must have held out the strongest inducements to all ships, but especially small ones, on which they fell the heaviest, to evade them if possible; and to the influence of this cause, joined to the contraband nature of the opium trade, was to be ascribed the rapid growth of the smuggling depot at Lintin, which commenced about the year 1822. As if to give an additional impulse to the increase of this smuggling station, the Chinese government, in consequence of the scarcity of rice in 1825, enacted that ships bringing rice, and *no other goods*, should be exempted from the port charges at Whampoa. Vessels accordingly stationed themselves at Lintin, below the mouth of the river, laden with rice, which they sold in sufficient quantities to other vessels newly arrived to exempt them from those port-charges, while the real cargoes were either left at

than the existing system (in 1826) it may be supposed that the trade to China would become nearly a smuggling traffic altogether, until the government of the country were compelled to resort to extreme measures for the protection of its own interests" After the opening of the trade the experiment began to have a fair trial The provincial authorities in 1834 betrayed considerable alarm at the increase of the smuggling system at Lintin, and this alarm was no doubt founded, first, in the evils arising from the lawless, independent, and violent habits which such a system engendered, and, secondly, in the prospect of a decrease or annihilation of the revenue derived from the fair trade

The 'Chinese Commercial Guide' printed about that time observed, "The opening of the China trade to British shipping will probably, so long as the present vexatious restrictions continue in force at Whampoa, lead to such an increased amount of general trade at Lintin as to require depôts for other goods besides opium Such goods are now brought to Lintin by vessels not entering the port, and by vessels which, to avoid the measurement and other charges, enter as *rice-ships* These goods are variously disposed of, some being sold to the native smugglers outside, and some brought to Whampoa in other foreign vessels" It was the universal corruption of the government officers of Canton, in the article of opium, that made it so difficult to stop the rest of the contraband trade near that port On other parts of the coast the attempts to smuggle were not often successful The 'Commercial Guide' observed, "The control of the government over the people is too oppressive to permit them to run the risk of purchasing except where they can obtain large profits Hence *opium* is chiefly in demand, while even rice, though carried to the thickly-peopled and almost

The supercargo in vain sought some channel of trade; his views were frustrated by the vigilance of the government. He observed, on his return, through the local newspaper of Canton, "My mind is made up that, until some important change in the relations of the two countries takes place, the only chance of pushing English manufactures on that coast is by having them as a small item in an opium cargo." Another small vessel proceeded up to the Yellow Sea, and even touched on the coast of Tartary, but her endeavours to trade were generally fruitless A Mr Gordon, who was despatched from Bengal to procure tea-plants from the neighbourhood of the provinces where they are cultivated, saw a great deal of the attempts to trade on the coast; and he was of opinion that, without the consent of the Chinese government, any prospect of an advantageous or creditable intercourse did not exist.

The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for *opium*, a drug whose importation has exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connexion with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an *important item* The use of this powerful narcotic became as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first The contraband trade was originally at Macao; but we have already seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium was kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place. From the following statement it will be seen that, while the quantity imported into China increased more than five-fold, the average price fell to about one-half:—

Year.		Chests.		Dollars.		Total dollars
1821	.. .. ..	4,628,	average price	1,325	.. .. ..	6,132,100
1825	.. .. ..	9,621	„	723	.. .. ..	6,955,983
1830	.. .. ..	18,760	„	587	.. .. ..	11,012,120
1832	.. .. ..	23,670	„	648	.. .. ..	15,338,160

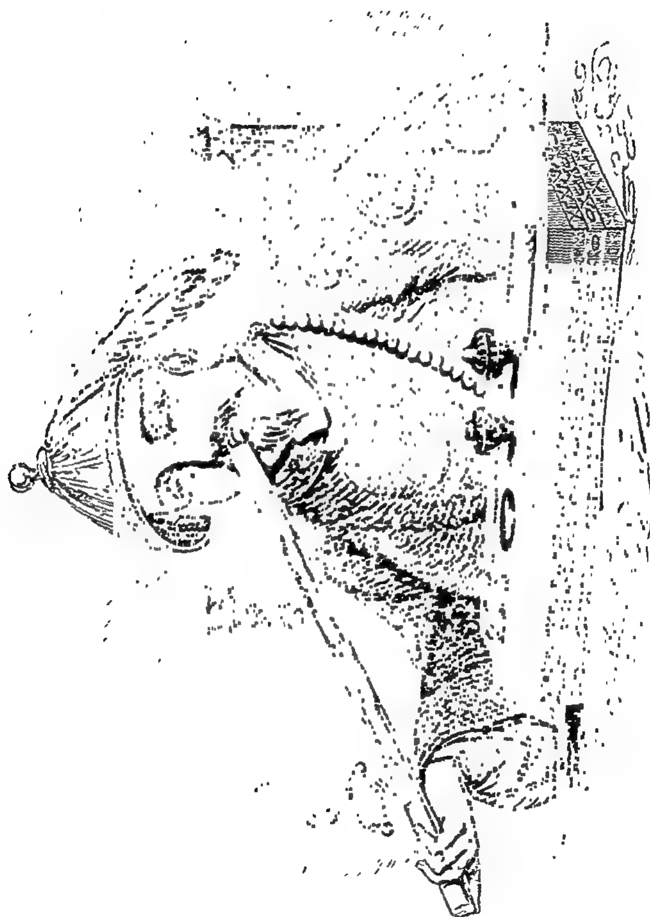
This had at length the effect of drawing the serious attention of the Peking government to the growing evil, and it seems certain that the aggregate value of the importation, which in 1832 exceeded the enormous amount of 15,000,000 dollars, or between three and four millions sterling, afterwards diminished for some time. From the original MS. translation of a Chinese state paper, the following abstract may be interesting. A late memorial to the emperor from one of the censors laid open the evil in all its deformity, and showed its prevalence among the officers of government:—"I have learned," says he, "that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain it when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but, with a few whiffs, their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a surprising manner. Thus opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and, when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it.

"The local officers sometimes receive bribes to connive at the practice, or they are induced in the same way to desist from a commenced prosecution. The greater number of traders who carry about Canton goods for sale smuggle opium with them; and when the magistrates sieze opium-smokers, these declare they cannot identify the persons from whom they bought the drug. It is my

humble opinion that the injury done by opium is twice as great as that which results from gambling, therefore the offence of smoking it should not be more lightly punished than the other Now the law provides that gamblers shall declare where they obtained their gaming utensils, and unless they inform against the sellers they shall be considered as accomplices, and punished with a hundred blows and three years' transportation. Every convicted gambler must be punished, under any circumstances, with eighty blows, and, if he be an official person, his punishment shall be increased one degree But the opium smoker, who will not inform against the seller, is simply pilloried and beaten for his own crime I have therefore to propose the enactment, that all convicted opium-smokers who declare that they do not know the names of the sellers shall be considered as accomplices with them and that, if the offenders be mandarins, or their dependents they shall be punished one degree more severely Thus may the severity of the law deter from the practice, the habitual smokers will not dare to persevere and others will not venture to imitate their example

"It seems that opium is almost entirely imported from abroad worthless subordinates in offices, and nefarious traders, first introduced the abuse, young persons of family, wealthy citizens, and merchants adopted the custom, until at last it reached the common people I have learned on inquiry, from scholars and official persons, that opium smokers exist in all the provinces, but the larger proportion of these are to be found in the government offices, and that it would be a fallacy to suppose that there are not smokers among all ranks of civil and military officers below the station of provincial governors and their deputies The magistrates of districts issue proclamations interdicting the clandestine

sale of opium, at the same time that their kindred, and clerks, and servants smoke it as before. Then the nefarious traders make a pretext of the interdict for raising the price. The police, influenced by the people in the



Mandarin with Opium-pipe.

public offices, become the secret purchasers of opium, instead of labouring for its suppression; and thus all interdicts and regulations become vain." And they became so utterly vain as to end in the uncontrolled freedom of

both trade and consumption that now has existed for some years since the war

The censor then recommended the following regulation to be passed which having been considered and approved by the Criminal Board, was confirmed by the emperor and published in 1833 as the amended law upon the subject —

Let the buyers and smokers of opium be punished with one hundred blows and pilloried for two months Then let them declare the seller s name, that he may be seized and punished and in default of this declaration let the smoker be punished, as an accomplice of the seller, with a hundred blows and three years banishment Let mandarins and their dependents, who buy and smoke opium be punished one degree more severely than others and let governors and lieutenant governors of provinces as well as the magistrates of subordinate district be required to give security that there are no opium smokers in their respective departments Let a joint memorial be sent in at the close of every year, representing the conduct of those officers who have connived at the practice The Criminal Board will communicate this decision to the Boards of Civil Appointments and Military Affairs and a general order will be sent to the governors of all the provinces, that they may yield obedience and act accordingly It was now to be seen whether the increased severity of the law would operate in restraining or abolishing a habit whose prevalence had rendered opium the *only* article of commerce that could be carried with success to the prohibited ports on the coast of China The result was that the law became a dead letter, and opium was at length conveyed openly about the street

The following statement shows that opium, about the end of the Company's charter formed *one half* of the total

value of British imports at Canton and Lintin, and that tea constituted something less than the same proportion of our exports:—

Imports in 1833.	Dollars.	*Exports in 1833.*	Dollars.
Opium	11,618,167	Tea	9,133,749
Other imports	11,858,077	Other exports	11,309,521
	23,476,244		20,443,270

The amount of the opium imported by us was thus greater than that of the tea exported. The narcotic drug sold to the Chinese exceeded in market-value the refreshing leaf purchased from them; and the balance of the trade was paid to us in silver. In the fourth chapter it has been already shown that the free trade which commenced in 1834 had the immediate effect of giving an impetus to all kinds of smuggling, at the expense of the fair trade. The Company had always effectually prevented the introduction of opium *within* the river; but notwithstanding the wish of the king's authority at Canton (grounded on his conviction of its danger) to stop this desperate traffic, his control over British subjects proved altogether inadequate to the purpose. Opium continued to be run up in British boats to Whampoa, and even to Canton. The government was at length roused,—a Chinese smuggler was executed before the factories, and Commissioner Lin immediately afterwards commenced that course of violence which has before been detailed,* and which ultimately led through the war to the abolition of the Hong monopoly, of the exactions at Canton, and all the other benefits secured by our treaty in 1842.

As tea has always held so principal a place in our intercourse with China, it requires some particular consideration as an article of commerce. We have seen

* See Chap. IV.

before that the fineness and dearness of tea* are determined by the tenderness and smallness of the leaf when picked The various descriptions of the black diminish in quality and value as they are gathered later in the season, until they reach the lowest kind, called by us Bohea, and by the Chinese *Ta cha*, "large tea," on account of the maturity and size of the leaves The early leaf-buds in spring, being covered with a white silky down, are gathered to make Pekoe, which is a corruption of the Canton name, *Pak-ho*, "white down" A few days longer growth produces what is here styled "black-leaved pekoe" The more fleshy and matured leaves constitute Souchong, as they grow larger and coarser they form Congou, and the last and latest picking is Bohea The tea farmers, who are small proprietors or cultivators give the tea a rough preparation, and then take it to the contractors, whose business it is to adapt its farther preparation to the existing nature of the demand The different kinds of tea may be considered in the ascending scale of their value

1 Bohea, which in England is the name of a *quality*, has been already stated to be, in China, the name of a *district* where various kinds of black tea are produced The coarse leaf brought under that name to this country is distinguished by containing a larger proportion of the woody fibre than other teas, its infusion is of a darker colour, and, as it has been more subjected to the action of fire, it keeps a longer time without becoming musty than the finer sorts Two kinds of Bohea are brought from China the lowest of these is manufactured on the spot, and therefore called "Canton Bohea," being a mixture of refuse Congou with a coarse tea called Woping, the growth of the province The better kind of Bohea

* See Chap XXI

comes from the district of that name in Fokien, and, having been of late esteemed equally with the lower Congou teas, has been packed in the same square chests, while the old Bohea package is of an oblong shape.

2. Congou, the next higher kind, is named from a corruption of the Chinese *Koong-foo*, "labour or assiduity." It formed for many years the bulk of the East India Company's cargoes; but the quality gradually fell off, in consequence of the partial abandonment of the old system of annual contracts, by which the Chinese merchants were assured of a remunerating price for the better sorts. The consumption of Bohea in this country has of late years increased, to the diminution of Congou, and the standard of the latter has been considerably lowered. A particular variety call *Campoi* is so called from a corruption of the original name *Kien-poey*, "selection—choice;" but it has ceased to be prized in this country, from the absence of strength—a characteristic which is stated to be generally esteemed beyond delicacy of flavour.

3. Souchong (*Seaou-choong*, "small or scarce sort") is the finest of the stronger black teas, with a leaf that is generally entire and curly, but more young than in the coarser kinds. What is called "Padre Souchong" is packed in separate paper bundles of about half a pound each, and is so fine as to be used almost exclusively for presents. The probability is, that its use in this way by the Romish missionaries first gave rise to the name. The finest kinds of Souchong are sometimes scented with the flowers of the *Chloranthus inconspicuus* and *Gardenia florida*; and they cannot be obtained, even from the Chinese, except at dear prices. A highly crisped and curled leaf called *Sonchi* has lately grown into disrepute and been much disused, in consequence of its being often found to contain a ferruginous dust, [illegible]

bably not intended as a fraud, but arose from the nature of the ground where the tea had been carelessly and dirtily packed.

4 Pekoe being composed mainly of the young spring-buds, the gathering of these must, of course, be injurious in some degree to the future produce of the shrub, and this description of tea is accordingly both dear and small in quantity With a view to preserving the fineness of flavour, the application of heat is very limited in drying the leaves, and hence it is that Pekoe is more liable to injury from keeping than any other sort of tea There is a species of Pekoe made in the green-tea country from the young buds, in like manner with the black kind, but it is so little fired that the least damp spoils it, and for this reason, as well as on account of its scarcity and high price, the hyson pekoe, as some call it, has never been brought to England The mandarins send it in very small canisters to each other, or to their friends, as presents, under the name of *Loong tsing* "Dragon's well" which is probably the name of the district where the tea is made

Green teas may generally be divided into five denominations, which are—1 Twankay, 2 Hyson-skin, 3 Hyson, 4 Gunpowder, 5 Young Hyson Twankay tea has always formed the bulk of the green teas imported into this country, being used by the retailers to mix with the finer kinds The leaf is older, and not so much twisted or rolled as in the dearer descriptions there is altogether less care and trouble bestowed on its preparation It is, in fact, the *Bohea* of green teas, and the quantity of it brought to England fully equalled three-fourths of the whole importation of green. "Hyson-skin" is so named from the original Chinese term, in which connexion the *skin* means the *refuse* or inferior portion

of anything; in allusion, perhaps, to the hide of an animal, or the rind of fruit. In preparing the fine tea called Hyson, all those leaves that are of a coarser, yellower, and less twisted or rolled appearance, are set apart and sold as the refuse or "skin-tea," at a much inferior price. The whole quantity therefore depended on, and bore a proportion to, the whole quantity of Hyson manufactured, but seldom exceeded two or three thousand chests in all.

The word Hyson is corrupted from the Chinese name, which signifies "flourishing spring," this fine sort of tea being of course gathered in the early part of the season. Every separate leaf is twisted and rolled by hand, and it is on account of the extreme care and labour required in its preparation that the best Hyson tea is so difficult to procure, and so expensive. By way of keeping up its quality, the East India Company used to give a premium for the two best lots annually presented to them for selection; and the tea-merchants were stimulated to exertion as much by the credit of the thing as by the actual gain in price. Gunpowder, as it is called, is nothing but a more carefully-picked Hyson, consisting of the best rolled and roundest leaves, which give it that *granular* appearance whence it derives its name. For a similar reason the Chinese call it *Choo-cha*, "pearl-tea." Young Hyson, until it was spoiled by the large demand of the Americans, was a genuine delicate young leaf, called in the original language *Yu-tsien*, "before the rains," because gathered in the early spring. As it could not be fairly produced in any large quantities, the call for it on the part of the Americans was answered by cutting up and sifting *other* green tea through sieves of a certain size; and, as the Company's inspectors detected the imposture, it formed no portion of their London importations. *But the abuse*

became still worse of late (as we shall presently see), for the coarsest *black* tea leaves were cut up, and then *coloured* with a preparation resembling the hue of green teas

Nothing could be more ill founded than the vulgar notion, once prevalent in this country, that the colour of green tea was derived from its being dried on plates of copper Admitting that copper were the metal on which they were placed, it does not at all follow that they should assume such an appearance from the operation, but the pans really used on these occasions are of cast iron, of the *same round or spherical shape as the tatch described* under the head of Chemistry Each of these pans is bricked in, over a small furnace A quantity of fresh leaves are placed in the pan after it has been sufficiently heated, and stirred rapidly round by the hand to expose them equally to the action of the heat, and at the same time prevent their burning After being a little curled by this drying operation, they are taken out and twisted or rolled by hand to assist the natural tendency and the process of curling is continued for a longer or shorter time according to the nature and quality of the tea The hand seems to have most to do in the case of green teas, and the fire in that of the black In the preparation of the finer teas, much care and attention is bestowed on the selection of the *best leaves* subsequent to drying, as in the separation of the Hyson from its *skin*, or refuse—a business which falls to the lot of women and children The tea when prepared, is first of all put up in baskets, and subsequently packed by the contractors in chests and canisters The black teas are trodden down with the feet, to make them pack closer, but the green tea leaves would be crushed and broken by so rude a process, they are accordingly only shaken into the chests

It is a question of some importance how far a sudden increase in the demand for tea is calculated to injure its average quality. The essential services derived by the East India Company from their experienced inspectors, who from long practice acquired that readiness in discriminating the slightest shades of quality which nothing but practice could confer, demonstrated the expediency of such professional persons being still employed under the free-trade system; by all those, at least, who were not rash enough to trust to themselves, or to the Chinese. One of the inspectors, Mr. Reeves junior, stated from his own experience, at the close of 1833, that he had detected many attempts to pass off spurious or adulterated teas among the black kinds. The greater portion, indeed, of a particular description of tea, distinguished by the term *Ankoi*, was mixed with spurious leaves. These were of various kinds, but appeared generally to be largish leaves cut up, though it was found impossible to ascertain the trees or shrubs to which they belonged. The two most prevalent were a thick, soft, dark-green leaf, very smooth, and a palish hairy leaf, with the veins strongly marked. The former is not detected easily, and only by inspecting the leaves after infusion, as it imparts no bad smell to the tea, and is hardly perceptible even to the taste; the latter is readily discovered by its giving to the tea a "faint and odd" smell, as well as taste.

But this was nothing in comparison with the effrontery which the Chinese displayed in carrying on an extensive manufactory of *green* teas from *damaged black leaves*, at a village or suburb called Honân, exactly opposite to the European factories, but divided from them by the river. The remission of the tea duties in the United States occasioned, in the years 1832 and 1833, a demand for green teas at Canton which could not be supplied by the

arrivals from the provinces. The Americans, however, were obliged to sail with cargoes of green teas within the favourable season; they were determined to have these teas; *and the Chinese were determined they should* be supplied. Certain rumours being afloat concerning the manufacture of green tea from old black leaves, the writer of this became curious to ascertain the truth, and with some difficulty persuaded a Hong merchant to conduct him, accompanied by one of the inspectors, to the place where the operation was carried on. Upon reaching the opposite side of the river, and entering one of these laboratories of factitious Hyson, the party were witnesses to a strange scene.

In the first place, large quantities of black tea, which had been damaged in consequence of the floods of the previous autumn, were drying in baskets with sieve bottoms, placed over pans of charcoal. The dried leaves were then transferred in portions of a few pounds each to a great number of cast-iron pans, imbedded in chunam or mortar, over furnaces. At each pan stood a workman stirring the tea rapidly round with his hand, having previously added a small quantity of *turmeric* in powder, which of course gave the leaves a yellowish or orange tinge; but they were still to be made green. For this purpose some lumps of a fine blue were produced, together with a white substance in powder, which from the names given to them by the workmen, as well as their appearance, were known at once to be *prussian blue* and *gypsum*.* These were triturated finely together with a small pestle, in such proportion as reduced the dark colour of the blue to a light shade; and a quantity equal to a small teaspoonful of the powder being added to the

* Prussiate of iron and sulphate of lime.

yellowish leaves, these were stirred as before over the fire, until the tea had taken the fine bloom colour of Hyson, with very much the same smell. To prevent all possibility of error regarding the substances employed, samples of them, together with specimens of the leaves in each stage of the process, were carried away from the place.

The tea was then handed in small quantities, on broad shallow baskets, to a number of women and children, who carefully picked out the stalks and coarse or unrolled leaves; and, when this had been done, it was passed in succession through sieves of different degrees of fineness. The first sifting produced what was sold as Hyson-skin, and the last bore the name of Young Hyson. As the party did not see the intermediate step between the picking and sifting, there is reason to believe that the size of the leaves was first reduced by chopping or cutting with shears. If the tea has not highly deleterious qualities, it can only be in consequence of the colouring matter existing in a small proportion to the leaf;* and the Chinese seemed quite conscious of the real character of the occupation in which they were engaged; for, on attempting to enter several other places where the same process was going on, the doors were speedily closed upon the party. Indeed, had it not been for the influence of the English who conducted them, there would have been little chance of their seeing as much as they did.

It is an interesting and important point to determine whether the same system of artificial colouring enters at all into the manufacture of the more genuine green teas brought to this country. Mr. Brande, in his skilful and minute analysis of black and green teas, detected the presence of a colouring substance in the samples of green

* The turmeric and gypsum are perfectly innocuous; but the prussian blue, being a combination of prussic acid with iron, is a poison.

upon which he operated, which as far as it goes, is proof positive; and some presumptive proof is afforded by the peculiar properties so universally attributed to green tea, in its exercising a powerful and hurtful influence on the nervous system. One fact is well ascertained and undeniable: the Chinese themselves do not consume those kinds of green tea which are prepared for exportation. The *Yu tsien* mentioned before, and the Pekoe made from the green tea plant already described, have a yellower, and as it were a more *natural*, hue, than the bluish green that distinguishes the elaborated teas imported by us. If deleterious substances are really used, our best safeguard consists in the minute proportions in which they must be combined with the leaves.

Of the 31,500,000 lbs. of tea which, on an average of the four last years of the Company's charter, were imported into this country, the proportion of green to black had been about one to five. Various reasons conduced to make the black a preferable article of consumption to the majority. It is not only cheaper than the green, but it abounds much more in that quality termed 'strength,' and is besides, with the exception of the Pekoe kind, capable of being kept for a long time without any perceptible deterioration. It would be useless to pretend that the long sea voyage, in which the equator is twice crossed, and the water in which the ship floats is often heated to between 80° and 90°, has no ill effect on tea cargoes. With an *absolute and complete* absence of all humidity, we know that heat has little or no decomposing effect; but such a state cannot be the ordinary characteristic of a ship's hold, as must be clear to all who have found the difficulty of preserving some articles from damage between this and India. Black tea is better able to contend with the chances of injury, to which a cargo may be exposed

than green.* It has generally been subjected in a much greater degree to the action of fire in drying, and has, besides, less delicacy of flavour than the other. Instances have been known of black tea being kept in this country for ten years, or even longer, without suffering perceptibly; and the Chinese themselves generally lay it by for a year in preference to using it fresh. There seems upon the whole little difficulty in accounting for the superior condition in which green tea, especially, is said to be found in Russia. The same circumstance of a land-journey, which makes it come dearer to the consumer,† tends at the same time to preserve its quality, for the region which it traverses is generally dry as well as cold.

In no instance has a greater revolution taken place in the habits of a people than in that which tea has effected within the last hundred years among the English. It was known, about the middle of the seventeenth century, rather as a curiosity than an article of use, as appears from an entry in Pepys's gossiping Diary, dated 1661, in which the writer says that he "sent for a cup of tea, a Chinese drink, of which he had never drank before." About the beginning of the last century it came more into use; and the following statement exhibits the surprising strides which it made from time to time, in the space of just one hundred years, towards its universal consumption at the close of the Company's charter:—

	lbs.
1734	632,374
1746	2,358,589
1758	4,205,394

* Some of the Company's finest Hyson teas were packed in double cases of wood besides the canisters.

† The lowest retail price at St. Petersburg is between five and six shillings English, and the highest is said to be above thirty-eight shillings per pound.

	lbs.
1[illegible]68	6,89[illegible]0
1[illegible]	10[illegible]8
1[illegible]0	20[illegible]
18[illegible]3	31[illegible]610

In 1806 the excise duty was raised to ninety per cent, and in 1819 to nearly one hundred per cent on the sale price of all teas,—a tax which must have had a powerful effect in checking the growth of consumption. In spite, however, of this, it is well known that the importations into this country exceeded the aggregate consumption of the whole western world beside.* By a letter written from Siberia to Canton in 1819, it appears that the quantity annually carried to Russia amounted to 66,000 chests, containing about 5,000,000 lbs., and no material increase has since taken place. The French trade with China seems lately to have shown a tendency to increase. A year or two since there were several French ships at Canton and other ports where it was formerly unusual to see one, and French consuls have been appointed since the war. Up to 1832 the consumption of tea in France barely equalled 2[illegible]0,000 lb., but a notion that it was an antidote to cholera is said to have brought it more into use, while a large amount is annually required for the English residents alone.

In the year 1832 no less than seventeen Dutch vessels visited China from Holland or Batavia, though the importation of tea into Holland did not exceed 2,000,000 lbs. per annum. A Danish ship now and then arrives at the ports, but the consumption of Denmark has been no greater than that of France. In most other countries of Europe tea, if sold at all, is generally met with as a drug,

* After the opening of the trade the tea duty was reduced to [illegible] a pound on all teas alike, and now [illegible] the duty is [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] down to [illegible]

than green.* It has generally been subjected in a much greater degree to the action of fire in drying, and has, besides, less delicacy of flavour than the other. Instances have been known of black tea being kept in this country for ten years, or even longer, without suffering perceptibly; and the Chinese themselves generally lay it by for a year in preference to using it fresh. There seems upon the whole little difficulty in accounting for the superior condition in which green tea, especially, is said to be found in Russia. The same circumstance of a land-journey, which makes it come dearer to the consumer,† tends at the same time to preserve its quality, for the region which it traverses is generally dry as well as cold.

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† The lowest retail price at St. Petersburg is between five and six shillings English, and the highest is said to be above thirty-eight shillings per pound.

	lbs
1768	6,812,0[illegible]
178[illegible]	10,8[illegible],578
1800	20,3[illegible]8,702
1833	31,829,619

In 1806 the excise duty was raised to ninety per cent, and in 1819 to nearly one hundred per cent, on the sale price of all teas—a tax which must have had a powerful effect in checking the growth of consumption. In spite, however, of this, it is well known that the importations into this country exceeded the aggregate consumption of the whole western world besides.* By a letter written from Siberia to Canton, in 1819, it appears that the quantity annually carried to Russia amounted to 66,000 chests, containing about 5,000,000 lbs., and no material increase has since taken place. The French trade with China seems lately to have shown a tendency to increase. A year or two since there were several French ships at Canton and other ports, where it was formerly unusual to see one, and French consuls have been appointed since the war. Up to 1832 the consumption of tea in France barely equalled 250,000 lbs., but a notion that it was an antidote to cholera is said to have brought it more into use, while a large amount is annually required for the English residents alone.

In the year 1832 no less than seventeen Dutch vessels visited China from Holland or Batavia, though the importations of tea into Holland did not exceed 2,000,000 lbs. per annum. A Danish ship now and then arrives at the ports, but the consumption of Denmark has been no greater than that of France. In most other countries of Europe tea, if sold at all, is generally met with as a drug,

* After the opening of the trade the tea duty was reduced to 2s. a pound on all teas alike, and now in 1857 the duty is 1s. 5d., to be ultimately brought down to 1s.

and hardly looked upon by the merchants as an object of trade. Next to the British trade, the most considerable in tonnage and value has been that of the United States; subject, however, to fluctuations from which our own has been free. The remission of the tea duties, already alluded to, gave it, in 1833, a sudden stimulus, and the exports and imports at Canton, on the part of the Americans, each of them exceeded eight millions of dollars on board of nearly fifty small vessels. In consequence, however, of the losses sustained upon the teas, the American tonnage in the following year, 1834, was greatly reduced, nor was it expected very soon to reach its previous amount. The annual consumption of teas in the United States was then commonly estimated at about 8,000,000 lbs. Until the year 1824 our North American colonists, in Canada and Nova Scotia, were chiefly supplied with tea smuggled across the lakes from the northern states of the Union; but in that year the East India Company began to send an annual provision of about three ship-loads of cheap teas to Quebec and Halifax, which had the effect of altogether stopping the American supply.

The opening of the four new ports of trade, consequent on the Treaty of 1842, naturally produced a great revolution in most branches, both of our own and the American trade, and especially in the largest, that of tea. From something above thirty millions of pounds at the close of the Company's charter, the importation into Great Britain grew to forty-two millions in 1844, and in 1856 it was above eighty millions. As the shipments at Shanghae increased, those at Canton relatively diminished; though the positive aggregate quantity from both places was augmented Even Foochow-foo, at first so unpromising, from the difficulties of the river and the discouragements

on the part of both government and people, of late years exported a considerable amount of black teas, the manufacture of the province

But the largest increase of all was in the article of raw silk from Shanghae This had been comparatively an inconsiderable branch of commerce at Canton, situated so far from the silk-producing districts, but the last year's importation from Shanghae, in 1856, was to the immense amount of 50,000 bales in this delicate and costly material Meanwhile, the insuperable prejudices of the Chinese have operated, as before, against an extended consumption of our own manufactures, and the result has been that, in lieu of British goods, an enormous drain of silver to the Chinese ports has occasioned no small amount of public inconvenience

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CONCLUSION —The comments of so high an authority as Lord Brougham,* after an examination of the foregoing work, upon the institutions of China, are of such value as to render some extracts from them the most fitting conclusion —"The Chinese Empire certainly presents to the eye, both of the common observer and of the political reasoner, the most singular spectacle in the whole social history of our species A territory of enormous extent, stretching fourteen hundred miles from east to west, and as many from north to south, peopled by above three hundred millions of persons, all living under one sovereign—preserving their customs for a period far beyond the beginning of authentic history elsewhere—civilized when Europe was sunk in barbarism—possessed, many centuries before ourselves, of the arts which we deem the principal triumphs of civilization, and even yet not

* Political Philosophy vol i p 160

equalled by the industry and enterprise of the West in the prodigious extent of their public works,* with a huge wall of fifteen hundred miles in length, built two thousand years ago, and a canal of seven hundred, four centuries before any canal had ever been seen in Europe; the sight of such a country and such a nation is mightily calculated to fix the attention of the most careless observer, and to warm the fancy of the most indifferent. But there are yet more strange things unfolded in the same quarter, to the eye of the political philosopher. All this vast empire under a single head; its countless myriads of people yielding an obedience so regular and so mechanical, that the government is exercised as if the control were over animals or masses of inert matter; the people all this while not only not plunged in rude ignorance, but actually more generally possessed of knowledge, to a certain extent, and more highly prizing it, than any other nation in the world; the institutions of the country established for much above five-and-twenty centuries, and never changing or varying during that vast period of time; the inhabitants, with all their refinement, and their early progress in knowledge and the arts, never passing a certain low point, so that they exhibit the only instance in the history of our species of improvement being permanently arrested in its progress; the resources of this civilized state incalculable, yet not able to prevent two complete conquests by a horde of barbarians, or to chastise the piracies of a neighbouring island,† or to subdue a petty tribe‡ existing, troublesome and independent, in the centre of a monarchy which seems as if it could crush them by a single movement of its body; the police of the state all powerful in certain directions,

* This was written when our railroads were only just commenced.

† Japan. ‡ The Meaou-tse: see Chap. VI.

and in others so weak as habitually to give way for fear of being defeated, the policy of the state an unexampled mixture of wisdom and folly—profound views and superficial errors—patronage of art and of science, combined with prohibition of foreign improvements—encouragement of domestic industry, with exclusion of external commerce—promotion of inland manufactures and trade, without employing the precious metals as a medium of exchange—suffering perpetually from the population encroaching upon the means of subsistence, and yet systematically stimulating the increase of its numbers, removing every check which might mitigate the evil, and closing every outlet for the redundancy, finally, so unwieldy, anomalous, fictitious a system of policy, enduring for so many ages and for the last two centuries in a state of the most unbroken peace, without a foreign quarrel or a domestic convulsion, while all the rest of mankind have been laying waste the earth with their conflicts and changing the face of society by sudden revolutions—such are the marvels which the Chinese history presents to the contemplation of the inquiring mind'

It needs hardly to be observed that the above was written before our war and the revolution occasioned by it

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APPENDIX.

I.—Free Importation and Consumption of Opium.

The following report from the consul at Amoy (some time since the war) will prove, among many others of the same description, that both the sale and the consumption of opium are now carried on without any attempt at either concealment or prevention. It would therefore be quite as impertinent for us to interfere, as for the Chinese to interfere with the enormous, and far more hurtful, consumption of spirits in England.

"The depôt ships lie among the six islands which form the eastern limit of the port of Amoy. These vessels are supplied with opium by small clipper schooners coming up and down the coast.

"The native boats convey the opium from the depôt ships to Amoy, and these boats (on account of the costly value of the goods, nearly 100*l.* each chest) are well manned and armed against the pirates. The opium is brought to the wharves at all hours of the day, and carried through the town without molestation from the authorities. The shops, of which there are many, pay for a licence to the Haefing mandarins at the rate of ten dollars a month (or 25*l.* a year).

"The demand has increased very much of late, to the extent of even forty per cent. in the course of six months. In some cases the opium is paid for at Amoy, and delivered to order—in others the money is sent, and

the opium received at the ship; and, as the boats ply in perfect security, it is probable that the demand will increase."

At the termination of the Company's charter in 1834 the importation of opium was 20,000 chests. It has since been as much as 70,000 per annum, in value nearly 5,000,000*l.* sterling. This is merely the result of perfect freedom, both of importation and consumption.

II.—The Tae-ping Rebellion.

There can be no doubt whatever of the existing insurrection in China having been the result of our own war. A Manchow general, in his report, distinctly stated that "the number of robbers and criminal associations is very great in the two Kwang provinces (*i. e.* Kwang-tung and Kwang-se), and they assemble without difficulty to create trouble; all which arises from that class having detected the inefficiency of the imperial troops during the war with the English barbarians. Formerly they feared the troops as tigers; of late they look on them as sheep. Of the multitudes of irregulars who were disbanded on the settlement of the barbarian difficulty, very few returned to their original occupations—most of them became robbers." —He observes that "the army has never recovered from the effects of the want of success in the *barbarian business* (as they call our war): the troops regard retreat on the eve of a battle as established custom, and the abandonment of their posts as an ordinary affair."

Mr. T. T. Meadows's curious work on the Chinese insurrection, with which he has a most intimate acquaintance (having been deputed by the British plenipotentiary on a mission to its chiefs), affords full and authentic ac-

counts of its rise and progress, all confirming the above fact of the rebellion having been the consequence of the disorganization produced by our war. I stated this distinctly five years ago in my two volumes, 'China during the War and since the Peace.'

A Chinese Christian, who had received his lessons in the rudiments of our religion from a missionary named Roberts at Canton, being a man of some education, and of a most daring, enterprising, and enthusiastic temperament, took advantage of this very evident state of things to put himself at the head of an insurrection, of which the avowed object was the destruction of idolatry, as well as the expulsion of the Tartars. But with that characteristic Chinese conceit and presumption which cannot adopt even a religion without modification and change, he called himself the brother of Jesus Christ, while a fellow chieftain subsequently assumed the title of the third person in the Trinity. In short, as I have observed in another place, they were no more like Christians than Mahomet was like a Jew, and the hopes which were at first raised of their success as Christians were very soon succeeded by dismay and disgust at their blasphemy as impostors.

It is possible, at the same time, that they have been impelled by fanaticism, and began by deceiving *themselves*. When informed by our plenipotentiary at Nanking that we must remain neutral, and could not assist them, they told Mr Meadows that they were under the special protection of Heaven, and needed no assistance whatever.

> "'Tis true they build their faith upon
> The holy text of pike and gun,
> Decide all controversies by
> Infallible artillery,
> And prove their doctrine orthodox
> By apostolic blows and knocks."

At the commencement of the insurrection it was naturally supposed that the Triad Society, whose professed object is the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty, and the restoration of the *Ming* or native Chinese line, must be principally concerned in its origin. Communications of course took place as to a coalition, but the Tae-pings said, "Exterminate the Tartars by all means—that is our common object—but as to the restoration of the *Ming*, we have our own particular views on that point; we have a word to say on that subject ourselves." The Tae-pings received none of the Triads among their number, but such as were willing to abandon their peculiar practices and accept instruction in the new doctrine. They plainly declared that their "Heavenly Prince had received the divine commission to exterminate the Manchows, man, woman, and child, and to possess the empire as its true sovereign."

It is remarkable that the person first despatched by the emperor to subdue the rebellion in the south was Commissioner Lin, of opium celebrity. He quitted Foo-chow-foo, his native city, in 1850, on this unpromising errand, to himself doubly melancholy and unpropitious, as he must have keenly felt that his own rash and overbearing conduct at Canton, only a few years before, had been the cause of that fatal collision with the British in which all the embarrassments and miseries of his country had originated. He, in fact, died on his journey, worn out and probably brokenhearted.

The Tae-pings commenced their movements in the southern parts of the Canton and Kuâng-se provinces, being largely reinforced by the hardy seafaring and piratical population of the coast, whose occupations had been partly suspended or disturbed by our cruisers, and whose energies were thus turned inwards on the country.

During the course of two years they gradually, but steadily, worked their way by *Kwei lin*, the capital of the western province, until they arrived, in June, 1852, at the ridge of mountains known as the abodes of the Meaou tse, or independent hill men, who have never been quite subdued by the Tartars Here they seem to have obtained a reinforcement of some 3000 to their army They proceeded still northward, but much more rapidly, by *Chang sha*, the capital of Hoo nan province (but without taking it), until they approached the eastern shore of the vast lake called Tung ting Hoo, about December, 1852 They passed the lake and reached the great river Yang tse keang towards the end of that month Like the fabled giant whose strength was renewed on contact with his mother earth, these seafaring people of the coast acquired fresh force when they found themselves embarked on their native element—the water I remember often remarking, during our progress up the same mighty river with Lord Amherst's embassy in 1816, the great difference between the creeping, timid navigation of the inland sailors in that part of the centre of China and the bold and skilful seamanship of the Cantonese on the coast, who would, in the most boisterous weather and at the distance of leagues from shore board another vessel either as pilots or pirates They were so sensible of the advantages which accrued to them from their possession of the river that they never again quitted its course They proceeded down the stream until they vastly added to their resources by the capture of Han kow, the greatest internal trading mart of the empire Here it is probable they were encouraged to form the bold project of taking Nanking, the ancient capital of the Chinese dynasty, and they went on, unarrested and almost unopposed, along the Great River, passing the Poyang lake, and taking Ganking foo, the capital of

the southern division of Keang-nân, in February, 1853. This city I visited with our embassy, and have given an account of it in the 'Sketches of China.'* From the country about this and other captured towns they collected large amounts of supplies and provisions; and with fresh accessions of strength, as they moved onward, they appeared before Nanking at the commencement of March, 1853, and took it with very slight resistance on the 19th of that month, putting all the Tartars to death. This, with the passage of the canal at Chin-keang-foo, has for four years been the term of their real progress; for though two successive armies have been despatched to the neighbourhood of Peking, they have both returned without success, but still unbroken and in good order. The Tae-pings, however, have commanded the valley of the Yang-tse-keang from Nanking as far as *Ecchang* west of the Tungting lake, a distance of several hundred miles, and comprising some of the richest portion of China.

* Vol. ii. p. 40.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.